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Dr. V. RAGHAVAN FELICITATION VOLUME

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With a Foreword by
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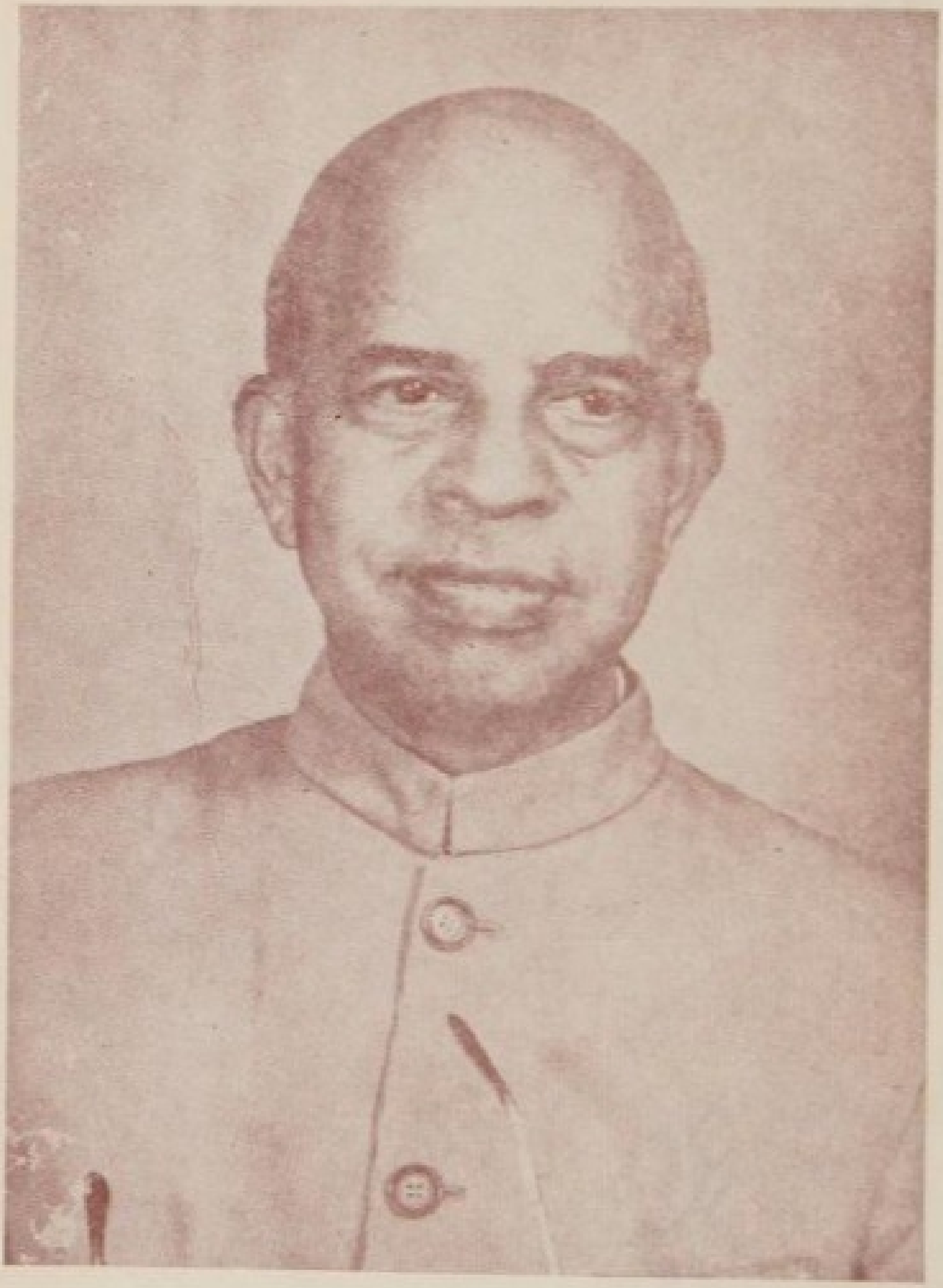

FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in writing a Foreword to this Volume of research papers presented to Dr. V. Raghavan by his students, friends and colleagues. Dr. Raghavan was an active member of the Sanskrit Commission of the Government of India and has been connected since inception with the Central Sanskrit Board (Kendriya Samskrita Parishad) of the Ministry, as also with the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan. The Parishad and the Samsthan owe much to him in the plans and projects it had adopted for the promotion of Sanskrit in the country. As the second President of the Kendriya Samskrita Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, he organised its Research and Publication work and after the setting up of a central organisation in the Ministry for the co-ordinated development of the Vidyapeethas, he has been guiding its work in various capacities, as Chairman of the Central Publication Committee and the Examination Committee and as Editor of the periodical collection of short rare works in Sanskrit called the *Malayamāruta* and of the Research Journal *Samskrita Vimarśa*.

I must especially mention one great piece of work he did with which I was connected. I had the honour of calling upon him to bear, as Chairman, the burden of the academic work of the First World Sanskrit Conference which this Ministry undertook to conduct in the end of March 1972. With his visits to the several foreign countries in the East and West and his world-wide contacts in the field of Sanskrit studies and experience of conducting conferences, he made a signal success of what was one of the largest Conferences. In addition to the academic work, he also took care of the Sanskrit entertainments, Sanskrit Dramas, Dances and Song-recitals, and produced also his own new Sanskrit play at the Conference.

For four decades he has been a leader among Sanskrit scholars in the country, a prolific writer and lecturer and the

most active promoter of Sanskrit and Indology through official and non-official bodies and conferences. Besides being Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Madras University, which position he adorned with distinction, he had been member of several committees of this and other Ministries of Government and of the statutory bodies set up by Government like the Sahitya and Sangeet Natak Akademis. Most recently, in Paris he was elected President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, the setting up of which was recommended by the First World Sanskrit Conference of this Ministry.

I am sure the Volume will be a source of inspiration to scholars of the younger generation.

I hope and pray to Goddess Sarasvati and the Sanskrit Muse to endow Dr. Raghavan with long life and health to continue his researches and his service in the cause of promotion of Sanskrit.

New Delhi
20.1.1975

D. P. Yadav

PREFACE

I am extremely delighted to write this Preface to the Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. V. Raghavan being brought out by the well-known house of Indological publishers, M/s. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi. Dr. Raghavan and his contributions to Sanskrit and Indological Studies need no introduction. Dr. Raghavan represents a rare combination of the depth of traditional scholarship with the width and critical outlook of modern comparative study. He has upheld, by example and precept, the highest standards of research scholarship. He was associated with the Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1956. He has all along been associated with the Central Sanskrit Board and Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan and their various committees, and has contributed greatly to the promotion and development of Samskrit studies in the country. In these bodies, as I have had the pleasure of knowing personally, he had always taken an all-India view and sponsored and supported persons and projects in all parts of the country. It was quite in the fitness of things that the publication of a Felicitation Volume in his honour was planned at the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, of which Dr. Raghavan was Chairman for some time. I am glad that the plans of his disciples, colleagues and friends have now reached a successful conclusion and the Volume is seeing the light of day. I congratulate M/s. Motilal Banarsidass for publishing this Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. Raghavan who is loved and respected by scholars all over the country and abroad.

We must first express our appreciation of the co-operation of several scholars who had contributed to this Volume. This volume is confined to papers by Indian scholars with the exception of Prof. Ludo Rocher whose contribution could not be included in the Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. Raghavan published by the Adyar Library (1968) which

included articles written by Dr. Raghavan's friends and colleagues in the field of Indian Studies in foreign countries.

In addition to the scholarly papers, the Volume carries a Profile of Dr. Raghavan by Mr. Peter Khoroche of SOAS., University of London, and an account of Dr. Raghavan's work from 1969 up to date and also a Bibliography of his books, papers and other writings from the beginning of 1969 till today, in continuation of the Bibliography published on the occasion of his 61st Birthday.

Special mention must be made of the work on this Volume by Dr. S.S. Janaki who read the proofs and assisted in the preparation of the Bibliography. A portion of the proofs in the beginning was also read by Sri C.S. Sundaram. Dr. R.N. Dandekar, Dr. Satyavrat and Dr. Mandan Mishra have also been of help in the arrangements for the presentation of this Volume to Dr. Raghavan.

We should also express our thanks to the Honourable Shri D.P. Yadav, the Deputy Minister of Education and Social Welfare, for his Foreword to this Volume.

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APOCRYPHAL WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO KĀLIDĀSA[1]

Sures Chandra *Banerji*

A glance over the pages of the Notices and Catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts, both in India and abroad, reveals a large number of works attributed to Kālidāsa, besides the well-known poems and dramas of the master-poet. There has as yet been no systematic attempt to ascertain the number of such works or to examine the question of their authorship.[2] We propose, in this paper, to note the titles of these works, to examine the available evidences regarding their authorship and to draw our own conclusions.

The Notices and Catalogues, referred to above, contain, in many cases, the name of Kālidāsa preceded by such epithets as Abhinava, Ākbarīya, Navīna, Vaidya, Yamaka-kavi and so on. There are also names like Kālidāsanandin, Kālidāsa Vidyāvinoda, Kaliyuga-kālidāsa, Parimala Kālidāsa, Śambhu-kālidāsa, Kālidāsa-gaṇaka and so on. We find also authors bearing the name of Kālidāsa whose identity has been stated as father of Yogānanda, father of Hṛdayābharaṇa, grandfather of Muralidhara, son of Rāmagovinda, son of Balabhadra etc. These are obviously different from Kālidāsa, the celebrated poet of India. So we have not taken their works into account for our present purpose. We shall confine ourselves here only to such works as are attributed to 'Kālidāsa' without any epithet or identity, thus apparently leading us to believe that these were from the pen of the master-poet.

The works, besides the famous poems and dramas of the brightest luminary in the literary firmament of ancient India,

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1. The subject has been studied in some detail in the present writer's forthcoming book entitled *Kālidāsa Apocrypha*. In it some of the works, Kālidāsa's authorship of which is not precluded, have been given with *variae lectiones* as far as possible. It is, therefore, proposed here to deal with the subject briefly.

2. In this connection, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. IV. pp. 66-70 may be seen, where under Kalidasa, Dr. Raghavan has offered an analytical presentation of this material.—Ed.

attributed to Kālidāsa, may be divided into two broad classes, viz. Poems (including *Stotras*) and Miscellaneous Works. The latter class comprises prose eulogy of deities, works on astronomy and astrology, metrics, Smṛti, Āyurveda, dramas and lexicons. Besides the above, verses attributed to Kālidāsa, but not traceable in the works of the greatest poet of India, are scattered in the anthologies and works on poetics.

The poetical works of apocryphal character, attributed to Kālidāsa, are as follows :—

Akṣara-mālikā-stava, Ambā-stava, Bhramarāṣṭaka, Buddhivinoda-kāvya (also called *Rākṣasa-kāvya*), *Carcā-stava, Cāṭakāṣṭaka, Devī-navaratna-mālikā* or *Devyaṣṭaka, Durghaṭa-kāvya, Duṣkaramālā, Gaṅgāṣṭaka, Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya, Kālī-stotra, Kunteśvara-dautya, Laghustava* (or *-stuti*), *Lakṣmī-stava, Mahāpadya, Makaranda-stava, Maṅgalāṣṭaka, Mātṛkā-mālā-stava, Nalodaya, Navaratna-mālā, Puṣpabāṇa-vilāsa, Rākṣasa-kāvya* (same as *Buddhivinoda* above), *Ṛtusaṁhāra, Sakala-jananī-stava, Setubandha* (in Prākrit), *Śṛṅgāra-rasāṣṭaka, Śṛṅgāratilaka, Vṛndāvana-kāvya.*

The works of the miscellaneous class, attributed to Kālidāsa, are the following :—

Caṇḍikā-daṇḍaka-stotra, Candrāloka, Cidgagana-candrikā, Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā, Jātaka-candrikā, Jyotirvidābharaṇa, Kālidāsa-gadya, Nānārtha-śabda-ratna, Prahasana-nāṭaka, Ratna-kośa, Śrutabodha, Śuddhi-candrikā, Śyāmalā-daṇḍaka, Uttara-kālāmṛta, Vaidya-manoramā, Vṛtta-ratnāvalī.

As early as 1885, Theodor Aufrecht attempted[1] to collect such verses, attributed to Kālidāsa in the anthologies and works on poetics, as do not occur in his undisputed poems and plays. But materials at his disposal having been scanty, he could not give alternative readings available in later sources, and could not fill up some lacunae.

Since Aufrecht's work, some works, unknown to him, have come to light and certain other works, in Ms. form, have been published. A noteworthy work of the former class is the anthology called *Subhāṣita-ratnakośa* of Vidyākara, a truncated version of which was published earlier as an anonymous work under the assumed title of *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*. Among

1. *ZDMG*, XXXIX, pp. 306-312.

the works of the latter class, the most noteworthy perhaps is the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, published by R. Sarma in 1930 and critically edited by the present writer in 1963. We are, therefore, now equipped with ampler sources for compiling the stray verses attributed to Kālidāsa and for locating them.

The *Bhoja-prabandha* of Ballāla contains some verses attributed to Kālidāsa who has been associated with Bhoja of Dhārā. It is obviously an anachronism to associate Kālidāsa (c. 4th, or 5th cent. A.D.). But the verses in question may have been traditionally attributed to the great poet by connecting whom with Bhoja the author probably sought to glorify the king. In view of the fact that, in this work the literary stalwarts like Bhavabhūti, Māgha, Bāṇa etc., all of whom preceded Bhoja by centuries, figure in his court, one does not feel inclined to suppose that Kālidāsa, in this context, refers to a lesser namesake of the famous poet, and a contemporary of the above king. It may, however, be that some of the verses in question were actually composed by a poet enjoying Bhoja's patronage or by the author of the *Bhoja-prabandha* himself, and then fathered on the famous poet. Some of these verses might have been floating *Subhāṣitas* because these are cited as anonymous stanzas in a few noted anthologies. For instance, the verse *anikaṃ kṣipi* etc., ascribed to Kālidāsa in the *Bhoja-prabandha*, occurs as an anonymous stanza in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (No. 1982).

Harichand Sastri, in his work called *Kālidāsa et l'Art Poetique de l' Inde*, has collected the stanzas of Kālidasa cited in the well-known works on poetics.[1] Among the verses, collected by him, the sources of some are unknown.

The stray verses, ascribed to Kālidāsa, reveal the predominance of the erotic sentiment. In most of them, there is a description of either an erotic setting or a particular mood of the lover or of the beloved. Even when different aspects of nature are depicted, these have been represented as eithre exciting passion or as having some connexion with objects of love. For instance, in the verse *lakṣmī-krīḍā-taḍāgo* etc. the moon is represented, *inter alia*, as a palace of sexual pleasure

1. This work has been supplemented in an M. Litt. thesis prepared under direction of Dr. Raghavan by Sri N.R. Subhanna — Ed.

and as an umbrella of the god of love. Again, in the verse *Hemāmbhoruha-pattane* etc. the vernal breeze, scared by bees in the lotus, is depicted as slowly moving over the lovely breasts of charming women.

The stanzas are written in a simple language and a flowing style. The metres are varied. The ideas and imageries, though not very striking, are nevertheless delightful. The figures of word and sense, used in them are well-conceived. The stanzas may be literary trifles, but these are dainty trifles. Excepting a few verses in which, for instance, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti have been represented as contemporaneous[1] or Kālidāsa utters the name of Bhoja[2], there is nothing in the stanzas which can preclude Kālidāsa's authorship. One or two stanzas, however, appear to echo the ideas expressed in some verses known to be of Kālidāsa's composition. The verse *priyāyāṃ svairāyāṃ* etc. inevitably calls up the picture delineated in the verse *grīvā-bhaṅgābhirāmam* etc. in the first act of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā*. Again, the verse *kartūhāḥ śrutvaraya* etc. seems to be only the well-known stanza *Śaśirāyasya guṇān* etc., in the fourth act of the above drama, couched in a different language. One feels tempted to suggest that these were perhaps composed by some imitator of Kālidāsa.

We shall deal briefly with the contents and authorship of the above works, and give the *pratīkas* of the first lines of the stray verses indicating the places where they occur.

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1. Cf. *ato me saṃbhāṣyaṃ* etc.
2. E.g. *aṇṇe dhārā* etc.

POETICAL WORKS[1]

First of all we may take up the *Stotras*. Of the hymns, the following are rarely attributed to Kālidāsa :—

Akṣaramālikā-stava, *Ambā-stava*, *Carcā-stava*, *Devī-navaratnamālikā-stotra* (also called *Devyaṣṭaka*), *Laghu-stava* (or *-stuti*), *Makaranda-stava*, *Mātṛkāmālā-stava*, *Sakala-jananī-stava*.

Of these, the *Akṣaramālikā-stotra*, a hymn on Śiva, is believed to have been really composed by Śaṃkarācārya. The *Ambā-stava*, *Carcā-stava*, *Sakala-jananī-stava* and *Mātṛkāmālā-stava* are included in the *Pañcastavī* printed in the *Kāvyamālā*[2] without mentioning the authors. The *Devyaṣṭaka*, believed to have been composed by Śaṃkarācārya, has been printed as *Ambāṣṭaka*.[3] The *Laghu-stava*, a hymn on the goddess of learning, has also been printed[4]; there is no mention of the author's name anywhere in the text. But the commentator Rāghavānanda ascribes the work to one Laghu-bhaṭṭāraka. The *Makaranda-stava*, consisting of sixteen stanzas in the *Sragdharā* metre, mentions the mystic syllables like *aim*, *aum*, *hrīṃ* etc., and is an invocation to *Śakti*. It is clearly Tāntric. In the undisputed works of Kālidāsa, he appears to have been a *Śaiva* rather than a *Śākta*. Again, the stanzas have no striking characteristic which may warrant the assumption of Kālidāsa's authorship.

What has been stated above makes the authorship of the foregoing works highly doubtful. The ascription of these hymns to Kālidāsa, only in a few manuscripts, appears to be an example of complacent labelling in the absence of the name of the real author.

We find a *Lakṣmī-stava* under Kālidāsa in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part II. Under this title Aufrecht gives the refer-

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1. The printed works are referred to here. For references to Mss., see the writer's forthcoming book entitled *Kālidāsa Apocrypha*.

2. III, N. S. Press, Bombay. The *Mātṛkāmālā-stava* is styled *Ghaṭa-stava* in the printed form.

3. See *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara*, Bombay.

4. Trivandrum Skt. Series, No. 60. 1917.

ence Fl 430, Fl standing for Florentine Skt. Mss. examined by him (Leipzig, 1892). There is, however, no description of the Ms. and its contents. Aufrecht also mentions a *Kālī-stotra* under Kālidāsa without referring to the source of his information and indicating the contents.

The hymns having a more serious claim to Kālidāsa's authorship are as follows: *Gaṅgāṣṭaka*, *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*, *Nava-graha-stotra* and *Navaratnamālā*. The *Gaṅgāṣṭaka* is an octad in eulogy of the Ganges. All the stanzas are in the *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre. The stanzas have no striking characteristic. The imageries are conventional, the wording is however, apposite, and the use of the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre throughout is commendable. Of the verbal figures, the most prominent are *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka*. Of the figures of sense *Rūpaka* abounds. Stanza 6 is a fine specimen of *Svabhāvokti* which is highly praised by some rhetoricians. The colophon states Kālidāsa as the author; there is, however, no means to ascertain whether or not he was the same as the master-poet of India.

The *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*[1], also called *Varamaṅgalāṣṭaka*, is a small poem of eight verses designed to invoke various deities, holy personages and various objects, and to wish welfare presumably in auspicious ceremonies. The order of the verses, all of which are in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, varies in the different manuscripts. While eight verses are common to all the sources, some manuscripts give a few additional verses which appear to be spurious, because the title indicates that the number of verses should be eight. The concluding verse is colophonic. The common refrain in all the eight verses is *kurvantu no maṅgalam* with slight variations (e.g. *vām* or *te* for *no*).

The *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* is traditionally ascribed to Kālidāsa, and is recited even to-day in some parts of India, particularly in marriage ceremonies. In the *Tibetan Tipiṭaka*, it is attributed to *āryadṛṣṭha-paṇḍita-mahākavi-kālidāsa*. The colophonic verse ascribes it to Kālidāsa. The stanzas are, however, pedestrian and bear no impress of the hand of the master-poet. While

1. Ed. V. S. Sastri, Jaypore. Also printed in the *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnā-kara*, II, ed. G. M. Mehendale, Bombay, 1916, and in the *Tibetan Tipiṭaka*, Kyoto, vol. 87, pp. 265-66.

the uniform use of the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre testifies to some poetic ability, the lack of metrical variety appears to be un-Kālidāsan. There is, however, little scope or necessity of displaying poetic skill in a composition designed exclusively for ritual application. Thus the question of authorship is difficult. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, it is not, however, safe to brush aside the testimony of the colophonic verse which is common to all the sources. It should, however, be observed that the mention of his name is contrary to the usual practice of the *Mahākavi*.

The *Navagraha-maṅgalāṣṭaka* appears to be modelled by a later hand on the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka*.

The *Navagraha-stotra* consists of ten stanzas in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, the common refrain being *kuryāt sadā maṅgalam* which reminds one of the refrain of the verses of the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* noted above. The last verse attributes it to Kālidāsa. The style and language, however, have no striking quality.

The *Nava-ratnamālā* consists of ten verses, the tenth one being a glorification of the poem. In the other nine verses, the poet describes, eulogises and pays homage to goddess Durgā, particularly in her form as Mātaṅgī whom he appears to have conceived chiefly as the presiding deity of music. The goddess has been represented as playing on the lute, a rather unconventional idea. It is interesting to note that verse 5 contains the seven symbols, viz. *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni* used to represent respectively seven *Svaras* of Indian music. The description of the goddess is graphic and couched in attractive language. The choice of words reflects the refined taste of the author. Of the figures of sound and sense, *Anuprāsa, Yamaka* and *Rūpaka* are of frequent occurrence. The poem, however, lacks metrical variety. The colophon attributes it to Kālidāsa.

Now we come to the secular poems. The *Bhramarāṣṭaka*[1] is an octad on the different activities of the bee which restlessly falls on various flowers and even on the *Guñjā* plant which is devoid of honey. In one stanza it is represented as falling on a parrot's beak taking it to be a *palāśa* flower. The parrot wants to kill it mistaking it for a rose-apple (*jambu*). The poem ends

1. Ms. No. G 9291 preserved in Asiatic Society, Calcutta, contains an entirely different text.

in a pathetic note. While the bee, confined within the lotus that closed with nightfall, finds solace in the thought that at daybreak the lotus will again bloom, an elephant uproots the lotus thus dashing its hopes to pieces. The stanzas, which are well-turned and detached, present separate word-pictures which are pleasant. The idea of the bee not being able either to stay or to leave reminds one of the oft-quoted line *na yayau na tasthau* occurring in the *Kumāra-sambhava* (v. 85). As many as five different metres have been used within the compass of eight stanzas.

As regards authorship, whereas some manuscripts attribute the work to Kālidāsa in their respective colophons, there is no mention of the author's name in the colophon to the same text printed in the *Kāvya-kalāpa*. From the points of view of language and diction there is nothing in it to preclude Kālidāsa's authorship.

The *Rākṣasa-kāvya*[1] (also called *Kāvya-rākṣasa*, *Vidvad-vinodakāvya* or *Buddhi-vinoda-kāvya*) depicts in 20 or 21 verses, the love of a young man and a young girl in an idyllic setting. On a rainy day in the rainy season a young man, while roaming in a forest, falls in love with a charming damsel to whom he makes a confession and points out the beautiful objects all around—the peacocks dancing, seasonal flowers including the *Kadamba* in full bloom, rows of white swans against the background of dark clouds, couples of lovers enjoying themselves. The girl also pulsates with an ecstatic feeling. After enjoying themselves throughout the day, they make for the young man's home.

If the theme is trite, the language and style are conventional. The poem is full of artificialities like alliterations, recondite words etc. which characterise the poetical compositions of the age of decadence. The stanzas are at best a catalogue of conventional pictures of the rainy season, at worst a poor attempt to display learning. The poet leaves little for the reader to imagine, and says everything. There is no metrical variety, the piece being composed almost entirely in the *Vasantatilaka* metre. There is no striking figure of sense. It is

1. For various problems connected with it, see S.K. De, *IHQ*, XIII, 1937; P. K. Gode, *Jour. of Indian History*, XIX, 1940 (same paper published also in Gode's *Studies in Indian Literary History*, I).

not poetry, but its counterfeit with which not even a detractor of Kālidāsa would associate the poet famed for spontaneous compositions and striking similes. According to a manuscript tradition, it is by one Ravideva who was presumably the author also of the artificial poem called *Nalodaya*. The title '*Rākṣasa-kāvya*' appears to indicate that one Rākṣasa was its author; to a poet of this name some verses, not occurring in the poem, are ascribed in anthologies, e.g. *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (No. 450) and *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (Nos. 3810-11). A Jaina commentary[1] on this poem is dated 1159 A.D.

In the *Cātakāṣṭaka*, the poet bemoans the lot of the *Cātaka* which gets but a few drops of water when the cloud pours down torrents. Even after a prolonged wait in the sky without any support it fails (obviously in the dry months) to hear even the rumblings of the cloud, not to speak of getting water.

The use of as many as five different metres within such a short compass reveals the deft pen of a poet of considerable capacity. The language is simple and the diction spontaneous. The imagery is graphic. Though not of high poetic merit, the stanzas, free from laboured artificialities, are by no means pedestrian. There is nothing that precludes Kālidāsa's authorship.

The *Durghaṭa-kāvya*[2], consisting of six stanzas, is, as the title implies, a very difficult poem. We could not make out any sense even after repeated perusal. The colophon attributes it to Mahākavi Kālidāsa. But the poet of the *Raghu-vaṃśa*, *Kumāra-sambhava* and the *Meghadūta*, distinguished for *prasāda-guṇa*, could not possibly have composed such an extremely artificial piece.

The *Duṣkaramālā* is a work illustrating certain figures of speech. It is divided into six chapters called respectively *Prakīrṇa-pada*, *Prahelikā-pada*, *Praśnottara-pada*, *Yamaka-pada*, *Niyatasvarasthāna-varṇapada* and *Prastāra-pāda*. Apart from the unlikelihood of a poet of Kālidāsa's calibre writing on such a subject, the work has no stylistic claim to the master-poet's

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1. The poem has been printed several times. See Jīvānanda's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, III, Calcutta, 1868; N. P. ed., Bombay, 1890, 1900, 1917. It has been translated into Bengali and Italian. For other commentaries and their authors, see S. K. De in *IHQ*, xiii; D. R. Mankad in *IHQ*, XII

2. Printed in the *Kāvyakalāpa*, Calcutta.

authorship. It has no internal evidence either on the question of its authorship.

The *Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya*[1] is a monody in which the motif is just the reverse of the *Meghadūta*; a lady in separation sends the cloud as messenger in the rainy season to her lover living abroad. It, however, gives no itinerary of the cloud. The lover gets the message, and returns home. In this poem, the separation lasts for three months only. It suffers a lot by comparison with the *Meghadūta*. In place of the one metre employed in the latter, it uses a variety of metres which, while testifying to the metrical skill of the author, fail to evoke the tender emotion that such a composition is expected to rouse in us. The beloved in the *Ghaṭakarpara* is utterly sentimental in view of the fact that the period of her separation is so brief. Unlike the *Meghadūta*, it betrays a laboured diction and literary exercise; the pictures of the rainy season are conventional and lack charm.

The above remarks speak against the traditional attribution of the poem to Kālidāsa. The mention of Ghaṭakarpara as a poet in some works, the existence of a work called *Nītisāra* by Ghaṭakarpara, the absence of the poet's name in some manuscripts are facts tending to render the tradition baseless. The tradition associating Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya also mentions Ghaṭakarpara as a contemporary of Kālidāsa. The attribution of the poem to Kālidāsa, in such an early source as Abhinavagupta's *Ghaṭakarpara-vivṛti*, need not be taken very seriously.[2] Abhinava, having flourished at least five hundred years after Kālidāsa, may have been influenced by the tradition current in his time.

The text of the *Ghaṭakarpara* varies in different sources, the variations being noticeable both in the number and order of verses. The total number of verses varies from 20 to 23.

The existence of over a dozen commentaries on the poem is an index to its popularity. It clearly influenced the *Kṛṣṇalīlā-kāvya* of Madana (17th. century). The chief reason of its popularity appears to be its association with the name of Kālidāsa.

1. Printed several times. See editions by J. B. Chaudhuri, with a comm. and extracts from other commentaries, Eng. and Beng. trs., Calcutta, 1953, and also by M. Kaul, with Abhinavagupta's comm., Srinagar, 1945.

2. On this, see V. Raghavan *Dr. Maxudi felicitation Vol.* pp. 147-9. —Ed.

From Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*[1] we learn that Kālidāsa wrote a work called *Kunteśvara-dautya*, also called *Kuntaleśvaradautya*. Kṣemendra cites a verse[2] from this work under the remark *adhikaraṇaucityaṃ yathā Kunteśvara-dautye Kālidāsasya*. Again, Bhoja, in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (VIII), quotes a verse[3] preceded by the following observation: *Kālidāsaḥ kiṃ kunteśvaraḥ karotīti vikramādityena pṛṣṭa uktavān*. The above verse is followed by another verse[4] introduced by the remark *idamevoḥayitva vikramādityaḥ pratyūce*.

From the fragments of the *Kunteśvara-dautya*, preserved in some works, it appears to have been a poetical work[5] dealing with the embassy of Kālidāsa himself acting as an envoy of Vikramāditya to the King of Kuntala.

Though the above work is associated with Kālidāsa's name, the question of authorship is not free from difficulty. It does not seem to be likely that Kālidāsa wrote a work with himself as a character. In connexion with the traditional association of Kālidāsa with the king of Kuntala, it is interesting to note that, in the *Bhoja-prabandha*[6], a verse, attributed to Kālidāsa, contains the word, 'Kuntaleśvara'.[7]

The *Mahīpadya* or *Mahāpadya-paṭṭa* consists of six verses

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1. *Kāvyamālā*, I, p. 139.

2. *iha nivasati muruḥ lekharaḥ kṣmādharāṇī-miha vinihita-bhāraḥ sāgarāḥ saptā cāpe; idam ahipati-bhoga-stambha-vibhrājamānaṃ dharaṇī-talam ihaiva sthāna-ramaṇīdhānām*. This verse is stated, in the *Bhoja-prabandha* (NSP, 1932, p. 22) to have been uttered by poet Kṛṣṇācandra in the court of Bhoja; there are some variants. The same verse is stated to have been recited by King Siddharāja of Anahillapattana at the place of one Devabodha, poet and philosopher, where he went and sat on the floor. The verse is stated to have been composed by Siddharāja's court-poet Śrīpāla (Vide *Prabhāvaka-carita*, NSP. ed., pt. I, p. 308).

3. *aṅkola-kaṭitaṭāt kāñcīdāmeva kāntyā*
mukulita-nayanatvād vyakta-karotpalāni /
pibati madhu-sugandhīny-ānanāni priyāṇāṃ
tvayi vinihita-bhāraḥ kuntalīnāmadhīśaḥ //

4. *pibatu madhu-sugandhīny-ānanāni priyāṇāṃ /*
mayi vinihita-bhāraḥ kuntalīnāmadhīśaḥ //

This and the previous verse are quoted also in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (II) and Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (II).

5. Acc. to R. Sarasvati, it was a historical drama. Vide *Quarterly Jour. of Mythic Society*, XV, p. 272.

6. NSP. ed., 1933, p. 70, verse No. 302.

7. For a full discussion of this work, see V. Raghavan, *B.C. Law Vol.* II. p. 191ff.—Ed.

prefaced by five stanzas. From the preface we learn that Kālidāsa wrote to Śaṃkara a letter on which the former had written the first stanza without mentioning his name. Śaṃkara felt delighted, and, accompanied by Kālidāsa, went to the court of King Bhoja. There, at the request of the King, he read out the letter. The six verses that follow are in eulogy of Bhoja. The poem is concluded with a prayer for liberal gifts.

The verses, expressing conventional ideas, are written in a language free from the artificialities of decadent Sanskrit literature. There is considerable metrical skill, there being as many as five metres within the limit of eleven stanzas. There is no striking figure of speech.

The question of authorship is rendered difficult by the prefatory remarks. King Bhoja of Dhārā, of the Paramāra dynasty, flourished in the 11th century A.D.; thus, Kālidāsa could not possibly visit his court. There were, of course, other Bhojas the earliest of whom was king Mihira Parihār of Kanauj, commonly called Bhoja who appears to have flourished in the 9th. century. This date also goes against Kālidāsa's authorship. There is also a legendary Bhoja who is, for instance, referred to by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (V. 39) as king of Krathakaiśika.

The *Nalodaya*[1], in four cantos, is based on the banal story of Nala and Damayanti. Though the theme is a well-known story, yet the weaving out of a story with the scanty epic material is laudable. The narrative, generally pleasing, is at places interrupted by over-elaboration. For instance, the entire second canto is devoted to description reading like a catalogue of conventional ideas. The diction is a perfect specimen of the laboured artificialities of the age of decadence. The use of *Yamakas* in every line is an instance of literary exercise. The most remarkable feature is the use of rime at the end as well as the middle of the metrical lines. There is no commendable figure of sense; the few *Upamās* that are used lack charm. The existence of over twenty commentaries[2] on the poem, including that of Mallināṭha, is an index to its popularity. Its popularity

1. Printed several times. See editions by F. K. Benary, with Prajñākara's comm., Intro. notes and Latin trs. Berlin, 1830; W. Yates, with metrical Eng. trs., Calcutta, 1844.

2. For commentaries, see K. K. Raja in the *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, p. 30 (footnote 157).

seems to be due partly to the universally liked story but largely to its traditional attribution to Kālidāsa.

The authorship of this poem poses a problem. While most scholars pass a verdict against Kālidāsa's authorship, a few are inclined to attribute it to the celebrated poet. The latter argue that Kālidāsa alone is capable of the verbal tricks with which the poem is replete. But this should precisely be an argument against his authorship; because, in none of his undisputed works does he betray any such tendency. The commentator Rāmarṣi (C. 1600 A.D.) ascribes the *Nalodaya* to Ravideva.[1] Some manuscripts bear out the authorship of Ravideva, son of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇa. Pischel, followed by R. G. Bhandarkar, believes in Ravideva's authorship. Peterson thinks[2] that the poem was wrongly attributed to Kālidāsa. Certain facts tend to prove that Vāsudeva[3] was the author of the *Nalodaya*. In one manuscript[4], it is attributed to Kālidasa at one place and to Keśavāditya at another.

The *Puṣpabāṇa-vilāsa*[5], comprising 26 stanzas, opens with an invocation to Kṛṣṇa. In the next verse, the poet seeks the blessings of goddess Śāradā in his endeavour to compose a love-lyric (*śṛṅgāra-kāvya*) depicting such amorous sports as are known to have been enjoyed by Kṛṣṇa with thousands of young girls. Each of the following 24 verses is a picture of amourette, e.g. varying physical conditions of the beloved from the sight of her lover to her embrace by him, the coquetish gestures of the beloved, the description of a woman, with signs of sexual enjoyments, coming out of her lover's apartment, the condition of a charming woman in separation, a youth's eulogy of the extraordinary charms of a young woman and so on.

Generally speaking, the style of the poem is racy. Unfamiliar words, though not totally absent, are of rare occurrence. The figures of sense predominate over those of words. Of the *Arthālaṃkāras*, the most frequent is *Svabhāvokti*, others being *Vyājastuti* and *Vyatireka*; *Upamā* is practically absent. The

1. See *JBRAS*, Extra No. 1887, p. 337.
2. *Ibid*, XVII, 1887, p. 60.
3. See K. K. Raja, Vāsudeva, author of the *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* (Vide C. K. Raja Comm. Vol.).
4. No. 309 in *BORI Cat. of Skt. MSS., XIII*, pt. 1.
5. Ed. (i) J. Vidyāsāgara, with Venkaṭa's comm., Calcutta, 1874 (ii) NSP. Bombay, 1942.

Yamaka and *Anuprāsa* are the *Śabdālaṃkāras* found in it. Four different metres are used in the poem; among these are the stately *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* and the sonorous *Mālini*.

Much has been written for and against Kalidāsa's authorship of the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*, the contents of which are too well known to be recounted. To us, however, the arguments against Kālidāsa appear to outweigh those in favour of him based mainly on style and expressions. The anti-Kālidāsa arguments are briefly as follows :—

(1) Mallināṭha, who commented on all the undisputed poems of Kālidāsa, does not appear to have written a commentary on the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*.

(2) Works on poetics, which quote illustrative verses from standard texts, do not cite any verse from this poem.

(3) Verses of this lyric are conspicuous by their total absence in the early anthologies. Only four stanzas[1] of this poem are found in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*[2] of as late a period as the fifteenth century. Of these four again, two[3] are quoted anonymously. The testimony of this anthology regarding the other two stanzas is not dependable having regard to the fact that the text of this anthology is of a composite nature.[4]

(4) The *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, ascribed to Kālidāsa, refers to the 'Three Kāvyas' of the poet, thus obviously excluding the *Ṛtusaṃhāra*.

To the above arguments two more may be added. It does not seem to be merely accidental that while the undisputed poems of Kālidāsa were commented upon quite early, the *Ṛtusaṃhāra* was commented upon, for the first time, in the eighteenth century. A marked un-Kālidāsan feature of the poem is the repetitions of words and phrases which are not usual in the undisputed works of the master-poet.

According to a tradition, the Prākrit poem *Setubandha*[5]

1. i. 13, 20; vi. 16, 19.
2. Nos. 1674, 1678, 1703, 1704.
3. Nos. 1703, 1704.
4. See S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1927.
5. Ed. (i) S. Goldschmidt, with German tr. and word-index, Strassburg and London, 1880, 1884.
   (ii) With comm. of Rāmadāsa, NSP, 1893.
   (iii) R. G. Basak, Calcutta, 1959.

(also called *Rāma-setu, Rāvaṇa-vaha* or *Dahamuha-vaha*) was composed by Kālidāsa. This poem, dealing in fifteen cantos with the Rāmāyaṇa story from the march of Rāma's army to the ocean and the construction of the mighty bridge up to the eventual slaughter of Rāvaṇa and Rāma's return to Ayodhyā with Sītā, is stated in the colophons to have been written by Pravarasena. Two things appear to lend countenance to the tradition of Kālidāsa's authorship. In the first place, colophons to cantos ii, iii and xv of some manuscripts[1] and all the canto-colophons of some other manuscripts[2] contain the name of Pravarasena with that of Kālidāsa. Secondly, Rāmadāsa, a contemporary of Akbar, in his *Rāmasetu-pradīpa* commentary (1595-96 A.D.) on the poem, states that Kālidāsa wrote it under orders from Vikramāditya. These references to Kālidāsa as the author of the poem may simply be an instance of the perpetuation of an already existing tradition. There is no evidence of the authenticity of the colophons which might have been added by later writers believing in the tradition. The style and language appear to be clearly against Kālidāsa's authorship. The sesquipedalian compounds, frequent double entendres, alliterations, pedantic similes and exaggeration —all this is un-Kālidāsan. In some ancient works, Pravarasena is extolled as a great writer[3] and the *Setubandha* is praised as a fine work written in Prākrit[4].

But, nowhere is Kālidāsa's name associated with that of Pravarasena, nor is Kālidāsa mentioned as its author or joint author. Some scholars, notably R. Sarasvati,[5] believe, on the basis of the discovered fragments of the *Kunteśvara*-(or, *Kuntalaeśvara*) *dautya*, that Kālidāsa was sent by the Gupta emperor Vikramāditya as an ambassador to the court of the then ruler of Kuntala who is supposed to have been no other than the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena. On this assumption they think that the *Setubandha* was perhaps composed jointly by Kālidāsa and Pravarasena.

The *Śṛṅgāra-rasāṣṭaka*[6], consisting of eight stanzas, deals

1. See the German edition.
2. See NSP ed.
3. *Harṣa-carita*, introductory verse 14.
4. Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 34.
5. See *Jour. of Mythic Society*, xv, 1924, pp. 275-76.
6. (i) Included in *Kālidāser Granthāvalī*, Calcutta, 1322 B.S.
   (ii) Printed in Haeberlin's Kāvyasaṅgraha, p. 510 ff.

with the sentiment of love not only in human beings but also in lower animals. Instead of being a unified poetical work, it seems to be a collection of verses, dealing with the sentiment of love, culled from different sources. The penultimate verse is exactly the same as verse 85 of the fifth canto of the *Kumārasambhava*. The style of the verses is flowing and their language simple. The pictures of the different erotic situations are, however, conventional. *Svabhāvokti* is the predominant figure of speech. The use of as many as six different metres reflects credit if, of course, the work is not a compilation.

Of the several works, poetical and dramatic, bearing the title *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*[1], one, a poem, is ascribed to Kālidāsa.[2] It consists of some detached verses dealing with the erotic sentiment. The majority of the stanzas deal with the gracefulness and charm of women. Love in union, love in separation, appeasement of the irate beloved and clandestine love form the themes of some of the verses.

The total number of verses, in the different versions, consulted by us, is 34. Of these, only 18 are common to all of them. The other verses may be interpolations. The absence of the usual salutation or benediction at the commencement of the work tends to show that it was a compilation rather than a unified work. This conjecture is confirmed by the testimony of Sanskrit anthologies. For example, the verse *āyātā madhuyāminī* etc. is attributed to Indraśiva in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (742) of Śrīdharadāsa. Again, the verse *indīvareṇa nayanam* etc. has been cited anonymously in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (1610) of Vallabhadeva. The stanza *Kva prasthitāni* etc., occurring in one manuscript, is found in the *Amaru-śataka*. Thus the work appears to be a compilation which was presumably ascribed to Kālidāsa with the object of imparting a halo of importance to it. There is, however, nothing to preclude Kālidāsa's authorship; a few verses of other authors may have been smuggled into it. In view of the possibility of its belonging to Kālidāsa's juvenilia, it is difficult to endorse Keith's view that "it is quite illegitimate to accord it to Kālidāsa." The verses are

1. There is also a work on poetics, bearing this title, by *Rudrabhatta*.
2. Printed several times. See editions by Gildemeister, Bonn, 1841 (23 stanzas). Hoeberlin in *Kāvya-saṃgraha* (21 stanzas); J. Vidyāsāgara in *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Calcutta, 1872 (21 stanzas).

well-turned and the diction is free from artificialities. The choice of words is happy, and appears to reveal the deft hand of a pastmaster. For example, while describing the hard-heartedness of the beloved, the poet wonders how her heart was made of *upala* (stone). Poets like Bhavabhūti would have perhaps used the word *grāvan* (granite) in this context. Commendable poetic imageries are not rare. The limbs of a beautiful woman being fashioned with petals of *Campaka* flowers call up an attractive picture. The trenchant reproof, hurled by the beloved, sick through wakefulness, at the lover, who enjoyed himself in the company of another woman overnight, is in the manner of the good poet. Extremely pretty is the picture of the beloved acting as a hunter, her eye-brow serving as a bow, side-glances as arrows and the lover's mind behaving like a deer. Covert signals for clandestine union contain suggested sense which, according to rhetoricians, constitutes the essence of *Kāvya*. Of the figures of speech, *Rūpaka* abounds, and it is based on *Upamā*, the famous forte of Kālidāsa. Besides the stately *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, there are the melodious *Mālinī* and *Mandākrāntā* among other metres.

Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, mentions a *Vṛndāvana-kāvya* under Kālidāsa; but he gives neither the source of his information nor any indication of its contents.

In connexion with the apocryphal works ascribed to Kālidāsa, we should refer to the spurious verses of the *Meghadūta* and cantos IX to XVII of the *Kumārasambhava*, whose authenticity has been suspected by some scholars. As these problems have been discussed by other scholars in detail,[1] we do not repeat the arguments and counter-arguments here.

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1. For the *Meghadūta*, see the Sāhitya Akademi ed. by S. K. De New Delhi, 1957. For the *Kumāra-sambhava*, see Weber, *ZDMG*, 27 and *Ind. Streifen*, III; S. P. Bhattacarya, *Pro. of Fifth Oriental Conf.*, Vol. 1; H. Sastri, *Kālidāsa et l'Art poétique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1917.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Among the miscellaneous works attributed to Kālidāsa, two are devotional. These are the *Caṇḍikā-daṇḍaka* and the *Śyāmalādaṇḍaka*. These are invocatory works in long compounds; these features tend to speak against Kālidāsa's authorship.

A work, called *Candrāloka* is attributed, in Hultzch's *Report* (III. MS. No. 848), to Kālidāsa; but a query mark is put against the name of the author. The Ms. is in Grantha script, and the work is stated to be on *Alaṃkāra*.

The literary works, other than poems, attributed to Kālidāsa, are as follows: *Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā*, *Kālidāsa-gadya* and *Prahasana-nāṭaka*.

The *Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā*[1], also called *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā* (or,—*dvātriṃśat-puttalikā-vārtā* or, —*putrikā-vārtā* or *Vikrama-carita*), consists of tales of Vikramāditya told by thirty-two statues holding his throne, stated to have been discovered by Bhoja, when he is reported to have made an attempt to sit on it. The edifying tales glorify Vikramāditya as an ideal king.

The work exists in two recensions, Northern and Southern. The former exists in three versions, viz. the Jaina version of Kṣemaṅkara Muni, the Bengal version ascribed to Vararuci and an anonymous version. The Southern recension exists in two anonymous versions, one in prose and the other in verse. The authorship of the work is unknown , but internal evidences point to a date not earlier than the thirteenth century, thur rendering Kālidāsa's authorship impossible. The didactic tenor of the work and the mannered descriptions also betray the hand of a much later poet of inferior calibre.[2]

The *Kālidāsa-gadya* appears to be a conventional invocation and salutation to Śiva. Excepting the title, which may have been given by any one, there is nothing, not even a colophon, which may point to its authorship. Neither the language nor the diction of this bears the impress of a great

1. Printed several times. For instance, see *Kālidāser Granthāvalī*, Calcutta, 1322 B. S.

2. For details about authorship and date, see S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*.

writer, much less of a writer of Kālidāsa's eminence. Among the descriptive appellations of Śiva, the mo'st interesting perhaps is *bauddha-laya-kāla-mūrti*. An epithet appears to read, as *doppali-pura-varādhīśvara* which may refer to Śiva as the guardian deity of the city of Doppali where the author or his patron might have lived. It may have been composed by a writer of ordinary calibre who was named Kālidāsa or who fathered it on the famous poet for obvious reasons.

The *Prahasana-nāṭaka*, which is obviously a dramatic work,[1] appears in reality to have been composed by Veṅkaṭeśvara Kavi.[2]

The astrological works, attributed to Kalidāsa, are the following :

Jātaka-candrikā, *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* and the *Uttara-kālāmṛta*.

The *Jātaka-candrikā* is stated, in an introductory verse, to deal with astrological matters after *Parāśara-horā*. It treats of *Lagna*, *Bhāva*, aspects of the sun and the planets, effects caused by lords of *Lagnas* and *Bhāvas*, effects of birth in different moments, effects of marriage between persons having particular horoscopic characteristics. The work appears to be a manual intended for practising astrologers and students beginning a study of the subject. The style is popular and the language simple. There is no evidence as to its authorship. The occurrence of some common verses in this work and in the *Phaladīpikā* of Mantreśvara leads us nowhere, because which is the borrower we do not know; the latter does not mention the name of Kālidāsa. There is, however, nothing impossible in Kālidāsa having written a work on a subject which has been popular through ages. The technical nature of the subject, dealt with in it, is perhaps responsible for the absence of poetic skill in it.

The *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*[3] has some historical importance, because it is the source of the tradition that nine great poets (*nava-ratna*) adorned the court of Vikramāditya. In its printed form, it consists of twenty-two sections called respectively *Māna*, *Yogotpatti*, *Bhadrā*, *Parva*, *Graha-gocara*, *Utpāta*, *Saṃskāra*,

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1. This is a farce and has been printed in Madras in Grantha script —Ed.
2. See *Madras Triennial Catalogue*, 1913-14 to 1915-16, I. 1101, 1102.
3. Ed., with Bhavaratna's comm. and notes, by S. Sarma, Bombay 1968.

Upavīta (vrata ?), *Vidyārambha-viveka*, *Rājasatīā*, *Trividha-yātrā*, *Vivāha*, (*varṇa-gotrādda-graha-caraṇa-melāpakādyaṣṭādala-daśānta-yoga-kathana*), *Vastrālaṃkaraṇa-paridhāna*, *Prākāra-para-sādhana-praveśa*, *Gṛhārambha*, *Gṛha-praveśa*, *Devatāpratiṣṭhā*, *Agnyādhānādi-viśeṣa-saṃskāra*, *Miśraka*, *Varṇakarmadharmanirūpaṇa*, *Kālanirṇa-pādhyāya*, *Granthādhyāya-nirūpaṇa*.

In the last chapter, Kālidāsa is stated to have written it at the time of the Mālava king Vikramārka. There is a reference to this king, his *Nava-ratna* and the introduction of the *Śaka* era. Three poems starting with the *Raghuvaṃśa* are also stated to have been written by the author. There is a significant statement that the work was composed, 111 years before the commencement of the *Śaka* era. The mention of Varāhamihira (C. 475-550 A.D.), who flourished in the third or fourth century of the *Śaka* era, however, renders the above statement regarding date incredible. Other facts also run counter to it. Dvivedi has proved that the author was a contemporary of Keśavārka (12th. century A.D.). In view of the fact that the work betrays Arabic influence and that it was commented on as late as 1661 A.D. Keith thinks that it could not have originated before the sixteenth century A.D. Yogeśacandra Rāya Vidyānidhi is of the opinion[1] that it was written in the 12th. century *Śaka* by an astrologer named Kālidāsa.

The *Uttarakālāmṛta*[2], composed throughout in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, consists of two *Kāṇḍas* (sections), the first containing eight sub-sections (*khaṇḍa*) and the second comprising 105 verses. *Kāṇḍa* II is stated to be *Kālidāsa-kṛta*. The tradition about Kālidāsa's authorship may have originated from the mention, in the first two introductory verses, of Vikramasūrya which perhaps refers to Vikramāditya of the Solar race. There is, however, no evidence, internal or external, excepting the attribution of *Kāṇḍa* II to Kālidāsa, to prove that the work was written by a person called Kālidāsa, much less by the master-poet of this name.

The value of the work consists in the information it contains regarding :

(i) the three births—past, present and future—with detailed references regarding longevity.

1. Vide *Amādo Jyotiṣ O Jyotiṣi* (in Bengali).
2. Ed., with Eng. trs., by V. S. Sastri, Bangalore, 1939.

(ii) Special kinds of *Rāja-Yoga* and their *Bhaṅgas*.
(iii) Solar year and its delineation; effects of annual *Daśās* of the several planets.
(iv) Importance attached to *Rāhu* and *Ketu*.
(v) *Nimitta* or *Muhūrta* for the inauguration post etc., enterprise or ceremonial.

The *Śuddhicandrikā*, a Smṛti work in twenty-five *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanzas, appears to be a compendium on impurity consequent on the birth and death of certain classes of relatives. Apart from the unlikelihood that Kālidāsa, famous as a poet and playwright, should write on such a subject there is positive evidence against Kālidāsa's authorship of this work. Verse 16 cites Lakṣmīdhara as an authority. Lakṣmīdhara, author of the celebrated Smṛti digest called *Kṛtyakalpataru*, appears to have flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. and earlier half of the twelfth; this clearly goes against Kālidāsa's authorship.

The *Śrutabodha*,[1] a well-known tract on prosody, is attributed to Kālidāsa by some, to Vararuci by others. There is no evidence, internal or external, as to authorship. Kālidāsa's authorship is rendered doubtful by its attribution, in some manuscripts,[2] to Ajitasena who may or may not have been identical with the Jaina author of this name.

The *Vṛtta-ratnāvalī*[3] is another work on prosody in 66 stanzas in praise of Sarasvatī. The stanzas simultaneously serve the purposes of defining, naming and illustrating the various metres. It is attributed, in some manuscripts, to Kālidāsa, and in others, to Veṅkaṭeśa, son of Avadhāna Sarasvatī of *Āttreya* family. The anonymous commentary on the work also attributes it to Veṅkaṭeśa. Thus, Kālidāsa's authorship is rendered extremely doubtful. Some, however, are inclined to believe that Kālidāsa was a *nom-de-plume* of Veṅkaṭeśa.[4]

The *Cidgagana-candrikā*[5], a metrical work in four chapters,

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1. Very often printed. See editions by M. E. Lancereau, Paris; Haeberlin in *Kāvya-saṃgraha*; NSP, 1890.
2. See *Jinaratnakośa* by Velankar.
3. Ed. (i) H. G. Narahari, with a comm. and Eng. trs., Adyar library, Madras, 1952.
(ii) Govindācārya, 1861 (in Grantha script).
(iii) R. Rao, 1864 (in Telugu script).
4. See *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. Vol. I. Revised edn. p. 414b.—Ed.
5. Ed., with *Dīpaśalākā*; comm. of Dhanadānandanātha alias

deals with Tantricism in a masterly, though somewhat abstruse, style. It is a sort of commentary on the *Krama-stuti* of Siddhanātha (or Śambhunātha), a famous figure in the *Trika* school of Kashmir. It describes such forms of goddess Kālī as are described by Abhinavagupta and others of Kashmir, e.g. *Sṛṣṭi-kālī, Saṃhāra-kālī* etc. The forms of this divinity, described in the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda or in the *Āgama-tattva-vilāsa* of Raghunātha, are conspicuous by their absence in this book. In it there is no mention of the forms of Kālī worshipped in Bengal and Kerala, e.g. *Guhya-Kālī, Śmaśāna-kālī, Dakṣiṇā-kālī*, etc. The *Cidgagana* speaks of *Upāsanā* of *Paratattva* (Supreme Principle) in the form of *Ādyāśakti* which is found also in Abhinavagupta's *Tantra-sāra* and *Tantrāloka*. Thus, both the authors appear to have drawn upon the same traditional source.

The name of Kālidāsa is mentioned at several places of the work. The colophon to chapter III ascribes it to Kālidāsa. The colophon to the fourth chapter mentions *Kālidāsa-mahākavi* as its author. Bhāsurānandanātha (Bhāskara Rāya), in his commentary *Saubhāgya-bhāskara* on the *Lalitā-sahasra-nāma*, quotes passages from the *Cidgagana* and attribute them to Kālidāsa. Kaivalyāśrama, pupil of Govindāśrama, in his *Saubhāgya-bodhinī* commentary on the *Ānandalaharī*, refers to the *Cidgagana* as a work of Kālidāsa. The traditional attribution of a work, dealing with forms of goddess Kālī, to Kālidāsa accords well with the legend which makes him a worshipper of this divinity through whose grace he is said to have acquired poetic skill.

Certain facts, however, tend to go against the master-poet's authorship of the work. The last line of the second verse of this work is identical with the last line of the opening verse of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. It is unusual for Kālidāsa to repeat a passage of one work in another. The concluding line[1] of the *Cidgagana* suggests Śrīvatsa as the name of the author. Verse 305 of the work states that it is a sort of continuation of the *Kramastuti* of Siddhanātha or Śambhunātha; this is corroborated by Pṛthvīdharācārya in the *Bhuvaneśvarī-stotra* (V. 37).

K. A. Sastri, Amalapur, 1943.
Also ed. Svami Trivikrama Tirtha, Calcutta, 1996.

1. *Vānovārtha-mahāgahyam śrīvatsa vidadhe sa hi.*

Śambhunātha and Abhinavagupta are known to have flourished in the same age, the former appearing to have been a little earlier. Abhinava appears to have lived some time between the last quarter of the tenth century and first quarter of the eleventh. Thus, Kālidāsa's authorship of a work composed at a time later than Śambhunātha appears to be ruled out. The *Cidgagana* closely resembles the *Trika* philosophy of Kashmir. Hence, it is a plausible suggestion that Mātṛgupta, regarded as Kālidāsa of Kashmir, probably wrote the *Cidgagana*. The halo of the name 'Kālidāsa' probably overshadowed the name of Mātṛgupta in course of time.

The *Vaidya-manorama*[1] is a small metrical work, in 20 chapters called *Paṭalas*, dealing with easy modes of treatment of diseases like fever. It is no doubt attributed, in the chapter-colophons, to Kālidāsa, but the qualifying epithet *Vaidya* (physician) serves to distinguish him from *Kavi* Kālidāsa. The author was presumably a native of Kerala, because, in the work, only such drugs are mentioned as are well-known in that region.

The two lexical works attributed to Kālidāsa are the *Nānārtha-śabdaratna* and the *Ratnakoṣa*. The former consists of three sections (*nibandhana*) containing respectively 254, 183 and 166 verses. It is a collection of words having various meanings. There are two sets of vocables, one beginning with the consonants from *KA* to *KṢA* while the other ends with these consonants. The section-colophons attribute it to Kālidāsa *Mahākavi*. While there is nothing Kālidāsa-like in the language and style of the work, there is nothing which can preclude his authorship.

The *Ratnakoṣa* appears to be a short dictionary of synonyms for the words meaning different parts of the body. As we could not procure any manuscript, it is not possible to examine the question of authorship which is attributed to Kālidāsa.

From the point of view of authorship, the works dealt with above can be divided into three categories. Some of them are clearly not the works of the master-poet Kālidāsa. A few of them appear to have been written by authors bearing the name of Kālidāsa, who were perhaps different from the cele-

1. Ed. N. Sharma and J. Acharya, Bombay, 1913.

brated Kālidāsa. There are some works Kālidāsa's authorship of which cannot be positively ruled out. The works of the last category do not, of course, possess the excellence of the undisputed works of the greatest poet of ancient India. But we must remember that even a great poet requires a period of preparation for his making so that these may belong to the juvenilia of Kālidāsa. In this connexion, it should be noted that the early existence of more eminent poets than one, bearing the name of Kālidāsa, is attested by authoritative sources. The following verse attributed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Sūkti-muktāvali* (IV.60) refers to three Kālidāsas :—

eko'pi jīyate hanta kālidāso na kenacit |
śṛṅgāre lalitodgāre kālidāsa-trayī kiṃu ||

Abhinanda, in his *Rāmacarita* (XXXIII-opening verse), says—

kālenottama-pūjayā kaviryaḥ śrīpālito lālitaḥ |
khyātiṃ kāmapi kālidāsa-kavayo nītāḥ śakārātinā ||

In the above verse, the plural number in *Kālidāsa-kavayaḥ* seems to be merely honorific. It does not appear to be probable that one and the same king, who is described as *śakārāti*, patronised more poets than one having the same name.

Kālidāsa appears to have been another name of Mātṛgupta, a court-poet of king Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, who lived in the sixth century B.C. Mātṛgupta, as pointed out under the *Setubandha*, is said to be responsible for that poem.

According to a tradition, current among some scholars, one Kālidāsa alias Koṭijit, a disciple of Mūka Śaṃkara of Kāmakoṭi peeṭham (1397-1430 A.D.), wrote the *Ṛtu-saṃhāra* and the *Śrutabodha* besides the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, *Śyāmalā-daṇḍaka*, *Navaratna-mālā* and many other minor poems.

According to another tradition, there were three Kālidāsas, the first having flourished under Vikramāditya, the second under Bhoja and the third during the reign of Emperor Akbar.[1]

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1. On Akabariya-Kālidāsa and his real name, see V. Raghvan, *IHQ*. XVII. pp. 257-8—Ed.

STRAY VERSES[1]

Pratikas of the first lines.

(In Devanāgarī alphabetical order)

akṛśaṃ nitamba — SP 3376; Z, p. 306

aghaṭitaghaṭitam — BP 28

adātṛmānasam — BP 24

adya dhārā — BP 79, 80

adharasya madhu — BP 17

apāṅgapātai — BP 62

abhūt prācī — BP 59

ambhojapatrā — BP 63

aruṇakiraṇa — BP 76

are rāmāhastā — KH, p. 122

avacanaṃ vacanaṃ — SRK 502; SM 88-18; SK 514; Z—p. 306

aviveka — BP. 26

aśītenāmbhasā — BP 78

aho me saubhāgyam — BP 56; Z, p. 311

aṃkaṃ ke'pi — BP 57

upacāraḥ kartavyo — BP 15

upārjitānāṃ vittānām — SV 3037; Z, p. 307

etasyāḥ stana — SRK-Pariśiṣṭa

etāni niḥsaha — SP 3410; Z, p. 307; *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa*, II. 28 (Kāvyamālā, 94)

eṣā dhārendra — BP 55

Kacabhārāt — BP 65

Kavimatiriva — BP 69

kavīnāṃ mānasam — BP 22

kaścid vācaṃ — SRK 1723; SK 1384; Z p. 307

Kiṃ pauruṣam — BP 31

kirtiste nṛpa — SRK—Pariśiṣṭa

kurvīthāḥ śvaśurasya — SK 526; Z p. 312

Kṛtopakāram — Z p. 307

Kramasaralita — SRK 523; SK 936

kvākṛtyaṃ śaśa — KH p. 223; Z p. 308; SK 999; SV 1343; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* under iii. 240. *Kāvya-prakāśa* IV. 53; *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa*, I. 177

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1. The following abbreviations have been used :—
BP—*Bhoja-prabandha*, NSP, Bombay, 1932 (10th. ed.).
KH—*Kālidāsa et l'Art Poétique de l' Inde*, H. Sastri.
SK—*Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, ed. S.C. Banerji, Calcutta.
SM—*Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jalhaṇa, GOS, 1938.
SP—*Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, ed. Peterson, Vol. I, Bombay.
SRK—*Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa* of Vidyākara, ed. Kosambi and Gokhale HOS. Vol. 42, 1957.
SV—*Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva, ed. Peterson, Bombay, 1886.
Z—*ZDMG*, Vol. xxxix.

kṣīrodārambhasi SK 390
cumbaneṣu parivartitā SK 1127
SP 3676
cetobhuvaḥ BP 16
jagati vidita BP 59
jambūphalāni BP 67
jāte jagati SM iv. 75
tathaiva saṃkalpa SRK—
Pariśiṣṭa
tāratārataratai SP 544
Z p. 308
te yānti BP 62
tyaja manasija SRK—
Pariśiṣṭa
dineṣu gacchatsu SV. 1543
divā Kāka BP 68
divāpi jalado SK. 788
Z p. 308
na vakti premārdraṃ SK 504
Z p. 308
payodharākāra BP 69
SM 66.5
Z p. 308
pādanyāsaṃ kṣiti SV 561
prāpya pramāṇa BP 25
priyāyāṃ svairāyām SK 1863
SR 1169
Z p. 308
bahūnāmalpa BP 28
bhojanaṃ
maṇḍalābhogina SRK—
Pariśiṣṭa
mattānāṃ kusuma Z p. 309
Dašarūpaka under
iii. 16
mahārāja śrīman BP 16
mudgadālī BP 27
muhuraṅguli SN. 1273
merau mandara BP 62
yaṃ yaṃ BP 26
yat trailokya SK 811
Z p. 309
yat tvannetra SK 976
yasyāsti sarvatra BP 25
raktastvaṃ nava KH, p. 223
SRK 770
raktāśoka kṛśodari KH, p. 224
rājābhiṣeke BP 75
lakṣmī-krīḍātaḍāgaḥ SP 3644
Z p. 309
BP 58
vanitākara Z p. 310
vavureva malaya SK 497
Z p. 310
vidagdhe sumukhe BP 70
veṇī viḍambayati SP 3378
Z p. 310
vyasanina iva BP 15
Śivaśirasi BP 71
sambhoga bhṛṣṭa SK 830
sarvasya dve BP 72
sukavi-dvitayam BP 41
sutaṃ patantam BP 66
snātā tiṣṭhati BP 70
svapna prasīda SK. 948
SRK. 806
Z p. 310
hā dhik sā KH, p. 224
hemāmbhoruhapattane Z, p.
311
haṃsaḥ kiṃsvid SRK—
Pariśiṣṭa.

Vohāra : Vyāhāra : Vyavahāra

by

Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona

(1) The Pali word *vohāra* stands for two different words in Sanskrit : *vyāhāra* empirical or popular speech, talk, name or a term of designation, and *vyavahāra* (from *vi-ava-hṛ*) business, transaction, worldly affairs (as opposed to spiritual matters). It is the context that gives the indication of the sense in which the word is used and the distinction seems to have been observed in early Buddhist Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts.

(2) We find the use of the word *vyāhāra* in the sense of empirical speech, talk, or a term of designation in the following passages from Buddhist Sanskrit :—

(i) *Vyāhāramātreṇa (hi) vyāharāmi*
parinirvṛto lokam idaṃ carāmi.[1]

"It is by way of empirical speech that (it may be said that) in this world I talk and move about, being all pacified."

(ii) *Nityo vyāhāraṇa*— (The Dhamma of the Buddha) is, to say in empirical (as against absolute) words, eternal. The Tibetan translation of this expression uses the word *tha-śñad*, speech, conversation, term of designation for *vyāhāra* and its Chinese translation also uses for the same *tan yen shuo*[3], which means 'just words'.

(iii) *Nirukti-pratisaṃvid* is explained in the commentary—not yet published—on *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* as *abhivyāhāre yad avaivartya-jñānam*, that is, correct (lit. un-perverted) knowledge of words or expressions.

(iv) *Tena teṣāṃ ṛṣīṇāṃ vāk-pravyāhāra-śabdaḥ śrutaḥ* (Gilgit Mss. vol. III. part i. p. 6, line 8)

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1. *Samādhirājasūtra* vi. 12 (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. ii, p. 71). Also quoted by Candrakīrti in his commentary on *Madhyamakakārikā*, XXIII. 23 (Poussin's edition p. 474).

2. Ibid, XXII.11 (Régamy's ed.); p. 185, l. 14 of P. L. Vaidya's edition. This interpretation as against 'common experience' given by Regamy is confirmed by Edgerton.

3. Regamy reproduces in his notes this Tibetan and Chinese rendering.

"He heard the sound of the words uttered by the tongue of those sages."

(3) An early Chinese version of *Madhyamāgama* (circa 4th century A.D.) corresponding to *Majjhima-nikāya* gives a correct interpretation of the word *vohāra* used in its two different senses mentioned above. The Chinese version (P'ing ed. vii. 39a. 14) of *Chabbisodhana-sutta*, No. 112 of the *Majjhima-nikāya* rightly translates the expression *cattāro vohārā* (M. iii. 30) 'four ways of speech', by *szu shuo*[4], four kinds of speech, while *vohāra-samucchedo* or *vohārā samucchinnā*, 'the cutting of worldly transactions,' are translated by *tuan hsū shih*[5] (No. 203 of the Chinese version of the *Madhyamāgama*), 'cutting off of worldly transactions.' So also the Chinese version of *Dīrghāgama* No. 9 (corresponding to the *Saṅgīti-sutta*, No. 33 of the *Dīghanikāya* gives the correct translation of *cattāro anariya-vohārā*, four (types) of ignoble speech as *pu-sheng-yu*[6], four types of speech which is not noble (*ariya*) (Fasc. 8.13a.3). *Voharati* or *voharanti* (M. iii. 235) 'speaks' or 'speak' is also rightly translated by *shuo*[7] in the Chinese version of the *Madhyamāgama* (43. 22b-23a).

(4) But it appears that, later on, or even in contemporary texts of some schools that adopted Sanskrit as the language of their books, confusion was made between these two equivalents of *vohāra*, and *vyavahāra* came to be used even when the sense of *vyāhāra* was implied. And this is confirmed by their Tibetan or Chinese translations, which continue to use the same words for *vyavahāra* as they used for *vyāhāra*. This means that the Buddhist authors did not notice the difference in the prefixes of these words. It must be remembered that different prefixes considerably change the interpretation of the original root. We know

Upasargeṇa dhātvartho balād anyatra nīyate
prahārāhāra-saṃhāra-vihāra-parihāravat.

The above stanza shows how the meanings of the root '*hṛ*' change with the different prefixes. Even Amarakośa, which is well-known as the work of a Buddhist writer, notes the difference when it says :

Vyāhāra uktir lapitaṃ bhāṣitaṃ vacanaṃ vacaḥ

4, 5, 6, 7 – See below in Chinese letters.

and

Vivādo vyavahāraḥ syāt.

This latter interpretation of *vyavahāra* is nearer to *Vyāhāra* than 'transaction or business'. Cases of such wrong interpretations due to forgetting real etymology are plenty in Buddhist Sanskrit texts and I have, elsewhere, drawn attention to a few of such cases.[8]

(5) (i) Here is a passage from an old canonical text : "*Pañc' imāni Bhikṣavaḥ saṃjñāmātraṃ pratijñāmātraṃ, saṃvṛtimātraṃ, vyavahāramātraṃ.*"[8a] Here the synonymous terms used make it absolutely clear that *vyavahāra* is used in the same sense as *vyāhāra*.

(ii) *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* seems to be using the word *vyavahāra* in the same sense as *nāma*, when it says : "*vyavahāramātram etad yad uta Bodhisattva iti*".

In the following sentences *nāmamātra* is actually used (Bib. Indica, p. 1334, 18-19).

(6) Nāgārjuna (2nd century A.D.) uses the term *vyavahāra* in the following :—

(a) *Vyavahārā viruddhyante sarva eva na saṃśayaḥ*

(*Madhyama-kārikā* xvii.24)

"There is no doubt that all kinds of speech go against." Candrakīrti (7th century A. D.) however, seems to be interpreting the word in the sense of 'worldly actions' such as 'preparing a pot or preparing a piece of cloth'. But the Tibetan translation uses *tha-sñad*, which we have already seen used for *vyāhāra*.

(b) *Vyavahāram*[9] *anāśritya paramārtho na deśyate*
paramārtham anāgamya nirvāṇaṃ nādhigamyate,

(M.K. xxiv. 10)

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8. I have already drawn attention to some of such cases. See my papers on
   (i) *Nekkhamma* in B. C. Law Commemoration Volume, part ii, (1946).
   (ii) *Tāyin, Tāyi, Tādi* in D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. (1940).
   (iii) *Samāpāda* in Poona Uni. Journal Vol. I, 1953.
   (iv) *Nirāṇiya* in *Vāk* No. 2 (Deccan College Bulletin, Poona, 1954).

8 a. This is quoted by Poussin in his French translation of Abhk. bhāṣya (iv. p. 51, note 2) from Saul's edition of *Saddarśana-samuccaya*, as a sūtra of the Sautrāntikas.

9. Compare *Jaha na vi sakkam aṇajjo aṇajjabhāsaṃ viṇā du gāhedum-*
taha vohāreṇa viṇā paramattho 'vadaraṇaṃ avakkam.

"Absolute truth cannot be preached without the use of words. And Nirvāṇa cannot be reached without absolute truth."

Here also the Tibetan translator uses the term *tha-sñad* for *vyavahāra*. The Commentator Candrakīrti makes it clear that *vyavahāra* here implies *saṃvṛti-satya*,[9a] empirical truth, which is the same as mere words, *vyāhāra*, that have no absolute truth behind them. But absolute truth cannot be clear without the use of words.

In both these places, substitute the word *vyāhāra* for *vyavahāra* and you will get the same meaning, thus clearly showing that *vyavahāra* is used for *vyāhāra*.

(7) In Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* (Jap. ed. by Wogihara), we have a commentary on Vasubandhu's own Bhāṣya on *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā*. He comments on the following expressions from Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* on IV-75 :—

Line 2 *Gandhādiṣu vyavahāro na syāt* ;

„ 5 *Caturṣu dṛṣṭādi-vyavahāreṣu* ;

Lines 22-23 *Ato nāsti gandhādiṣu vyavahārābhāva-prasaṅgaḥ.* The Chinese translation of Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* (Block print ed. Bk. iv, Fasc. 16, 16a. 6ff) uses for the word *vyavahāra* in

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quoted from Kundakundācārya's *Samaya-pāhuḍa* (*Samaya-prābhṛta*) I.8, produced by Vidhuśekhar Sastri in his edition of *Catuḥ-śataka*, p. 24.

9 a. This appears to be a new word coined by the Buddhist Sanskrit scholars, corresponding to Pali *sammuti* to which this word closely resembles in sound. The etymology of this word, *saṃ* -*vṛ*, as suggested in its explanation : *saṃvṛtāḥ saṃvaraṇaṃ saṃvṛtiḥ; ajñānaṃ hi saṃvṛtāḥ sarva-padārthatattvacchādanāt saṃvṛtir ity ucyate* (Cm. on M. K. XXIV.8; p. 492) is certainly mis-leading. The alternative interpretation given towards the end of the same passage : *Atha vā saṃvṛtiḥ saṅketa lokavyavahāra ity arthaḥ* is, however, acceptable, as it is supported by the etymology of the Pali word *sammuti*, which is derived from *sam-man*, to give consent. The word means 'recognition' or 'acceptance' by people. It is the same as 'usage' or 'convention' which is recognised by the public and so it is really *loka-vyāhāra*, which means an expression accepted by all people. I believe that the word *saṃvṛti* is nothing more than a dialectical variation of the Pali word *sammuti*. Such use of 'va' for 'ma' is noted in Buddhist Sanskrit works of the Lokottaravādi branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. For instance, *bravaṇa* is often used for *śramaṇa*. Also note the use of *Draviḍa* for *Damila*.

these pages, *yen shuo*, *yen* and *yen shuo*[10], respectively, making it clear that *vyavahāra* is used for *vyāhāra*, for which, we have seen above, the first of these Chinese expressions is used.

(8) In *Laṅkāvatāra*-sūtra, a text of the Yogācāra school we read the following :—

Na cotpādyam na cotpannaḥ pratyayo' pi na kiñca na
saṃvidyate kvacit kaścid vyavahāras tu kathyate (II .144)

"(From the absolute point of view) there is nothing that is to be born, nothing that is born, no originating cause that exists anywhere; but (there exist mere) words that are spoken."

There are three existing Chinese translations of this *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and Dr. D.T. Suzuki gives in his glossary appended to his *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra*, three Chinese translations of the word *vyavahāra*. The Chinese translation towards the end of the 5th century A.D. uses *yen shuo*, 'whatever is spoken'; that in the 6th century A.D. uses *shih wen shuo*[11], 'what is heard and spoken in this world'; and the last in the 8th century A.D. gives *shih hsü*,[12] 'secular things of this world.' Here we note the gradual shift in these translations from 'speech' towards 'secular things of this world', that is, towards *saṃvṛti*, empirical things, which came to be used as an equivalent for *vyavahāra*. The Chinese translation for *saṃvṛti* as given in the same glossary of Dr. Suzuki is *shih hsü*[13], secular things of the world, or *shih ti*[14], worldly truth, or *hsü ti*[15], secular truth. So it will be seen that the Chinese translation of the 8th century A.D. makes no distinction between *vyavahāra* and *saṃvṛti-satya*, whereas the latter includes more than *vyavahāra* when interpreted as *vyāhāra*, speech.

In another passage from *Laṅkāvatāra* : *Catuṣ-koṭikaṃ ca Mahāmate Loka-vyavahāraḥ*, the last word is translated into Chinese by *shih yen shuo*,[16] worldly speech.

(9) Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi* (edited by Pandit Vidhushekhar Shastri, Chap. II, p. 50) makes the meaning of the word *vyavahāra* absolutely clear in the following passage :—

Catvāro vyavahārāḥ katame ? Dṛṣṭo vyavahāraḥ, śruto..mato..

10, 11, 12. See below in Chinese letters.

13. Also accepted by the Chinese translator of Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*. See Index Chinois-Sanskrit given by Levi in his edition and French translation of the text.

14, 15, 16. See below in Chinese letters.

vijñāto vyavahāraḥ. Dṛṣṭo vyavahāraḥ katamaḥ ? Yad anena bahirdhā pratyakṣīkṛtaṃ bhavati cakṣuṣā, tad upādāya yat pareṣāṃ vyavaharaty ayamuccyate dṛṣṭo vyavahāraḥ. . . . Vijñāto vyavahāraḥ katamaḥ ? Yad anenādhyātmaṃ prativeditaṃ bhavaty adhigataṃ, sparśitaṃ, sākṣātkṛtaṃ ca bhavati tad upādāya yat pareṣāṃ vyavaharaty ayam uccyate vijñāto vyavahāraḥ. Sambahaulāni vyavahārapadāni. Katamāni ? Tāny eva niruktipadāny ucyante, Prapañcapadāny arthasaṅgraha-padāni ceti paryāyāḥ.

"There are four kinds of talk. Which four ? The talk about what is seen externally..heard (externally)..thought over by oneself..or known within oneself. What is the talk about what is seen ? Whatever one has actually seen with one's own eyes—with respect to that when one speaks to (*vyavaharati*) others, then it is the talk about what one has seen. . . . What is the talk about what one has known ? Whatever one has understood, attained, experienced, or realised within oneself..with respect to that, when one speaks to others, then it is talk with regard to what one has known. There are multifarious ways of expression. Which are they ? They are also called *nirukti-padāni* (ways of explication), *prapañca-padāni* (ways of expatiating) or *arthasaṅgraha-padāni* (words of significant comprehension)." This passage clearly indicates the sense in which the Buddhists used the word *vyavahāra*,—the same as *vyāhāra*. The Chinese translator renders the word *vyavaharati* by *Hsüan Shuo*,[16] which means 'proclaims, or declares'. The Tibetan translator of Dharmakirti's *Nyāyabindu* uses throughout *tha-sñad* for *vyavahāra*.[17]

3.但言說. 4 四說 5 斷俗事
6 不聖語 7 言 10 言說, 言 言說
11 世間說 12. 世俗 13 世詳 14 俗詳
15 世言說 16. 宣言說

17. See Sanskrit-Tibetan Index (Bib. Buddhica vol. XXIV) prepared by Obermiller.

(10) *Mahāvyutpatti* is a late Buddhist Glossary of Buddhist Sanskrit words of about 9th century A.D. Its Tibetan translation gives *tha-śñad* as the Tibetan equivalent of *vyavahāra* (2775, 6546) ; but the Chinese rendering of the same clearly indicates that worldly things, or worldly commonalties had come to be well recognised as the sense of *vyavahāra*. This sense seems to have become stabilised.

(11) Edgerton in his Dictionary of *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* also indicates in his entry on *vyavahāra* that the word was used in the sense of 'manner of speech'. He refers to passages from *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (220.7, 11; 389.13.11), where the sense of 'manner of speech' or 'ways of expression' is implied.

(12) Thus it will be seen that the use of *vyavahāra* by the Buddhists for *vyāhāra* has led to the confusion of mis-interpreting these equivalent words as worldly or secular things. The same mistake persisted in the use of the same word by later classical writers with the result that the sense of worldly things, or secular transactions became the most common interpretation. The word *vyāhāra* really suggests mere words, which imply that they are empty words not backed by substantial things, as against things which have a real existence. 'Mere words' suggest a nominal existence, an existence which is not effective. There is existence only of words which are purely empirical, as from the absolute point of view there is no reality behind them. There is mere display of words—*vācārambhaṇaṃ, vikāro, nāmadheyam*[18]. (*Chānd. Upa.* VI. i-4)

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18. We still have a similar expression in Marathi *Bolāchā kaḍhī bolāchī bhāta* (बोलाचीच कढी बोलाचाचि भात). When one makes an offering of a butter-milk preparation or of rice only *in words*, without actually substantiating the offer by concrete things, then we say that the offer was only *vyāhāramātreṇa*.

III

SPIRIT OF RESEARCH IN THE 20th CENTURY helps unfolding the mysteries of the cultural history of Mediaeval India in their true perspective

Bhabatosh *Bhattacharya*

Eminent Indian scholars such as the late Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, Drs. S. K. De, R. C. Majumdar and D. C. Sircar, writing on such diverse and important topics as History of Sanskrit Literature (Classical Period), Early History of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal, History of Ancient India and Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature but failing to recognise by means of critical study the importance of the Mediaeval Smṛti-nibandha Literature, produced in the various parts of India, have not only overstepped the proper limits of their enquiry but have also made wrong and ludicrous remarks about that literature in their otherwise scholarly works. The late Dr. Dasgupta, a part author of '*A History of Sanskrit Literature, Classical Period, Vol. I*'[1], makes the following two remarks on pp. XXIV and CXVIII respectively :—

(a) It is difficult to understand how the injunctions of the *smṛti* writers derived any authoritative value. Probably in some cases many older instances had gone out of practice or became repugnant to the people, or that the codification of some *smṛti* writers might have had the backing of a ruling prince and was for the matter of that held sacred to his kingdom. But it may also have been that some *smṛti* writers had risen to great eminence and authority and by virtue of the people's confidence in him, his decisions became authoritative. In the case of Raghunandana who lived in Navadvīpa about 500 years (sic.) ago, we find that *either by personal influence or by*

1. By Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De, Calcutta University, 1947.

propaganda he succeeded in making his views and interpretation stand supreme in Bengal in preference to the views of older *smṛti* authorities like Yājñavalkya or Vijñāneśvara.

(b) Philosophy in the North dwindled into formalism of the new school of Nyāya, the rise of emotionalism in Caitanya and his followers, and *the stringency of the Smṛti* in the *nivandhas* (*nibandha-s?*) of Raghunandana.

(The italics in the above two extracts other than those in the words 'smṛti' and 'nibandhas' are ours.)

Dr. De, in his over-zealousness in emphasizing the role of Caitanya as a social reformer in counteracting the evils, perpetrated on the Hindu society by his contemporary, the lawgiver Raghunandana, has ascribed a narrowly conservative character to the latter by calling him *great and narrowly conservative* in the same breath and charged his *prescriptions as amounting to social tyranny* on p. 22 of his '*Early History of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal from Sanskrit and Bengali sources.*'[2]

(The italics are ours.)

Dr. Majumdar likewise writes on p. 504 of his *Ancient India*[3], which is a History of Ancient India :—

Anyone who, not unnaturally, wonders how a gifted people like the Hindus could readily submit to the yoke of these superstitions, need only look round him to-day...He will see how, inspite of the knowledge of the Ancient Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras and Smṛtis, millions of men in Bengal unwittingly submit to the dictates of a Brāhmaṇa writer of the 15th (sic.) century—*dictates which are in flagrant contrast with the injunctions of the ancient sacred literature.*

(The italics are ours.)

Dr. Sircar, who is the present Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta has written to the present writer in his letter of the 26th December, 1966, when the latter after having eulogised his above work, drew his attention to the two instalments of his (the present writer's) forthcoming work, *Studies in Nibandhas*,

2. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta, 1942.

3. Chap. XXI. Degradation of Hindu Society (pp. 499-508). The work has been published by Motilal Banarsidas, Banaras, 1952.

published in the very same volume in which Dr. Sircar's above work had been published :—

I have read some sections of your *Studies in Nibandhas* (*I do not attach any importance* to *Nibandha-s*) and am glad to have this proof of your research activities.

(The italics in the sentence within brackets are ours.)

Before attempting to refute the above-quoted highly erroneous remarks of the four great Indian scholars, who are also Bengalis and as such could have acquainted themselves with the main principles of Raghunandana's contributions to the social and religious history of mediaeval Bengal before making those unwarranted assumptions, we put down below a very terse and prudent remark of Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN in his Foreword to the late Sir Ganganatha JHA's posthumous work, '*Pūrvamīmāṁsā in its sources*.'[4] :—

"Progress of knowledge is nothing but the correction of previous errors and though we may not avoid making errors, *we can at least avoid their repetition.*" (The italics are ours.)

Dr. De's above-mentioned work was published in 1942, long after the appearance of the late Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti's epoch-making paper viz. *Contributions to the history of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā*[5] and after the publication of Vols. I and II of MM. Dr. P. V. KANE's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra*.[6] Drs. DASGUPTA and MAJUMDAR's works, mentioned above, were published in 1947 and 1952 respectively, i.e. long after the publication of CHAKRAVARTI's paper and after the appearance of Dr. KANE's three volumes of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*. Dr. SIRCAR's work is a very recent one, having been published in 1966, i.e. four years after the completion in 1962 of Dr. KANE's encyclopaedic History in 5 Vols.

So the above four scholars were in a position to avoid the repetition of the previous errors about Raghunandana and similar other nibandha-writers of mediaeval India, had they

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4. Published by the Banaras Hindu University, 1943.
5. *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal, Vol. XI, 1915, pp. 311-406.
6. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The five vols. have been published in 1930, 1941, 1946, 1953, 1958 and 1962 respectively, the two parts of the 5th Vol. having been published separately.

cared to go through the paper of Chakravarti and the volumes of Dr. Kane, even if they had neither time nor patience to go through the Sanskrit original works of Raghunandana and similar others. The first two of the above-mentioned scholars being world-famous Sanskrit scholars and the last two being workers in the field of Ancient Indian History and thereby possessing sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit, all of them were, however, competent enough to consult the Sanskrit originals also.

The late Dr. Dasgupta, who was a Sanskritist and philosopher but neither a Smṛti specialist nor a lawyer, has, however, intuitively hinted in his first extract at custom, legislation and scientific discussion as possible causes of the derivation of authoritative value by the injunctions of the *smṛti*-writers. The above possible causes, hinted at by him, are three of the six recognised sources of law in modern times, the other three being religion, equity and adjudication. As a matter of fact, the primary causes of the changes of social and religious law, effected in the works of Raghunandana and similar other mediaeval *smṛti* writers, are custom and scientific discussion only, there being no Hindu King in most cases to enact legislation in those times to usher in the changes. After having suggested some useful facts, Dr. Dasgupta has unfortunately ascribed the prevalence of Raghunandana's views in contemporary Bengali Hindu society to his personal influence or propaganda, which are nowhere recognised as causes of the change of law, civil or religious. Moreover, the mention by the learned author of Yājñavalkya and Vijñāneśvara as the only two outstanding predecessors of Raghunandana who is said by him to have superseded their prescriptions, is simply ludicrous, inasmuch as every mediaeval *smṛti* nibandha work must needs quote texts from Manu and Yājñavalkya and various other ancient authorities along with their traditional interpretations, as propounded by the specific commentators and earlier nibandha writers. Vijñāneśvara is the most famous of the commentators of Yājñavalkya-smṛti. He flourished in Western India in the 12th century, i.e, four hundred years earlier than Raghunandana, who flourished in 16th century. Raghunandana's encyclopaedic Smṛtitattva, divided into 28 parts, copiously quotes from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti

and the Mitākṣarā, Vijñāneśvara's commentary on the same, the quotations from the latter, which are on all topics except on inheritance, being with the highest approval. The reason of the omission of quotations on inheritance from the Mitākṣarā is that Raghunandana, who wrote a work on inheritance entitled *Dāyatattva* and also commented on the *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana, belonged to the Bengal or *Dāyabhāga* school of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, which has distinctive differences with the Mitākṣarā school, as expounded in a portion of the second chapter of the Mitākṣarā under the caption *dāyavibhāga* (i.e. partition and heritage) and erstwhile followed in inheritance matters in the rest of India. So no question of superseding the views of either Yājñavalkya or Vijñāneśvara arises, the more so as the texts of Manu, Yājñavalkya and many other ancient sages are the sheet-anchor of the works of Raghunandana and similar other nibandha writers. Moreover, Dr. Dasgupta has wrongly included in his second extract the nibandhas of Raghunandana, which are treatises on social and religious *law*, within philosophy and has erroneously stamped them with the charge of stringency.

Dr. De, who has called Raghunandana as narrowly conservative and characterised his prescriptions as amounting to social tyranny, has, however, in the extracts referred to above, called him 'great', the very part of the sentence being as follows :—

"...the great but narrowly conservative Raghunandana, whose prescriptions amounted to social tyranny....."

How can a person be great and narrowly conservative at the same time and how can a great lawgiver's prescriptions amount to social tyranny ? Dr. Dasgupta's ascription of stringency to Raghunandana's nibandhas and Dr. De's labelling his prescriptions as amounting to social tyranny really mean the same thing. Our reply to the above two charges against Raghunandana is that the great Bengal lawgiver was no innovator but was bound, like all other mediaeval digest-writers, by the authority of the ancient texts and interpretations and had to invoke the aid of scientific discussion in the form of the pūrvamīmāṁsā method of reasoning for the reconciliation of the prevailing customs with the ancient texts and their mediaeval interpretations. This they did with the help

of a judicious selection of the relevant texts and their long-accepted interpretations.

Dr. Majumdar has described the dictates of a Brāhmaṇa writer (of Bengal) of the 15th (sic.) century, meaning thereby 'Raghunandana', as being in flagrant contrast with the injunctions of the ancient sacred literature. But the fact is just the opposite, as Raghunandana's works are overloaded with thousands of texts of the ancient sacred literature along with their traditional interpretations, as recorded in the relevant authoritative commentaries and earlier acknowledged digests. The 200 —page-long Appendices of Ancient and Mediaeval works, annexed to the present writer's monograph on Raghunandana[7], completely disprove Dr. Majumdar's absolutely wrong statement.

As regards Dr. Sircar's outright rejection of the authority of the vast and valuable nibandha literature, the present writer wishes simply to reproduce the statement, he sent to him in reply to his above-mentioned letter :—

"You may consider the vast nibandha literature useless for your Ancient Indian History purposes, but they have not been so done by Dr. Kane, who has immensely utilized it for the production of the mediaeval portion of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Ancient and Mediaeval Civil and Religious Law of India) in 5 volumes. The nibandha literature is the veritable store-house of the materials for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of Mediaeval India."

Let us now state in brief the history of the progress of *dharmaśāstra* research in the first two-thirds of the 20th century to establish our main thesis, viz. *spirit of research in the 20th century helping the unfolding of the mysteries of the cultural history of mediaeval India in their true perspective* and thereby more fully refute the erroneous utterances of the above scholars.

The present century began in 1900 A.D. with the preparation and subsequent publication between 1902 and 1912 of critical editions of the works of Jīmūtavāhana, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa and Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya of Bengal, of Vācaspati Miśra of Mithilā and of Vidyākara Vājapeyin of

7. Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors, Asiatic Society Calcutta, 1953.

Orissa in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (B.I.) of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. The late Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti took advantage of these critical editions and published two papers in the J.A.S.B. of 1912 and 1915 on '*Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa*' and '*Contributions to the History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā*' respectively, the latter paper being bigger, extending over 96 pages and also containing an index of smṛtis and astrological works, quoted in the various works of Raghunandana, with their page-references only in the Serampore edition (1834-35) in the Bengali script of the same with neither catch-words nor identifications in the original sources. The following fifteen years saw the publication in the above series of the critical editions of the works of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā only. The above B. I. editions, brought out mainly by the late M.M. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitirtha, and the J.A.S.B. papers from the pen of Chakravarti stimulated the Bombay scholar Mr. (now Bhārataratna M.M. Dr.) P. V. Kane to produce in 1930 the 1st volume of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, covering the whole of India and dealing with the authorship and chronology, with a short description of the contents of the works of more than one hundred ancient and mediaeval smṛti writers, with two big Appendices of works and authors of smṛti, extending over 300 pages. Dr. Kane's four other subsequent volumes, published between 1941 and 1962, deal with the following topics among themselves :—

varṇa, āśrama, saṁskāra, āhnika, ācāra, dāna, pratiṣṭhā, utsarga, Vedic sacrifices, rājadharma, vyavahāra, sadācāra, prāyaścitta, śrāddha, āśauca, tirtha, vrata, Kāla, muhūrta, Buddhism, the Purāṇas, the influence of other śāstras such as Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa on Dharmaśāstra, the present position of Dharmaśāstra and its future trends. The Sadācāra portion of the third volume contains a detailed treatment of Kalivarjyas, i.e. actions forbidden in the Kali age. The fourth volume, dealing with tīrtha and other topics, also contains an exhaustive list of more than one thousand tīrthas, i.e. places of pilgrimage in India.

An edition in the Bengali script with a Bengali translation of the Agastyasaṁhitā, an original and ancient Smṛti work,

composed not later than the 12th century, was edited by the late MM. Śrīśīrtha and published in 1910 from the Hitavādī Office of Calcutta. Śrīśīrtha is also responsible for the critical editions in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (G.O.S.) of the Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna of Mithilā in 1931 and the Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva of Mahārāṣṭra, the former with an English Introduction by the editor himself and the latter with one such by the editor's eldest son, the present writer, appended to the work in 1935 after the editor's death in 1934. The English Introduction of the Daṇḍaviveka a nibandha in the nature of a comprehensive Penal Code, composed in Mithilā (modern North Bihar) in the 15th century, encouraged Mr. (now Dr.) Ludo Rocher a Belgian scholar, to undertake its Dutch translation for submitting it as a Doctorate thesis to the Ghent University. So Mr. Rocher contacted the present writer between 1950 and 1952 for the solution of his difficulties in certain portions of the text of the Daṇḍaviveka and finally won the Doctorate degree and is now working as Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, U.S.A. Just after the death of Śrīśīrtha in 1934 the Oriental Institute of Baroda entrusted the editing of the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmidhara Bhaṭṭa of Kānyakubja to Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar for publication in G.O.S. After having completed the edition of eleven volumes, out of fourteen, of this big 12th century nibandha between 1941 and 1960, Rangaswami died in the latter year.

The present writer's monograph on Raghunandana, referred to above and critical edition of the Dānasāgara of Ballāla Sena, an encyclopaedic work on gifts, produced by that Bengal King in the second half of the 12th century, just after the production of the voluminous Kānyakubja digest, the Kṛtyakalpataru, have been published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in 1955 and 1956 respectively, the former as a monograph and the latter in the B.I. of that Society. The former work contains two exhaustive Appendices of the Smṛtis and Purāṇas of the ancient period and the commentaries and digests of the mediaeval period with listing of innumerable quotations from them in Raghunandana's encyclopaedia and their identifications in the original sources. Chakravarti's

index of quotations from Raghunandana's works was confined to those, relating to the works of the mediaeval period only and contained the deficiencies, described above, which prevented their serving any useful purpose. The present writer's couple of Appendices has not only made up those deficiencies but has also covered both the Ancient and Mediaeval periods. Moreover, the present writer's utilization of Raghunandana's Smṛtitattva in 2 vols., published from Calcutta in the Devanāgarī script by the late Pandit Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, is a distinct help to future workers to verify the original quotations. The latest works of the present writer are *Studies in Dharmaśāstra*, which has been published by the *Indian Studies : Past and Present*, Calcutta in 1964 and *Studies in Nibandha-s*, which is now passing through the press, to be shortly published by the above concern.

The analytical treatment of Raghunandana by the present writer by the process of identification of quotations has been followed almost a decade later by a synthetic treatment of the same author, accomplished in 1964 by Dr. Miss Vani CHAKRAVARTI, whose Bengali monograph, entitled *Samāja-saṁskāraka Raghunandana* (or Raghunandana—the social reformer), has satisfactorily proved Raghunandana's greatness as a social and religious law-giver in the 16th century Bengal. The work is highly learned because of the authoress' penetrating insight and profuse documentation. The resuscitator of Govindānanda's four nibandhas, viz. the Varṣakriyākaumudī, Dāna°, Śrāddha° and Śūddhi°, the late MM. SMṚTITĪRTHA, committed some errors of omission and commission in finding out the relative chronology of Govindānanda and Raghunandana, though he utilized two pieces of internal and external evidence for that purpose, in his otherwise illuminating prefaces to the above four works. After having mentioned the facts of the occurrence in Raghunandana's Āhnikatattva of some quotations from the Kriyākaumudī, a fifth and un-published nibandha of Govindānanda and of the existence of an incomplete MS. of the latter in the collections of the Asiatic Society (A.S.) of Calcutta, SMṚTITĪRTHA did not hunt up those Āhnikatattva quotations and identify them in the above-mentioned A. S. ms. Moreover, finding some quotations of a Varṣakṛtya in several works of Raghunandana, he

wrongly equated the former work with the Varṣakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda. The Kriyākaumudī facts were completely ignored by later scholars and the Varṣakṛtya equation was simply resented by them without finding out its proper solution. Dr. Vasu has hunted up three quotations from the Kriyākaumudī in the Āhnikatattva and identified them in the Society MS. of the former (No. 1357; folios 7, 8 and 34). She has also corrected the wrong Varṣakṛtya equation of Smṛtitīrtha by unearthing the existence of a MS. (No. G 8682) of the same name by the Maithila digest-writer, Vācaspati Miśra and identifying almost all the quotations from this work in several works of Raghunandana in folios 12, 38, 46 and 53 of this MS. She has thus conclusively established the priority of Govindānanda over Raghunandana and that by one or two decades only, in view of her further identification of the refutations of the views of one *ādhunika* (i.e. a modern writer) by Govindānanda in several published and unpublished works of Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, the little-known teacher of Raghunandana. She has thus shown that though living in Bagri in the district of Midnapore, one hundred miles away from Navadvīpa, where Śrīnātha and Raghunandana, teacher and pupil and thus separated by a generation only, flourished, Govindānanda was in cultural touch with that more famous centre of learning and Raghunandana also did not fail to avail himself of at least two works of his immediate predecessor, Govindānanda, as is evident from Dr. Vasu's further finding of the solitary refutation of the *Śuddhikaumudi*, in Raghunandana's *Śuddhitattva*.

It may be incidentally stated here that the present writer has stated on p. 303 of his paper "*A few remarks on S. C.* Banerji's, "*Smṛtinibandha literature and Bengal's contribution*" (ABORI, Poona, Vol. XXXI, 1951, pp. 298-303) that at least one quotation from the Varṣakṛtya in the Malamāsatattva of Raghunandana (p. 823, Smṛtitattva, Vol. I., edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1895) is unmistakably from the Varṣakṛtya of Vidyāpati, the famous Maithila poet and digest-writer, as Raghunandana expressly says '*Vidyāpati-kṛta-varṣakṛtye*' in introducing that quotation. But the non-existence of any MS. of the same prevented the present writer's identification of that quotation. The present

writer has also recently identified in the above-mentioned A.S. MS. of the *Kriyākaumudī* (folio 36) the procedure, referred to by Govindānanda himself in his *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī* (p. 559) in the sentence '*prayogastu Kriyākaumudyāṁ draṣṭavyaḥ*' (i.e. the procedure in question is to be looked for in the author's *Kriyākaumudī*).

Dr. KANE has just completed the revision of the 1st volume of his History and 440 pages of the revised edition have already been printed off. He has informed the present writer the above facts by a letter, in which he has added that his chapters on Govindānanda and Raghunandana in this new edition will be more comprehensive and up-to-date than similar ones in his older edition and will include the above-mentioned interesting finding of both Dr. VAṆI and the present writer.

IV

INDO-ARYAN LOANWORDS IN CENTRAL DRAVIDIAN

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Social contact among the different ethnic groups being easy and frequent in India from ancient times it is found that every branch of Indian culture is now made of several mixed forms which have graded similarities and differences. This aspect of Indian culture is nowhere so much pronounced as in the languages spoken in this subcontinent. More than one hundred years ago Robert Caldwell proved conclusively that there exists in India a distinct group of speeches called 'Dravidian'. But he also did not fail to notice the impact of the Dravidian languages on Indo-Aryan and *vice-versa*. Many scholars have extended this line of research in Comparative Dravidian initiated by Caldwell, in both its aspects. The latest remarkable work on this subject has been done by Burrow and Emeneau who followed up their highly interesting and useful book, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, by the publication of a small volume entitled *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan* (*DBIA*). The latter book contains more than 337 entries showing the Indo-Aryan elements in the vocabularies of the different Dravidian languages. The authors, understandably, do not claim the book to be exhaustive. But we are grateful to them for focussing our attention to a hitherto neglected branch of Comparative Dravidian studies.

Our object in this article is to lay down some directions in which further studies on this problem are to be made now. Firstly, it will be found that the authors of *DBIA* have quoted forms mostly from the Dravidian languages of South India, literary languages in particular. This might leave an impression in the mind of the readers that the cognates of these forms, quoted mostly from the literary sources, are lacking in the non-literary languages which are spoken in the north of the river Bhagirathi. There is therefore a need for stressing the situation in Central Dravidian (CD) in this matter. In our

studies of the Central Dravidian group of speeches we were so long concentrating on the Dravidian elements in them. The Indo-Aryan elements in CD have not yet been systematically arranged, and in most cases careful investigations in this matter are yet to be made. Even then it is possible to supplement *DBIA* from the existing material on CD. We are giving below a list of some missing cognates from CD. We have quoted them mostly from the published sources, and only in a few cases from my unpublished notes.

Another interesting line of research, it may be suggested, will be to determine with some precision the phonetic correspondences that regulate these loans. Let us, as an example, try to trace here the development of initial *v-* of the *IA* loanwords in Dravidian. We find that in the Dravidian languages of South India IA *v-* is either retained (cf. Ta. Ma. vaṇṇam, Te. vanne, etc. : Skt. varṇa 'colour'; *DBIA* 320), or it is changed to *b-* (cf. Ka. Tu. baṇṇa 'id'.). The retention of IA *v-* appears to be the normal process in Ta. Ma. To. Te. etc., and its change to *b* more usual in Ka. Kod. Tu., etc. The occasional occurrence of *p-* for IA *v-*, due to the inadmissibility of initial *b-* in some of the SD languages, (cf. Ta. paṭai (-pp-, -tt-) 'to serve food', Ka. baḍisu 'id.' : Skt. vṛdh, Pkt. vaḍḍheti 'serves food'; *DBIA* 319), and the retention of IA *v-* in Ka. etc. (cf. Ka. vāra, Ta. vāram, days of the week' : Skt. vāra- 'id.' ; *DBIA* 329) may be a very early or a very late feature in these languages, or they might also be due to intra-dialectal influence. In a few cases IA *v-* is also found to be changed to *o-* (cf. Ka. okkaṇe, Ta. vakkaṇam 'honorific superscription of a letter' : Skt. vyākhyāna 'explaining, etc.' ; DBIA 312). But in the matter of treatment of IA *v-* the two major processes are those mentioned above, viz. the retention of IA *v-*, and changing it to *b-* or *p-*. It is possible to draw regular isoglosses based on them.

We wish to point out here that a similar situation prevails also in CD in respect of IA *v-* which is either retained or changed to *b-*. But it will be found from the material supplied below that the isoglosses are not so regular here as in South Dravidian. More investigations are needed here to determine the principle involved in these two processes.

We should also try to determine the layers of these loans,

i.e. how early or how late these loanwords have been accepted in the Dravidian languages. As a general rule regarding the stratification of these loans, it may be stated that the *tadbhavas* are to be considered as early loans, the *tatsamas* as the late ones, while the semi-*tatsamas* are to be placed in an intermediary position in this chronology. In other words loanwords that show fully the normal processes of phonetic growth are to be treated as *tadbhavas*, those that have escaped the normal process of decay are recent loans and are to be treated as *tatsamas* while those that show an *unusual* phonetic process are generally speaking the semi-*tatsamas*. For example, words like kodli, 'banana', (Skt. kadala, kadalī 'id.') which are occasionally heard from more progressive people among the tribes of South Bastar who speak Dravidian tongues, are very late loans, and should be called *tatsama*. But Pe. gadaṛ 'id.' is a semi-*tatsama*. Here Skt. -l- has been changed to -ṛ- through intermediate forms with *-l- and -d- . But forms like Ko. keṛa, A. Y. kére, Ma. Mu. kéṛi (cf. *CVGD* 859) and Kol (388) kele, Kol. keṛe, Nk. keli 'id.', which have been more frequently found in the central and western regions of CD, are *tadbhavas*. It should be mentioned here that the change of an IA intervocal single -l- to -ḷ- is also the normal process of development in many Dravidian languages of South India; cf. Ta. tāḷam 'cymbal', Ka. tāḷa, tāla, tāṇa 'id.', Te. tāḷamu 'id.' : Skt. tāla 'id.', Pkt. tāla. BHS tāḍa 'id.' ; *DBIA* 208. But can Ta. kālam, Ka. kāla, To. kolm, Te. kālamu 'time' (Skt. kāla 'id.') be treated as late loans, or recent cases of decerebralisation ?

These are some interesting lines of research in Comparative Dravidian which we may pursue profitably. But in this matter if we are to stand on a sure footing, we should have at our disposal copious illustrations gathered from all the regions where the Dravidian languages are spoken. And if we have a fuller picture of the IA loanwords in Dravidian before us, that will also help us more in studying the semantic variations in these loans.

We will now give below a list of IA loanwords in CD. They have been quoted against item nos. given in *DBIA*. We have also quoted a few SD and IA forms from *DBIA* for the facility of comparison by the readers :

7. Naik, Mu. Y. askuṛ 'axle' (Ta. accu 'id.) / Skt. akṣa-, Mar. ās 'id.'

22. Pa. āda 'ginger' (Ta. allam, nallam 'id.') / Skt. ārdra (ka) 'green ginger', Pali adda- 'id.', Pkt. alla.

30. Kol (3) accari 'cook' (Ka. ācāri 'title assumed by brahmin cooks') / Skt. ācārya 'a spiritual guide or teacher', Mar. ācāri (cook, esp. a brahmin who cooks in another's house to earn his living').

31. Kuv. asāṛ leska 'rainy season'. Mu. āsar 'the month of āṣāḍha' (Ta. āṭi 'the fourth Tamil month, etc.') / Skt. āṣāḍha 'name of a month (corresponding to part of June and July) in which the full moon is near the constellation Āṣāḍhā'.

36. Pe. ārom ki 'to begin a work' (Ko. ārabm, work of cultivation') / Prob. Skt. ārambha 'undertaking'.

42. Kon. iṭa, Pa. Ko. iṭ ,brick Ph. iṭa (Ta. iṭṭikai 'id.') / Skt. iṣṭakā . iṣṭikā 'id.'

49. Kuv. usom leska, Kol. unaṛa 'summer' (Ka. ubbe 'heat') / Skt. ūṣman , Pkt. usha , Mar. ūb, ub 'heat'.

52. Gad. lok, lokku, Kon. lok 'person' ph. lōk, log (Ta. ulakam, ulaku ,world') / Skt. loka 'world' people, subjects', Pali 'world, people' (cf. laṅkā loka 'people of Ceylon); the prothetic u- in the Dravidian forms quoted in *DBIA* may also be due to an uncertainty of initial r- and initial l- in Ta. and some other SD languages.

59. Pa. ōḍi 'basket maker', Tr. wōḍi 'basket', Ph. oṛi, vaṛia 'id.' (Ta. oṭṭan 'member of a caste of diggers', Te. oḍḍe 'man of the tribe of tank diggers, native of Orissa' / Skt. oḍra 'Orissa, a tribe of Śūdras, etc.'

62. Pa. cāvan 'the month of śrāvaṇa', Ph. sāvan 'id.' (Ta. ōṇam 'a Tamil month (Aug. Sept.)' / Skt. śrāvaṇa.

67. Ko. Ma. kasla ,small brass pot', kasela 'utensil' (Ta. kaṅcam 'bell metal' / Skt. kaṃsa 'bell metal brass.'

68. Ma. kaṭia 'stick', kaṭvara ,wooden sandal', Mu, kaṭcya 'fuel', A. kaṭṭe 'stick, wood', Ch. kaṭeta, Ph. kaṭiya 'fuel' (Ta. kaṭṭai 'firewood') / Skt. kāṣṭha 'piece of wood, stick'.

72. Ko. katir 'scissors', Mu. katri, Ph. katarnī 'id'. (Ta. kattari 'scissors') / Skt. kartarī- 'id'.

73. Pa. gaddi, Ph. gādī 'throne' (Ta. gaddige 'throne') / H. gaddī, gādī ,id.'

76. Mu. kammel 'blanket', kamra 'wool', G. kamra, gaṃḍi 'blanket', A. gaṃḍa, gaṃṛa, Ph. kamra 'id.' (Ta. kampaḷi, kampaḷam 'coarse woolen blanket') / Skt. kambala (ka)- 'woolen blanket, etc.'

77. Gad. komb 'post', Pe. kam-'stem of tree', Kol (364) kāmb, Nk. khamb 'post', Ph. khambhā 'id.' / Skt. (Ved.) skambha- 'pillar'.

78. Mu. kam 'little, a little', Ph. kame kiyana 'to reduce' (Ta. kammi 'scantiness') / H. kamī 'scantiness, etc.' / Pers.

79. Kui(w) kāma 'work, labour', Gad. kame 'work', Kamayp-, kamayt- 'to earn a livelihood', Mu. kām 'work', kamay ki- 'to earn a livelihood', kamayal 'servant' (Ta. karmam 'action, work') / Skt. karman- 'action, etc.'

80. Pa.-kaṛeya 'cowry', Mu. kavṛi 'id.' kavḍaṅ 'string of cowries' Ph. kavarī 'cowry' (Ta. kavaṭi 'cowry') / Skt. kaparda 'id.'

82. Kon. gauṛoen, -Kṅ(w) gaur 'the cowherd caste', kuv. koḍi -goṛu, ,id.', Gad. gouṛo 'a caste of the Koraput District ; they speak an Indo-Aryan dialect'. The people of this caste are very common in this Dt., and the caste name occurs in all the Dravidian languages of this area. (Ta. kavuṇṭan 'caste-title of certain Tamil and Kanarese folk' / Mar. gāvḍā 'inferior officer in a village, a particular caste', Skt. grāma-kūṭa ,chief of a village (belonging to the Śudra caste).

83. Mu. gidal 'kite', Ma. gandal, gidal 'id.', Y. gidaṛ 'vulture', Ch. gīdal 'kite', Ph. gidhvāl, gīdhāl 'vulture' (Te. gadda, gradda 'kite) / Skt. gṛdhra 'vulture.'

84. Kui(w) Kāṇa 'hole', Kuv. Kaṇi, Gad. kaṇa, Pe. kaṇa 'hole' (Ta. kaṇi, ,mine', Ka. kaṇi, etc. 'ditch, etc.') / Skt. khani, mine, etc.'

87. Pa. gāna 'machine for cutting sugarcane', (Ta. kāṇam 'oilpress') / Skt. ghātana- 'striking', Pkt. ghāṇa- 'mill', H. ghānā, ghānī 'oil mill',

88. Kui (W) kāṇḍi 'stem, stalk', Kol (365) kāṇḍe 'fingerjoint, section between 2 articulations', (Ta. kāṇṭam 'stem, stalk') / Skt. kāṇḍa- 'a single joint of the stalk or stem of a plant, such as a bamboo or reed or cane (i.e. the portion from one knot to another); stalk, stem (cf. Monier-Williams)', Mar. kāṇḍe 'joint in bamboo'.

90. Kui(W), Kuv. gaha 'wound', Pe. gā 'id.' (Ta. kāyam 'wound') / Skt. ghāta 'bruise, wound'.

91. Mu. gaṛvaṛi 'snake-charmer', kaṭa-garuṛ 'a thorny shrub called in Ha. 'nāga phani' (Ta. kāruṭam 'jugglery', kāruṭan 'juggler', Te. gāraḍīḍu-'juggler') / Skt. gāruḍika- 'a charmer'.

93. Tr. gaṛkā 'a small cake of urad or mung, cooked in oil' (Ta. gārige 'a flat cake made of wheaten or rice flour and jaggery, and fried in ghee or oil') / Skt. ghārikā Pkt. ghārā- ‚miṣṭānna', Gujarati ghārī 'a kind of sweetmeat'.

97. Gad. kālam, Kon. kaṛa 'season' (Ta. kālam 'time, season') / Skt. kāla- 'time, etc.'

99. Kol (392) kiḍki, Ph. khirki 'window' (Ta. kiṭiki 'id.') / Skt. khaṭakkikā-, khaḍakkikā- 'side door'.

100. Pa. kernḍa 'rust' (Ta. kiṭṭam 'coating, etc. ka. kiṭṭa 'rust, etc.') / Skt. kiṭṭa 'dirt, rust'.

104. Kui (W) gūṭa 'stump', Kuv. guṭṭu 'id.', Kon. kuṭiya 'pole', Ma. guṭṭa 'stump of tree', Kol (448) kuṭi ‚peg for hanging things on' (Ka. guṇṭa, -kūṭa 'peg, etc.') / Pkt. khuṇṭa 'peg'.

109. Kuv. kumbreisi, Kon. kumar 'potter', Ma, kummal, pl. kummaku 'id.', Mu. fem. kumme, Ko. kuma(1) 'potter', Ph. kumharāl 'id'. (Ta. kumpakāran 'potter') / Skt. kumbhakāra 'id.'

111. Gad. jeṭe kālam 'summer', Pa. jeṭa dina 'id'. (Ta. keṭṭai 'the 18th nakṣatra, goddess of misfortune' / Skt. jyeṣṭhā 'the 18th lunar mansion', jyaiṣṭha 'name of a month (May-June).

115. Kon. koṭi, 'fence', Pe. koṭer 'threshing floor', Mu. koṭi 'granary' (Ta. koṭṭāram 'granary, etc' / Skt. koṣṭha, koṣṭhāgāra 'granary, etc'.

117. Ph. gudī 'navel', (Ka. godde, Te.-gudda 'anus')/ Skt. guda 'id.'

118. Pe. kopra 'elbow', Y. kopar 'id.' (Ta. kopparam 'elbow') / Skt. kūrpara 'id.'

120. Gad. kolak, ko. golal 'cowherd' (Ka. golla, gollala 'id.') Skt. gopāla, gopālaka 'cowherd'.

121. Kuv. goṛa, Pe. goṛa, Go. (*CVGD* 967) koḍa, koṛa 'horse' / Skt. ghoṭaka 'id.'

122. Ko. koṛi 'twenty', koṛek 'one score', Ma. Mu. koṛi

'twenty' (Ta. koṭi 'a score') Mar. koḍi, H. kōṛi 'twenty'.

123. Gad. gōdum, goṅ 'wheat', Pe. go, Mu. gehũ (pl.), Ch. goh, Kol. gonma 'id.' (Ta. kōtumai, etc. 'wheat') / Skt. godhūma 'id.'

125. Kon. koṛi 'plum' (Ta. kōli 'jujube tree') / Skt. koli 'id'.

127. Pe. hagaṛ 'cart' (Ta. cakaṭu, etc. 'id.') / Skt. śakaṭa 'id.'

129. Ko. jagṛam, Mu. jhagṛa 'quarrel', jhagṛa a- 'to quarrel' (Ka. jagala 'a quarrel, etc.) / Pkt. jhagaḍa 'id.'

131. Mu. sakri 'chain' (Ta. caṅkili 'chain, etc.') / Skt. śṛṅkhala 'chain.'

133. Kon. ḍṛu 'loose', Mu. ḍīl 'id.', ḍīl a- ,to be loose', ḍīl ki 'to loosen', Kol (2088) ḍhila 'loose' (Ka. saḍal(u), etc. 'to become loose, etc.') / Skt. śithila 'loose', Pkt. saḍhila 'id.'

134. Kon. sala 'continuous rain', Pa. sal 'rain to fall in a shower' (cf. *DED* 1969) / Skt. ? āsāra 'a hard rain'.

135. Pa. calāid 'bridegroom', etc. (cf. *DED* 1970) (Ta. caṭṭakan 'wife's sister's husband') / sāṛu —Skt. śyāla, syāla (ka) is a common word in De. and Ha.

139. Kui sandi 'boundary, -border' (Ta. canti 'joint, etc.') / Skt. -saṃdhi- 'junction, etc.'

153. Pe. habṛi 'pike, spear', Ph. sābur 'id.' (Ta. cavaḷam 'pike') / Skt. sarvalā-, śarvalā 'an iron club or crowbar'.

159. Mu. sena, sēna 'dried-cowdung' (Ta. caṇam 'cow-dung') / Skt. chagaṇa- 'dried cowdung'.

165. Kon. sāṛa 'shed', Ph. sār 'cowshed (Ta. ālai 'apartment') / Skt. śālā- ,house.

166. Kuv. zāva 'rice', jāyu ,curry', Ko. Ma. jāva 'gruel', Kol. zāva ,pej' (Te. jāva 'gruel') / Skt. yavāgu 'rice gruel'.

169. Kuv. Kuṛam 'razor', seki kuṛam 'knife', cūri ,id.', Kon. kuṛam, 'axe', sūri kuṛam 'knife', Ko. tuṛu), tsūr(u) 'dagger, big knife' (Ta. curikai, short sword, knife') / Skt. kṣura ,razor'.

170. Ko. cuḍal ,small, young', Mu. huḍila, huḍla 'small', huḍel ayal 'step-mother', huḍilor 'a small man, young man, insignificant', G. huḍla ,young' (Ta. cul 'smallness') / Skt. kṣulla 'small'.

171. Pe. huja, Ko. sūz 'needle', ūje 'tip of arrow', Ma.

ūji 'needle, tip of knife', Mu. ūj 'needle', huji (id., ūji 'point of knife' (Ta. cūci, ūci 'needle') / Skt. sūci, sūcī 'needle'.

177. Kon. sonta 'by oneself' (Ta. contam 'one's own peculiar right') / Skt. sva 'one's own'.

179. Mu. Joṛan-harriṅ 'cross-road' (Ta. coṭi 'a pair') / H. joṛ 'union'.

182. Pe. niyāy, law-suit' (Ta. ñāyam, etc. 'justice') / Skt. nyāya- 'law suit, etc.'-

184. Ko. ḍok 'shell of tortoise' (Te. ḍokka 'hard covering of a nut etc., shell') / Mar. ḍokī, ḍoke 'the head'.

185. Mu. tage ki 'to deceive' (Ta. takku 'trick') / Mar. ṭhakṇe 'to be deceived'.

186. Kuv. ḍanḍa 'sugar-cane', Gad. ḍanḍa 'upper arm', Pa. ḍanḍ, Nk. danḍ 'upper arm', Kol (K) danḍa 'id.' Ko (146) dāṇḍi 'pole of seeder, harrow', Kon. ḍanḍa 'sugar-cane'. Ma. ḍanḍa 'upper arm', ḍanḍ 'fine', Mu. ḍānḍa 'sugarcane', ḍāṇḍi ,shaft of a cart', ḍanḍ 'punishment', D. ḍanḍa 'upper arm', A. danḍ 'upper arm', Ph. danḍ, dāṛ, ḍāṛ 'punishment (Ta. taṇṭam 'stick, punishment, etc.') / Skt. daṇḍa-'stick,' punishment'.

188. Kon. dadu 'ringworn', Mu. dād 'id.' (Ta. tattu 'blotch, etc. Ka. taddu, daddu 'ringworm') / Skt. dadrū, dardu ,cutaneous eruption'

197. A. tar key 'palm of hand' (Ko. taḷm 'palm of hand') / Skt. tala 'palm of hand, etc.'

199. Mu. daṛiya 'leafplate' (Ta. taḷikai 'eating plate') / Skt. sthāla(-ī) 'plate, etc.'

203. Kon. ḍāḍa palku 'jaw', (see CVGD 1486). (Ta. tāṭi ,chin, beard, dewlap') / Skt. dāḍhā 'tusk'.

205. Kuv. tamba 'copper' (Ta. tāmpāḷam 'salver of a large size') / Skt. tāmra 'copper', tāmra-paṭṭa 'copper plate'.

213. Kon. dora (in the name Koṇḍa Dora 'lord of the hill') (Ta. turai 'chief') / Skt. dhurya- 'leader'.

204. Pa. ḍiṭal 'bold' (Ta. tāṭṭi 'bravery, etc.') / Skt. dhārṣṭya-'boldness'.

214. Gad. dūlam 'beam', Mu. touli 'balance', touli ki- 'to weigh', S. dōlam 'roof (?)' (Ta. tulā 'balance, single shaft of a cart') / Skt. tulā- 'balance, a kind of a beam in the roof'

219. Kon. diam, Ko. dēvun 'god', Kol(166) dīam, Nk. diyam 'id.' (Ta. tevu, tēvan 'god') / Skt. deva- 'god'.

228. Kuv. limba 'margosa', Gad. nimba, limba, limbe, lim. Kon. lima, Mu. lim. Ma. limma 'id'. (Ta. nimpam 'margosa') / Skt. nimba- 'id.'

229. Mu. limmabu 'lemon' (Ta. nimbe, limbe, etc. 'the acid lime') / Skt. nimbū(ka) 'the common lime.'

233a. Gad. pakka, paka, pak 'side, direction,' Kol (625) pakkaṭe, pakkal 'rib(s)' (Ta. pakkam 'side, etc.') / Skt. pakṣa- 'side, etc.'

233b. Kol(626) paksiak, paksiral, paksin 'bird' (Ta. paṭci, pakki, pakṣi 'bird') / Skt. pakṣin- 'id.'

234. Kuv. baṅgara, Gad. baṅgaram, Kon. baṅgaram 'gold' (Ta. paṅkāru 'gold' / Skt. bhṛṅgāra- 'gold pitcher, gold'.

235. Gad(Oll.) poguṅ, Mu. p(h)āgun 'the month of Phālguna (Feb-March)' (Ta. paṅkuṇi 'month Phalgunī') / Skt. phālguna-

240b. Pa. pāṭa 'local made female cloth', Mu. pāṭa 'cloth for women', Kol(661) pāṭ 'sari' (Ta. paṭṭu 'silk cloth') / Skt. paṭa- ,cloth, etc.'

257. Kon. Ko. bala 'plank' (Ta. palakai 'plank') / Skt. phalaka- 'board, etc.' cf. H. ballā 'a long pole'.

266. Pa. pāpi 'sinner' (Ta. pāpam, pāvam 'sin') / Skt. pāpa- 'id.'

269b. Kui(W) piṭo 'cake' (Ta. piṭṭu 'a kind of confectionary') / Skt. piṣṭa(ka)- 'cake etc.'

270. Kuv. pitaṛa, Ko. itol 'brass' (Ta. pitalai 'brass' / Skt. pittala-, pitala- 'brass'.

273. Ch. pāṭī 'back' (Ta. puṭṭam 'buttocks') / Skt. pṛṣṭha- 'back'.

274. Kuv. pūjera, Kon. pujari 'priest', Mu. pūja 'worship', pūjari 'priest', pūj- (pūct-) to sacrifice', pūja hi- 'to sacrifice', pūjle 'sacrificed', G. pūja ki- 'to worship' (Ta. Pūci 'to perform acts of ceremonial worship) / Skt. pūj- 'to honour, worship'.

275. Pe. pūr 'flood', pūr vā- 'flood to come' (Ta. pūri 'to be full') / Skt. pūray 'to fill.'

280. Kon. poṛu 'chaff', Pe. pol ,husk', Pa. polka 'hollow', Ko. pol(l)e ,chaff' (Ta. pōl 'hollow object, bamboo') / Pkt. polla 'hollow'.

290. Kon. mansi ('man', Pa. maññja, mañña. Kol (2202) mankā, mankāk 'id.'. (Ta. manitan, manican 'man') / Skt. manuṣya- 'id.'

291. Pa. manyap-, manyat- 'to persuade' (Ta. manni ,to forgive, etc.') / Skt. man 'to honour'.

293. Pa. māg, Mu. māṅ 'the month of māgha (Jan. Feb.)' Ta. māci, Ka. māgi) / Skt. māgha 'id.'

298. Gad. miriya 'pepper, Pa. jāt miril 'black pepper', Mu. miri, Kol(531) mirsa, mirca 'pepper' (Ta. miriyam 'pepper') / Skt. marica 'pepper'.

299. Kuv. muṇḍa ,post', Kon. muṇḍra 'bald', Gad. muṇḍe 'post', D. muṇḍa 'id.' (Ta. muṇṭam 'bald, head. stump, etc.') / Skt. muṇḍa ,bald, lopped, etc.'

305. Kuv. muddi 'finger ring' Kon. mudra 'ear ring', Pe. mudra 'ear ring, nose ring', Ko. muda 'finger ring', Ma. mudda 'finger ring', ear ring,' Mu. Mudda, muda 'finger ring, toe ring', D. mudda 'finger ring, ear ring', (Ta. motiram 'finger ring') / Skt. mudrā- 'ring, seal-ring'.

309. Kuv. laddi, Kon. ladi, Pe. laddi 'mud' (Ta. ilatti, latti 'dung of elephant') / BHS laddi-' dung of a horse'.

314. Kon. benji 'barren, Mu. bañjli 'barren (women, animal)' (Ka. bañjaru 'waste land', bañje 'barren (woman, cow)' / Skt. vandhyā- 'barren woman'.

315. Pe. vaṭkaṇa, Mu. vaṛi 'cake (round)' (Ta. vaṭai 'cake made of black gram, fried in ghee or oil') / Skt. vaḍa- 'a round cake'.

316a. Mu. bāṭi 'small ball made of earth, children's game played with such balls' (Ta. vaṭṭam, etc. 'circle, etc.' / Skt. vṛtta(ka) 'round'.

319. Mu. baṛ- 'to distribute food after cooking (often in the phrase aṭ-baṛ-; cf. Beng. rādhā-bāṛā 'cooking and serving') (Ta. paṭai ,to serve (as food to guests), etc.') / Pali vaḍḍheti 'gets ready (food).

320. Pa. bāna 'spot', Gad(Oll.) bāni 'blood', Mu. bāna 'sign' (?) (Ta. vaṇṇam 'colour') / Skt. varṇa ,colour.

323a. Gad. vāsam, pl. vāsal 'rafter', Kon. vāseṇ, Ko. vasam 'rafter' (Ta. vācam 'rafter') / Skt. vaṃśa 'bamboo, etc.', Mar. vāsā 'rafter'.

326. Pe. bāṛ 'garden' (Ta. vāṭṭam 'garden, etc.') / Skt. vāṭa 'enclosure etc.'

329. Pa. cen-var ciric-,Saturday', com-bar ciric 'Monday'. Occurs in all the CD languages with names of days (Ta. vāram 'days of-the-week') / Skt. vāra- 'day of the week'.

334. Ko. bendi 'lady's finger (Ta. veṇṭai, etc. 'hibiscus esculantus') / -Mar. bheḍā, bheḍī 'id.'

335. Kuv. betti, Kol (3006) bēt, Ko. bet 'cane' (Ko. vet 'cane') / Skt. vetra 'id.'

336. Pe. veṛa 'sun', Kuv. veṛa 'sun', Mu. bēra 'time' (Ta. velai, etc. 'time, etc.') / Skt.-velā- 'limit of time, etc.'

Let us conclude this article by thanking Professors Emeneau and Burrow again for publishing in a systematically arranged form a list of Indo-Aryan loanwords in Dravidian. It is clear that the borrowings were from different sources of IA, and made at different periods. The IA languages offer much synchronic and diachronic material. An attempt at a stratification of these loanwords is therefore possible in this case, but not in the case of Dravidian loanwords in IA. In order to facilitate further research in this field we have sought in this article to supplement *DBIA* by quoting the missing forms, as far as possible, from the Central Dravidian languages. But we have not quoted here any form that has not been included in *DBIA*, although such entirely new forms should also be there and be found out.

For a detailed list of the sources of our material the readers are requested to consult *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1961) and its *Supplement* (1968) by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau. We are giving below a list of more important abbreviations used in this article.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Adilabad dialect of Gondi.
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.
CD	Central Dravidian. (See "New Dravidian Languages" by the present writer, published in *Dravidian Linguistics* (Seminar Papers), Annamalai University, for the back-ground information on this subject.
Ch.	Gondi dialect of Chhindwara.
CVGD	*A Comparative Vocabulary of the Gondi Dia-*

	lects, T. Burrow and the present writer, published by Asiatic Society, Calcutta (1960).
D.	Durg dialect of Gondi.
DBIA	*Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan*, M.B. Emeneau and T. Burrow, University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 26, 1962.
De.	Desiya, the IA dialect of Koraput district.
DED	*A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, Oxford, 1961.
G.	Gondi dialect of Gadchiroli.
Gad.	Gadba, a Dravidian language.
Gad (Oll.)	*Ollari, a Dravidian Speech*, by the present writer.
Go.	Gondi.
H.	Hindi.
Ha.	Halbi, an IA dialect of Bastar.
IA	Indo-Aryan.
Ka.	Kannada.
Ko.	Koya dialect of Go.
Kod.	Kodagu.
Kol.	our unpublished notes on Kolami.
Kol(no.)	*Kolami, a Dravidian Language*, M. B. Emeneau, 1953.
Kon.	Konda.
Kui(W)	*A Vocabulary of the Kui Language*, W. W. Winfield, 1929.
Kuv.	Kuvi, our material.
Ma.	Maria dialect of Go.
Mar.	Marathi.
Mu.	Muria dialect of Go.
Naik.	Naiki of Chanda.
Nk.	Naikri.
Pa.	*Parji, a Dravidian Language of Bastar*, T. Burrow and the present writer.
Pe.	Pengo.
Pers.	Persian.
Ph.	*Gori Bhasa-ka Kosh, Hindi-me*, Rev. Pahilbus, 1925.

Pkt.	Prakrit.
S.	Gondi dialect of Sironcha.
SD	South Dravidian.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
Ta.	Tamil.
Te.	Telugu.
To.	Toda.
Tr.	*Grammar of Gondi*, Vol. II, C.G.C. Trench, 1921.
Tu.	Tulu.
Ved.	Vedic.
Y.	Gondi dialect of Yeotmal.

ADDENDA

7. Kol. āskuṛ 'axle' 52. Pe. lōk(u) 'people'. 59. Pe. ōḍi-maṇ 'a kind of basket'. 62. Pe. rāvaṇ 'the month of śrāvaṇa'. 122. Pe. koṛi 'twenty'. 131. Pe. hikri 'chain'. 139. Pe. sandi 'boundary'. 165. Pe. hāṛa 'cow or buffalo house'. 167. Pe. sisa 'lead'. 214. Pe. dulam 'beam'. ?247. Pe. paṇhu 'a kind of axe'. 266. Pe. pāp 'sin', pāp kuc- 'sin to attach to a person'. 270. pitaṛ 'brass, bronze'. 274. Pe. puji ki- 'to slaughter', puja 'honour', puja ki- 'to honour'. 280. Pe. polka 'hole in tree'. 292. Pe. mos 'flesh, meat'. 298. Pe. mirji, pl. -ṅ 'pepper'. 299. Pe. muṇḍa 'head, pillar'. 305. Pe. mudra 'ring, earring, etc.'. *mudi* is a common term used for various kinds of rings in the local IA and the tribal tongues of the region'. 314. Pe. banja banji 'barren (male and female)'. 320. Pe. bāna 'mole, spot on face, painted design on wall'. 322. Pe. bāla baḍge 'spear'. 335. Pe. bēt 'cane' 336. Pe. bēla 'sun', vēṛa 'sun, time'.

V

THE PRAKRIT POETS HARIVṚDDHA, SĀTAVĀHANA AND ĀḌHYARĀJA

H. C. *Bhayani*

1. As a comparative and critical survey of the whole range of subjects and topics coming under Alaṁkāra in its broadest sense, Raghavan's study of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* has an incomparable value. But it is equally valuable as a rich storehouse of interesting literary—historical information and of exhumed references and citations relating to lost works and authors of past.

The purpose of the present paper is to supplement the information about a few of the forgotten Prakrit authors, out of a sizeable number discussed by Raghavan.

1. *Harivṛddha*

2. On the basis of a quotation in Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Raghavan has drawn our attention to a Prakrit poet named Harivṛddha,[1] who, though possibly quite important, has been so far practically unknown to us.

To illustrate the Doṣa-guṇa called Gūḍhārtha, Bhoja quotes anonymously a Prakrit verse,[2] wherein a modest poet

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1. His 'Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*', (1963) p. 835.

2. *aṁhāriṇā ri ka ṇo kaṁo Hariuḍḍha-Sāli-paṁhā ri /*
maṁkhakka-makkaḍā ri hu homti harī sappa-sīhā ri //

—*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Sk.), Nirnaya Sagar edition, I.9ᵉ (135).

As in the case of so many other Prākrt passages of the Sk., the text of this verse is also faulty. The printed text reads *halibaddha* and *harisappasīhā*. For the former it also records a variant *hariuṁda*.

—*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (ed. by Yatiraja Swamy and G. R. Josyer, Vol. II, 1963) also has got this verse. At p. 348 it is in a very corrupt form (like most of the other Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa passages in that edition): the end portion of the first line reads *aṁvuṁdhaṁbalaṁsaṁhā*. At the end of the volume this verse is reproduced editorially and is provided with Saṁskṛit chāyā. Here the corresponding portion reads *halaṁdabhallapaṁsaṁdi*

says : 'There are poets and poets. The same term *Kavi* applies to nobodies like us as also to big poetic geniuses like Harivṛddha and Śāli, just as the term *hari* applies to mere frogs and monkeys as also to fierce serpents and lions.' Here the names of Harivṛddha and Śāli stand for eminence in the field of Prākṛt poetry. There is slight uncertainty about the text of the verse, but the commentator Ratneśvara takes Harivṛddha as one name and not as two (i.e. Hari and Vṛddha), and Raghavan is rightly inclined to the same view. We may also note that the commentator characterizes Harivṛddha and Śāli as poets of uncommon genius—*lokottara-pratibhā-śālinaḥ*. Moreover, Raghavan has suggested that Śāli here may be the same as the famous poet Śālivāhana or Hāla.[3]

3. Further Raghavan draws our attention to a Prakrit verse of some Hari cited by Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* II. 19. It enumerates eight modes of literary expression[4] (equivalent to *Anuprāsavṛtti-s*) : Madhura, Paruṣa, Komala, Ojasvin, Niṣṭhura, Lalita, Gambhīra and Sāmānya. But Raghavan leaves it at that, as there is nothing more to suggest the identification of this Hari with Harivṛddha of the Sk. illustration.

4. Now there are at least two references to Harivṛddha prior to the one noted from Bhoja. One is from Virahāṅka before eighth century (?) and another is from Rājaśekhara (c. 880-920). Virahāṅka's manual of Prakrit prosody called *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*[5] (-VS) indirectly gives us some further valuable information about the poet Harivṛddha. Virahāṅka characteristically treats the structure of the Dvipadī. In the second

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3. Śāli is otherwise not known as an abridgement of Śālivāhana. Moreover among the traditional names of the authors of various Gāthās of Hāla's *Gāhāsattasaī*, we find the name Sāliā in the case of a few Gāthās, e.g. II. 29. But in view of the fact that in other references too, discussed further in this paper, Harivṛddha is found associated with Hāla, identification of Śāli of the SK. verse with Śālivāhana seems highly plausible.

4. tathā hy aṣṭau Haripoktā yathā :—

mahurak pharusam komalam-ojasiṁ niṭṭhuraṁ ca lalijaṁ ca| gambhīraṁ sāmannaṁ ca aṭṭha bhaṇitīu muṇeaā.

—Namisādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II. 19.

Again the printed text is faulty. It meaninglessly reads *aḍḍha* bhaṇitī unāyaccā.

5. Edited by H. D. Velankar, Rajasthan Puratana Granthamala, No. 61, 1962.

chapter of VS., he first defines the characters and functions of various constituents like Vastuka, Gītika, Vidārī, Ekaka, Dvipathaka, Vistāritaka and Dhruvaka which build up the structure of the Dvipadī. In the end he states, on the authority of several eminent Prākṛt prosodists, a rule about the employment of Gītika in the Dvipadī, and concludes the chapter with the enumeration of fiftytwo types of Dvipadīs after the same authorities. The two stanzas of the VS. giving the names of these metrical authorities are as under :

Bhuaāhiva-Sālāhaṇa-Vuḍḍhakai-ṇirūviaṁ imaṁ daie /
ṇihaṇa-ṇiruvia-dhuvaammi vatthue gīā ṇatthi //
Bhuaahiva-Sālāhaṇa-vuḍḍhakai-ṇirūviāṇa duvaiṇa /
ṇāmāiṁ jāiṁ sāhemi tujjha tāiṁpia kameṇa //

—VS. II. 8. 9

These can be translated as :

'O Dear, in the treatments of Bhujagādhipa, Sātavāhana and Vṛddhakavi there is no scope for a Gītika after a Vastuka, if the latter ends in a Dhruvaka.

I will now tell you, according to their order, the names of the Dvipadīs which have been treated by Bhujagādhipa, Sātavāhana and Vṛddhakavi.'

The commentator Gopāla on VS. II. 8, identifies Bhujagādhipa as two persons called Kambala and Aśvatara and Satavāhana as a king. Regarding Vṛddhakavi, he says that according to some he was the same as Harivṛddha.[6] If we

6. *Bhujagādhipau Kambalāśvatarau Sātavāhano rājā. Vṛddhakavir Harivṛddha iti keiit.* (Com. on VS. II. 8). Usually *bhujagādhipa* is taken to be synonymous with *nāgarāja* and is identified with Piṅgalanāga or Piṅgala, the famous authority on prosody. For example in the opening verse of Śūra's manual of prosody cited in the commentary on Kavidarpaṇa (ed. by H.D. Velankar, 1962), I. 1, Piṅgala is characterized as *nāgarāja : Śambhum natvā girāmiva tataḥ Piṅgalam* nāgarājitam. But Gopāla seems to have followed Jayakīrti, who in his Chandonuśāsana (ed. by H. D. Velankar, *Jinaratnam*, 1949), I. 13 mentions Piṅgala and Kambala among those Muni-s who favoured the Yati (metrical pause), and Aśvatara among those who were against it. So according to Gopāla, Bhujagādhipa at VS. II. 8 and 9, and Viṣahara (i.e. Viṣadhara—which he paraphrases as *nāga*) at VS. II. 7 signify two persons named Kambala and Aśvatara and these were according to him quite different from Piṅgala. In the Maṅgala at the beginning of his commentary, he salutes separately Piṅgala, Śaitava Kātyāyana, Bharata and Kambala-cum-Aśvatara. On VS. I. 1 too he qualifies Piṅgala simply as a *Chandaḥśāstrācārya*.

accept this last identification, then it follows that Harivṛddha, also known as Vṛddhakavi, was, along with the two Bhujagādhipas and Sātavāhana, a recognized authority on Prākṛt metrics and especially on its section on the Dvipadī. In this connection we may attach some significance to the fact that as Harivṛddha and Śālī figure together in the SK. I. 99 illustration, so also Sātavāhana and Vṛddhakavi figure together in VS. II. 8 and 9.

5. We may also mention here in passing that the expression *Vaḍḍhakai-ṇirāviam* from VS. II. 8 is anonymously quoted by Hemacandra, in the form *Viddhakai-nirāviam* under *Siddhahema*, 8-2-40 as a counter-instance of *-ddh-* changing into *-ḍḍh-*. That the example is in fact drawn from the VS. is shown beyond doubt by the fact that the whole of the first part of VS. I. 13 (*iarāiṁ jāṇa lahu-akkharāiṁ pāimtimella—sahiāṇa*) is reproduced under *Siddhahema*, VIII. iii. 134 (with the variant *pāyaṭṭimilla* for *pāimtimella*) to illustrate the use of a genitive form for the ablative. Hemacandra's using of Virahāṅka's metrical manual to obtain illustrative matter for his grammar implies a good measure of respectability and traditional authority for the latter. And the same conclusion is to be drawn from Virahāṅka's acknowledgement that Vṛddhakavi was one of his sources and authorities.

6. We come across one more reference to Harivṛddha in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*. In the first Javanikā of the *Karpūramañjarī* during the squabble with the maid Vicakṣaṇā, the Vidūṣaka reacts angrily to the King's praise of the former and says, 'Then why don't you say straightway : this our servant-girl is a poet surpassing even Harivṛddha, Nandivṛddha, Poṭṭisa, Hāla and such others ?'"—*tā ajjuaṁ jeva kiṁ ṇa bhaṇiadi amhāṇaṁ ceḍiā Hariuḍḍha-Naṁdiuḍḍha-Poṭṭisa-Hālāpahudiṇaṁ pi parado sukai tti* ? Here Harivṛddha figures as one of the famous and foremost Prakrit poets. As in the two references previously considered, here too he is found in Hāla's company.

7. The other two, Nandivṛddha and Poṭṭisa also must

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7. A. N. Upadhye (in his edition of the *Līlāvaī* of Koūhala, 1949, Introduction p. 56, footnote 3) and N.G. Suru (in his edition of the *Karpūramañjarī*, 1960, Introduction, p. civ) have drawn our attention to the passage of the *Karpūramañjarī* discussed here. See also J. C. Jain, *Prākṛt Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* (1961), p. 373, footnote 1.

have been renowned Prakrit poets. One Naṁdiyaḍḍha (Sk. Nanditāḍhya) is known to us as the author of a small work on Prakrit metres called *Gāthālakṣaṇa*.[8] The form in which the *Gāthālakṣaṇa* is at present before us is the work of a Jain author. But Velankar has serious doubts about the genuineness of certain parts of the *Gāthālakṣaṇa*. There are clear borrowings from works like *Svayambhūcchandas*.[9] Again we find the definition of an Apabhraṁśa metre cited elsewhere under the name of poet Naṁdaḍḍha (*kai Naṁdaḍḍha*)[10], but it is not found in the *Gāthālakṣaṇa*. The present *Gāthālakṣaṇa* seems to be a mutilated and interpolated version or recast of the metrical manual composed by a poet Naṁdiyaḍḍha which treated Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa metres. And that Naṁdiyaḍḍha may be the same as the Naṁdiuḍḍha of the *Karpūramañjarī*. Some of the commentaries on Hāla's *Gāhā-sattasaī* ascribe the authorship of Gāthā IV. 92 (N. S. Edition) to Naṁdiuḍḍha. The Gāthā seems to be an old one. A portion of this Gāthā is quoted under *Siddhahema* VIII. ii. 80 to illustrate the fact that Deśya words like *vaḍaha* 'youngman' invariably preserve an r-cluster (instead of optionally assimilating it). As against the form *vaḍahio* of the *Gāhā-sattasaī* mss., the *Siddhahema* offers us *vaḍrahio* which preserves the original phonology.

8. Next we consider Poṭṭisa whom Rājaśekhara has mentioned along with Hariuḍḍa, Naṁdiuḍḍha and Hāla-

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8. Ed. by H. D. Velankar, in Appendix I to his edition of *Kavidarpaṇa*, 1962.

9. *Gāthālakṣaṇa* 26-29 considered by Velankar as quite out of place and hence interpolations, are in fact reproduced from the *Svayambhūchandas* (Pūrvabhāga) I. 3.2, 3.3, 4.1 and 4.2. So also verse 77 is borrowed from *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* I. 7 as pointed out by Velankar in his introduction to the latter, p. xxx. Verse 83 is again identical with *Svayambhuchandas* IV. 5-1 and verse 16 is the same as *Prākṛtapiṅgala* I.54.

10. See *Saṁdeśarāsaka* (ed. by Muni Jinavijaya and H.C. Bhayani, 1945), Introduction, p. 102. The commentary on verse 19 quotes a definition of the metre Raḍḍā in which the words *kai Naṁdaḍḍha bhaṇaṁti* occur in the end. It also quotes at various other places verses which we find as verse no. 16, 74, 78 and 80 in Velankar's edition of the *Gāthālakṣaṇa*. It may be noted that for the form *naṁdiuḍḍha* some MSS. of the *Karpūramañjarī* read *naṁdiyaḍḍha*.

Poṭṭisa gures as the chief minister of Hāla-Sātavāhana in the *Līlāvaikahā* of Koūhala[11] (c. 800 A.D.). There at times he is respectfully referred to as Poṭṭisa-miśra and Śrī-poṭṭisa. Four Gāthās (viz., I. 89, II. 73, III. 93, V. 3) from Hāla's *Gāhā-sattasaī* are attributed to Poṭṭisa.[12] One more, viz., I.4 also is to be added to these: In the N. S. edition of the *Gāhāsattasaī* the name of its author is given as Vodisa, but Bhuvanapāla's commentary gives the name as Poṭṭisa and in one MS. of that commentary (that which is in the MSS. collection of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad) the marginal gloss on the authorship-label '*poṭṭisassa*' reads: *Hāla-mantri tu poṭṭisaḥ*. This confirms the tradition we find in the *Līlāvaī*.

9. As in the case of Naṁdiuḍḍha and Poṭṭisa, so also in the case of Hariuḍḍha we find in Hāla's *Gāhā-sattasaī* a Gāthā or two attributed to him. III. 88 is given under the name of Hariuddha, and the name Haritau under which II. 100 is given may be a corruption of *Hariuddha* misread as *Hariuta*. As Virahāṅka is plausibly assigned to a period prior to the eighth century A.D.[13], Harivṛddha is to be placed between Hāla and Virahāṅka.

10. Thus Harivṛddha alias Vṛddhakavi was an acknowledged early authority on Prākṛt prosody. His eminent achievements as a Prākṛt poet are indicated by his sobriquet Viddhakai or Vuḍḍha-kai (Vṛddha-kavi) and by the *Karpūramañjarī* and *Saraṇatikaṇṭhābharaṇa* allusions. If he is the same as the Hari quoted by Namisādhu, he should be also credited with some notable contribution to poetics. In the literary tradition current during the period 800-1000 A.D., his name figured in association with the names of important Prākṛt poets and authors like Hāla, Nandivṛddha, Poṭṭisa and Bhujagādhipa-s.

2. *Sātavāhana*

11. The following facts about Sātavāhana are quite

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11. Ed. by A. N. Upadhye. See the references to Poṭṭisa in the word-index.

12. See the references in note no. 7.

13. *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* Introduction, p. xxv.

14. See especially Upadhye, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 46-58 and the references in the footnotes on these pages.

well-known. Onwards from the sixth century A.D., we have a powerful literary and legendary tradition which considers Pk. Hāla, Sālāhaṇa, Sālavāhaṇa, Sk. Sātavāhana, Śālivāhana, Śālavāhana etc. as different forms of the same name[15] which belonged to a famous king of Pratiṣṭhāna. This Hāla-Sātavāhana had become a great legendary figure credited with many glorious deeds and achievements. There are numerous references to his patronage of learning and partiality for Prakrit language and literature. He is famous as the compiler of the anthology of Prakrit verse variously called *Gāhākosa*, *Kosa*, *Gāhā-satta-saī*, *Gāthā-saptа-śatī* etc. He is also credited with the authorship of (1) numerous Gāthās in the same collection and of (2) the introductory section (*kathā-pīṭha*) of the lost *Bṛhatkathā* which was composed by Guṇāḍhya in the Paiśācī Prakrit.[16] But Hāla-Sātavāhana's reputation as a great Prakrit poet and author would naturally suggest that his literary achievements might not have been confined to just this much. He might have written extensively. And in fact from a few references scattered here and there we do get some positive information about several other writings of Hāla-Sātavāhana.

12. From Virahāṅka's references discussed earlier, we have already inferred that Hāla-Sātavāhana had composed a manual of Prākṛt prosody, which was considered authoritative. We have no information about its general scope or contents, but this much is definite that it treated at length the form and structure of the Prakrit Dvipadī.

13. Besides being a Prakrit metrician, Hāla-Sātavāhana was also a Prakṛt lexicographer. He had composed a lexicon

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15. *Hāla*, originally a Prakrit form had later become current in Sanskrit also as we can see from Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (712), from the references of Abhinanda and Soḍḍhala, etc. See Upadhye, op. cit., pp. 47, 54-55. Śālivāhana too is a Sanskritization. We may note here another instance also of the same process. *Pālitta* was the Prakrit form of *Pādaliptа*, the name of the author of the lost *Taraṅgavatī Kathā*. It appears in a newly Sanskritized from as Śrīpālita in Abhinanda's *Kādambarīkathāsāra*, xxii. 100; see also Upadhye, op. cit. Introduction, p. 55.

15. See Upadhye op. cit. pp. 47, 54-55.

16. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, VIII. 37. Sātavāhana is said to have composed the Kathāpīṭha with the help of Guṇāḍhya's pupils, Guṇadeva and Nandideva. See also Raghavan, op. cit., p. 854.

of Deśya words from which four actual quotations are given in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*. At all the four places Hemacandra cites Sātavāhana to record a difference of opinion about the meaning of a particular Deśya word. This implies that Sātavāhana's authority as a Deśīkāra was such that Hemacandra deemed it necessary to give the former's view where it diverged from one which he himself had adopted.

The quotations given by Hemacandra are as under :

1. *'jambulaṁ madya-bhājanam' iti Sātavāhanaḥ*— (*Deśīnāmamālā*, under II. 41, p. 146)
2. *'tuvaṁ atyartham' iti Sātavāhanaḥ* (ibid, under V. II, p. 187)
3. *'purohaḍaṁ pacchokaḍaṁ (?)' iti tu Sātavāhanaḥ* (ibid, under VI. 15, p. 215)
4. *'paḍisaṁtaṁ astamitam' iti tu Sātavāhanaḥ,'* (ibid, under VI. 18, p. 217)
5. *'paḍihattho vacanam' iti tu Sātavāhanaḥ* (ibid, under VI. 19, p. 217)

These quotations suggest the following points about the character and value of Hāla's Deśya lexicon :

(1) Hemacandra cites Sātavāhana only so far as the latter differs from the position acceptable to him. Nowhere has he cited him in his support on a controversial point, unlike most of the other early authorities on Deśya which Hemacandra cites (at times agreeing, at times disagreeing with his own position.)[17] This suggests that Sātavāhana's work might have been of a limited scope. But the fact that Hemacandra quotes him several times is indicative of the traditional authority acquired by the work.

(2) Sātavāhana's lexicon gave Sanskrit meaning-equivalents for Deśya items.

(3) Unlike most of the other known lexicons which

17. *Deśīnāmamālā*, edited by R. Pischel, second edition by P. V. Ramanujaswami, Introduction I, p. 12-14. Ramanujaswami says that from Hemacandra's references to Sātavāhana in his *Deśīnāmamālā*, he could not gather definite evidence for saying that Sātavāhana had composed a Deśī Kosa. But what Hemacandra has given under Sātavāhana's name are clearly quotations, and each one gives a Sanskrit meaning-equivalent for a Deśya word. These facts leave no doubt about the existence of a Deśya lexicon of Sātavāhana. Ramanujaswami observes that Hemacandra has quoted Satavāhana seven times. I have been able to locate only five quotations.

have been composed in Gāthā, Sātavāhana's work seems to have been composed in Anuṣṭubh. Of course, one cannot be quite definite about this in view of the very meagre material available, but the rhythm of the fragments cited is felt more like that of the Anuṣṭubh.

(4) The work may have been in the form of just a glossary i.e. a collection of selected words with only meaning-equivalents and without illustrations.

14. If Hāla-Sātavāhana has composed a work on Prākṛt metres, it is reasonable to believe that he might have written several Prakrit poems also besides those Muktakas in Gāthā that are preserved in his *Gāthā-kośa*. And fortunately we can point out something actual to support such a belief. The Apabhraṁśa poet Svayambhū has quoted in his *Svayambhū-cchandas* two illustrative stanzas, one under the name of Sālāhaṇa and another under the name of Hāla. He has illustrated the metre Udgīti with a verse of Sālāhaṇa,[18] and for the Varṇavṛtta Śārdūlavikrīdita he has quoted two examples, one of which is said to be from Hāla.[19] This second quotation signifies that Hāla had used some Varṇavṛttas also in his Prākṛt compositions.

15. Further, from two other references we come to know that Sālāhaṇa had acquired lasting reputation as a composer of a particular type of Prakrit lyrics called Dhavala. In the Apabhraṁśa section of Hemacandra's metrical treatise, the *Chandonuśāsana*, we find at the end of the Utsāha subsection the description of a class of metres called Dhavala. Hemacandra defines and illustrates several varieties of the Dhavala. But at the very beginning of his treatment, and just after describing the general form and character of the Dhavala, he remarks that he would be illustrating only a few of the varieties,

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18. *Udgīti Sālāhaṇasya* :
thana-dohaḍir bhurai va bālā lāvaṇṇa-salilohaṁ /
ramaṇāla-āla-giggaa-romāvali-velleri iva sīmeī //
—*Svayambhūcchandas* (Pūrvabhāga), I. 4.2

19. *ahavā Hālasya* :
kāvaṁ puppha-dhaṇuṁ sa-kaṇaṇa-saraṁ haṇeuṁ tiaṇṇāṇaṁ
jaṁ jaṇa jaṇai-jaṇo ṇa kuvio taṁ atthi ṇe kāraṇaṁ /
hālā-vajjha-jaṇaṁ samattaṇ-iṇamo pāṇāvarālīkaṇaṁ
kedāreṇa-pibaṇṇhaṇaṁ cia jaṁ itthaṁsha ko mallao //
—*Svayambhūcchandas*, I. 47.2.

but for a fuller picture one should consult the "Utterences" (Ukti) of Sātavāhana—*dhavalāni Sātavāhanoktiṣu dṛṣṭavyāni, digmātram tūddhariṣyate.*[20]

16. What is exactly the meaning of the words 'the *ukti-s* of Sātavāhana' in Hemacandra's allusion ? Were they some *sadukti-s* or *sūkti-s* composed by Sātavāhana in different varieties of the Dhavala metre or were they possibly his descriptive statements about the same in his metrical treatise ? The required clarification on this point can be found from a similar statement of the Apabhraṁśa poet Svayambhū. And it is quite likely that Svayaṁbhū's remarks, discussed below, was the source of Hemacandra's statement. In his famous manual of Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa metres, the *Svayambhūchandas*, Svayambhū has described in the last chapter the general metrical organization of some outstanding Apabhraṁśa literary genres like the Sandhibandha, the Rāsābandha etc. First he defines different types of Chaḍḍaṇiā, Ghattā and Paḍhaḍiā which built up the Sandhi, and thereafter he seems to specify the kinds of metres used in the composition of Giti-s which were probably short Prākrit or Apabhraṁśa lyrics. He refers in this connection to various types of Ghattā, Chaḍḍaṇī and Vidārikā, different from those he had described earlier and adds that over and above these there were various types of Dhavalas such as those composed in quantity by *Sātavāhana* :—*Sālāhaṇeṇa dhavalāī jāī viraiaī aṇeaī bahu-vihīī.*[21] Here Sālāhaṇa i.e. Sātavāhana is said to have composed (*viraiaī*) a number of diverse types of Dhavala songs.

17. Thus from these references it clearly follows that Sātavāhana's Dhavala songs were very famous and were considered quite typical.[22] Though both Svayambhū and Hemacandra treat, and the latter also illustrates, separately Dhavala as an Apabhraṁśa metre, this need not necessarily imply that Sātavāhana's Dhavalas were in Apabhraṁśa. Many of the typically Apabhraṁśa metres were also used for composing in Prākrit, and at times even in Sanskrit.[23]

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20. *Chandonuśāsana*, VI. 32.1.
21. *Svayambhūchandas*, VIII. 18.
22. The quotation given under *Siddhahema*, VIII. i. 211 alludes to the literary diction of Sālāhaṇa: *Sālāhaṇi bhāsā*. It seems to be a fragment forming the last eleven Mātrā's of some Gāthā.
23. The first Sūtra of the Apabhraṁśa section of the *Chandonuśāsana* is :

Sātavāhana's Dhavalas must have been short lyrics having eight, six or four lines describing some eminent person under the guise of a *dhavala* (i.e. a white bull of the best breed). In other words they must have been Dhavalānyokti-s, a few examples of which we come across in some Apabhraṁśa works. For example, we, have seven Dhavalānyokti-s in the seven Gāthās of the *Jambūsāmicariu* of Vīra (VII. 6) (composed in 1020 A.D.).[24] Again among the illustrations cited by Hemacandra in the Apabhraṁśa section of the *Siddhahema* we find two Dhavalānyokti-s (VIII. iv. 340/2; 421), one of which (iv 340/2) is clearly based on *Jambūsāmicariu*, VII. 6, lines 26-27. Although these stanzas are either in Gāthā or Dohā metre, while the Dhavalas defined by Hemacandra and Svayambhū have altogether different metrical structures, still the former were also called Dhavalas, as both the above-named metrical authorities make it clear that besides the songs of specific metrical forms, other songs also in metres like Utsāha, Helā, Vedana etc. were also called Dhavalas, if they described the hero under the guise of a dhavala.[25]

This second category of Dhavalas was named after their metre, e.g. Utsāhadhavala, Helādhavala etc. We cannot say whether Sātavāhana had also written Dhavalas coming under this second category

18. Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* has recorded several names by which Hāla-Sātavāhana was known to the tradition :[26] Kuntala (DN. II. 36), Pūsa (VI. 80) and Caura-

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atha prāyo'pabhraṁśaḥ. The commentery on this classifies that these metres are found in other languages also besides Apabhraṁśa. And both Svayambhū and Hemacandra occasionally quote Sanskrit verses to illustrate the Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa metres they define. See for example, *Svayambhūchandas*, V. 5.1, VI. 88.1, VIII. 20.2; *Chandonuśāsana*, V. 17.2, VI. 20.43.

24. V. P. Jaina's Edition, 1968.

25. *Svayambhūchandas*, VI. 21; *Chandonuśāsana*, V. 40 and the two Sanskrit stanzas cited under it from some earlier metrical manual; the same stanzas are also found in Rājaśekhara's *Chandaḥśekhara*, V. 27-28. (Velankar's Edition of the *Svayambhūchandas*, P. 131). Many Sanskrit Subhāṣita anthologies have a special section called *Dhavalānyokti*. Medieval Gujarātī, Rājasthānī and Hindī literatures were rich in songs called Dhaula and Maṅgala, some of which are current even now.

26. Ramanujaswami, op. cit., Introduction, p. 14; Upadhye, op. cit, Introduction, p. 47, note 1.

cimdha (III. 7). There has been a persistent tradition taking Sātavāhana as a king of the Kuntala country with his capital at Pratiṣṭhāna. But from the following reference in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana it appears that Kuntala was also an alternative name of king Sātavāhana himself : *Kartavyā Kuntalaḥ Śātakarṇiḥ Sātavāhano mahādevīṁ Malayavatīṁ* (*jaghāna*). Hemacandra might have followed this tradition[27] in giving Kuntala as a Deśya word signifying Hāla-Sātavāhana.

Pūsa would correspond to Sk. *pūya*. As a Deśya item it also means 'a parrot'. Why Sātavāhana was called Pūsa and what was its significance—these things are totally in the dark.

The third alternative name of Hāla-Sātavāhana noted above is Cauracimdha, which corresponds to Sk. Caturacihna. One way of interpreting this is to take it as equivalent to Sk. *Vidagdha-śiromaṇi*. And it can very well fit the personality of Hāla-Sātavāhana as it is known from legends. But another interpretation is also plausible. *Cature-Cimha* is the same as *Caturāṅka*, i.e. one whose *aṅka* or pen-name was *Catura*. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* has classified and illustrated various types of *aṅkas*.[28] An *aṅka* was some special marking word used by a poet at the close of each section of his literary work, as a sort of signature. Instead of *aṅka*, its synonyms *cihna* and *lāñchana* were used ocasionally. We have the pen-names of ancient poets like Abhimānāṅka, Parākramāṅka, Sāhasāṅka,[29]

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27. Upadhye, op. cit., Introduction, p. 49, note 1.

28. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. II, p. 474; Raghavan, op. cit., pp. 405, 834 etc.

29. *Kuvalayamālā*, ed. by A. N. Upadhye, 1959, p. 4.1.3.

Abhimānāṅka, Parākramāṅka and Sāhasāṅka are remembered and honoured here by Uddyotana as illustrious Kathākāras that preceded him. Abhimānacihna was an important Deśīkāra who has been approvingly quoted several times by Hemacandra. One Avalepacihna is saluted as a respectable metrical authority by Virahāṅka in the very first verse of his *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*. We cannot say whether these were three different persons or only three names of one and the same person. We may note in this connection that the *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* gives Virahalaṁchaṇa (Sk. Virahalāñchana) as its author's name, while the commentator mentions him as Virahāṅka.

Parākramāṅka may be the same as the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, and Sāhasāṅka, his son Candragupta Vikramāditya (Raghavan, op. cit., pp. 689, 830).

Virahāṅka,[30] etc. Similarly we have Dakkhiṇṇaiṁdha[31] (i.e. Dākṣiṇyacihna), Abhimānacihna,[32] Avalevacihna[33] (i.e. Avalepacihna,). Jasaindha[34] (i.e. Yaśaścihna), etc. Thirdly we may note Sadbhāvalāñchana[35], Virahalāñchana,[36] Dākṣiṇyalāñchana,[37] etc. Accordingly Sk. *Catura* or Sk. *Caura* would be the *aṅka* identifying mark of Sātavāhana employed in the concluding verses of the sections of his narrative poems. Of course, this remains merely a speculation until we can verify it, and that would be possible only when luck favoured us with the recovery of some sustained composition of Sātavāhana.

Finally we should note that in the closing verse of each Śataka of the *Gāthā-Saptaśatī*, Hāla-Sātavāhana is called *kaivacchala* (Sk. *kavi-vatsala*) "a loving patron of poets". This seems to be rather a *biruda* than a pen-name.

3. *Āḍhyarāja*

19. The tradition that identifies Sātavāhana with Hāla is old, persistent and vigorous. The same cannot be said of the tradition which identifies Sātavāhana with Āḍhyarāja. Rājaśekhara and Bhoja have noted that tradition. As pointed out by Raghavan,[38] Rājaśekhara has recorded in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p. 50) a legend according to which Sātavāhana, the king of Kuntala, had ordered his harem to make exclusive use of Prakrit, and similarly Sāhasāṅka, the king of Ujjayinī had prescribed exclusive use of Sanskrit.[39] Bhoja, in *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, II. 15 refers to the same traditional legend when

30. See the preceding note.
31. *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 282, c. 16.
32. See note no. 29.
33. See note no. 29.
34. Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*, I. ix.11.
35. *Vṛttajātisamuccaya*, I. 1.
36. See note no. 29.
37. *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 284, colophon of Ms. P. given in the footnote.
38. op. cit., p. 830. See also V. V. Mirashi, 'The Date of the Gāthāsaptaśatī', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, xxiii, 1947, p. 307 (=Studies in Indology, Vol. I, 1960, Pp. 84-85).
39. *Śrūyate ca Kuntaleṣu Sātavāhano nāma rājā yena Prākṛta-bhāṣātmakam evāntaḥpuram...; śrūyate ca Ujjayinyāṁ Sāhasāṅko nāma rājā, tena ca Saṁskṛtabhāṣātmakam antaḥpuram.....* —*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 50.

he says that everybody used Prākṛit under the regime of Āḍhyarāja, while under the regime of Sāhasāṅka everybody used Sanskrit.[40] Here we see that Bhoja's Āḍhyarāja corresponds to Rājaśekhara's Sātavāhana of Kuntala. And Ratneśvara's commentary too on the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* identifies Āḍhyarāja with Śālivāhana, and Sāhasāṅka with Vikramāditya. So the fact that there was such a tradition cannot be denied.

20. In this connection Mirashi and Raghavan have drawn our attention to Bāṇa's reference to Āḍhyarāja in his *Harṣacarita* . In the introductory verses of the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa, in the course of eulogising eminent poets that preceded him, says that with the excellence of Āḍhyarāja's Utsāha compositions before them, other poets found no heart to write poetry : *Āḍhyarāja-kṛtotsāhaiḥ hṛdayasthaiḥ smṛtair api/*
jihvāntaḥ kṛṣyamāṇeva na kavitve pravartate//[41]

Now it looks certain that according to Bāṇa this Āḍhyarāja on one hand and Sātavāhana, the compiler of the *Gāthā-kośa* on the other, were different persons, for each of the eight introductory verses of the *Harṣacarita*, beginning from the 11th and ending with the 18th, pays tribute to some one famous poet or work in the following order: *Vāsavadattā* (11), Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra (12), Sātavāhana (13), Pravarasena (14), Bhāsa (15), Kālidāsa (16), *Bṛhatkathā* (17) and Āḍhyarāja (18). So the tradition that identified Āḍhyarāja with Hāla-Sātavāhana was a later development.

21. Āḍhyarāja's literary compositions which Bāṇa has so highly admired have been referred to by him as 'Utsāha-s.' The term 'Utsāha' has intrigued the Scholars and they have made various conjectures[42] about its meaning. But Utsāha here is not a general designation for the chapter-divisions of an

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40. *Ke'Mālave sāḍhyarājasya rājye Prākṛte-bhāṣiṇaḥ /*
Kāle Śrīśāhasāṅkasya ke na Saṃskṛta-bhāṣiṇaḥ //
—*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, II. 15.

41. *Harṣacarita*, Introductory verse No. 18.

42. Mirashi, op. cit., p. 84; Raghavan, op. cit., pp. 829-30; *Siddha-Bhāratī*, II. p. 206 V.S. Agrawal, *Harṣacarita—ek Sāṃskṛtik Adhyayana*, 1953, p. 8. Some MSS. of the *Harṣacarita* actually read *uchvāsaiḥ* for the inconvenient *utsāhaiḥ*. Supposing Utsāha had meant a Chapter, to refer to Āḍhyarāja's superb work as 'chapters' would have been a very odd and unprecedented way of admiring.

Ākhyāyikā like Āśvāsa, etc. The commentator Śaṅkara has recorded two earlier interpretations as he himself had no idea as to what was exactly meant by Utsāha. According to one view it was primarily the name of a particular type of Tāla in dance, and secondarily it applied to poems which were used as song-text to accompany the dance.[43] According to another view it was a prose-cum-verse composition with a definite pattern: The introductory stanza presented the theme in substance, which was further enlarged upon in prose interspersed with verse, and the whole formed a self-contained unit.[44]

22. Prākṛt prosody enlightens us on this point and it supports in substance the first of the above two interpretations. Utsāha was a well-known Prākṛt metre. Both the leading Prākṛt prosodists, Svayambhū and Hemacandra, have defined it.[45] In their scheme of treatment the Utsāha metre headed the first sub-section of the Apabhraṁśa section and hence that sub-section was usually called Utsāhādiprakaraṇa.[46] Utsāha was a metre of 24 Mātrās, made up of 6 caturmātras, the third and fifth caturmātra having the form u—u or u, uuu. The fact that Utsāha is treated as an Apabhraṁśa metre does not mean that it could not be employed in Prākṛt compositions. As pointed out earlier, the prosodists have explicitly stated that the metres treated under the Apabhraṁśa section are generally but not exclusively[47] used in Apabhraṁśa poems. Conversely several metres of the Khañjaka category, described under the Prākṛt section are found in actual practice to have been used in Apabhraṁśa poems.

Further the Prākṛt prosodists tell us that the Utsāha metre

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43. *Uḍḍiyamāṇa-gīyādhārabhūta-padopacārāt kāryamapyutsāha iti kecit.*

44. *Yatra pūrvaṁ ślokenārtha upakṣipyate paścāt sa eva gadyena vistaryate, madhye vṛtta-nibandhaśca bhavati sa parisamāptārtha utsāha ucyate iṭyapare.*

45. *Svayambhūchandas*, ed. by H.D. Velankar, (1962, IV. 4, 5, p. 53. *Chandonuśāsana*, ed. by H. D. Velankar, 1961, V. 2, p. 171.—Following them Rājaśekhara and *Kavidarpaṇa* have also defined Utsāha. See under No. 133, Section III, Appendix II in Velankar's edition of the *Chandonuśāsana*.

46. *Svayambhūchandas*, ch. IV to VIII are devoted to Apabhraṁśa metres, and the fourth chapter is called *Uchāhāi* (= *Utsāhādi*). *Chandonuśāsana*, ch. V to VII are devoted to Apabhraṁśa metres, and chapter fifth is called *Utsāhādi-prakaraṇa*.

47. See note No. 23.

was also used to compose certain types of songs called Dhavala, Maṅgala and Phullaṭaka which were mostly in Apaḍbhraṁśa.[48] Thus from the information we gather about the Utsāha metre from the manuals of prosody, it is clear that in early Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa literatures there must have been in vogue an important class of short lyrics in the Utsāha metre. In Bāṇa's times Āḍhyarāja's poems in Utsāha were judged to have been superb.

23. Raghavan has drawn our attention to one more fact about Āḍhyarāja's writings which he gleans from the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.[49] While illustrating the various conventional modes of marking the closing verse of each canto in the Sargabandha etc. the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* says that in Āḍhyarāja's work the end of each section was specifically marked by his favourite word *dhairya* : *abhiprāyānikatā yathā dhairyaṁ Āḍhyarājasya*.[50] This implies that Āḍhyarāja had also written some Prabandhakāvya—may be a Mahākāvya. Looking to his reported love of Prākṛt, we can suppose that it was a Prākṛt Kāvya, like Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* which was Utsāhātika or Pravarasena's *Setubandha* which is *anurāgātika*, but of course we cannot be definite about this point.

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48. *Svayambhūchando*, under IV. 20, 21, VIII. 29-30; *Chandaḥkośa*, V. 27-28; *Chandonuśāsana*, V. 40, 41; *Kavidarpaṇa* under II. 32 and the *Chandaḥkandalī* quoted there.

49. Raghavan, op. cit., p. 830.

50. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Vol. II, p. 474.

A FEW RITUALISTIC TERMS CURRENT IN BENGAL

Chintaharan *Chakravarti*

A number of terms current in Brahmanic ritualistic literature of Bengal or among orthodox people having active interest in rituals, but not found or correctly interpreted in standard dictionaries, constitute interesting study, especially as they throw welcome sidelights on ritualistic peculiarities prevalent in Bengal. Some of these terms are commonly used in senses other than those usually known in ordinary Sanskrit. Thus *Sūkta* refers to a particular mantra in a hymn and not to the entire hymn as in Vedic literature. The mantra *tad Viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ* etc. (RV. I. 22.20) which is uttered in offering every article of worship to Viṣṇu is regarded as his Sūkta. *Paṭala*, a chapter of a Tantra work, refers to a manual of a particular rite prepared with a view to helping the worshipper. I will take up here a few words which attracted my attention in course of my studies on the feasts and festivities of Bengal.

Mahālayā is the last day of the black fortnight of the month of Āśvina. It is considered specially sacred to the forefathers to whom Tarpaṇa generally and Śrāddha occasionally are offered on the day and it is observed as a public holiday. It is neither recorded in any of the wellknown Sanskrit dictionaries nor in current ritualistic literature. The source word Mahālayā is however more or less popular. Separate sections are devoted to Mahālaya in works like the *Nirṇayasindhu* (chapter II) of Kamalākara and *Tithinirṇaya* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita as well as of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. It refers to the entire fortnight mentioned above and popularly known as *pitṛpakṣa* or *pretapakṣa* or fortnight of the fathers. The term is not unknown to Bengal too, where Raghunandana in the section on Amāvāsyā of his *Tithitattva* gives the sense as *Kanyāgatāṃparapakṣa* (black fortnight in the month of Āśvina) and Govindānanda in his *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (Bib. Ind. p. 359) and Rudradhara in his *Varṣakṛtya* (Banaras ed., p. 148) give the analytic meaning as residence of festivities (of forefathers) (the fortnight in which the forefathers revel as they receive oblations).

Tantradhāraka is quite familiar in literature and in practice. It occurs in *Gṛhyāsaṅgraha* quoted and explained by Raghunandana as *Pustakadhāraka* (holder of the book or ritualistic manual) (Sections on Varaṇa in the *Saṁskāra-tattva* and *Chāndogavṛṣotsargatattva*). It refers to an assistant priest who with a manual in hand helps the chief priest in following the order of the minute items of the rituals and in uttering the mantras on every occasion. The function is sometimes assigned to one called ācārya who advises the chief priest taking a book (*ācāryastu pustakamādāya karmopadiśet*—*Ṛgvedi-vṛṣotsargatattvam* of Raghunandana).

Mukhacandrikā is ceremonial looking at each other's faces by the bridegroom and the bride commonly known in modern Bengal as *Śubhadṛṣṭi* or auspicious look. This word is found in medieval Bengali literature and is still in use among elderly people of certain localities . It is mentioned in the *Hārāvali* lexicon as quoted by Raghunandana in his *Udvāhatattva* (Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series ed., p. 38). *Jambūlamālikā* appears to be synonymous. It is found in an extract which Raghunandana (*loc. cit.*) ascribes to the *Harivaṁśa*. Mukha[10] is met with in a partially distorted form in the *Araṇyaṣaṣṭhīvrata-kathā* assigned to the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* (*Samaye mukhacandrike*—at the time of mukhacandrikā).

Kālāśauca or dehāśauca is ritualistic impurity attaching to sons and wives of a deceased person for one year from the date of his or her death. During this period the impure one is required to observe certain restrictions including non-participation in special religious rites.

Kuśaṇḍikā is the preliminary ritual for the sanctification of the fire which precedes every sacrificial rite. It is quite familiar in ritualistic literature. But it is used to refer to all rites connected with the marriage ceremony, directly or indirectly associated with the sacrifice eg., *lājahoma, aśmārohaṇa, saptapadīgamana, pāṇigrahaṇa* etc.

Śrīpañcamī is the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha. This day is specially favourite to Śrī which usually refers to Lakṣmī, goddess of wealth. Raghunandana in his *Tithitattva* takes it to mean Sarasvatī (goddess of learning) in this case. And Sarasvatī is worshipped with great pomp on this occassion.

Chāyāmaṇḍapa, a temporary shed erected for the performance of marriage or other rites is occasionally mentioned in ritualistic and medieval Bengali literatures. It is still in use among elderly people in some religions.

Ambuvāci is the earth in menses. It also refers to the period thereof which falls during the sixth and tenth days of the solar month of Āṣāḍha when the Sun enters the Ārdrā star leaving the Mṛgaśiras. It is an important occasion. Digging the earth and sowing seeds are prohibited during the period. The prohibition is respected by peasants, Hindus as well as non-Hindus who observe it as a holiday when all work in he field is stopped. Widows do not take cooked food, especially food cooked during the period, though no such prohibition is found in any known old text. The festival is known as Raja (menses) in Orissa where it falls on the last day of Jyaiṣṭha and the first two days of Āṣāḍha.*

* Mahālaya and Kuśandikā one pan-Indian in usage.—Ed.

DATA ON AGRICULTURE AROUND VĀRĀṆASĪ
(in the 12th Cent. A.D.)

Dev Raj *Chanana*

This note seeks to present some data pertaining to agriculture in the region around Vārāṇasī (Benaras) in the 12th Century A.D. The source is the text, *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa* (henceforth UVP), also called *Prayoga Prakāśa*. It was written by one Paṇḍita Dāmodara Śarman, a teacher residing in that town.

I

The manuscript was first noticed by C. D. Dalal (see his paper written for the fifth session of the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad, Surat, 1915) and has been published by Shri Jinavijaya Muni in the Singhi Jain Series (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1953). The original text, in the form of Sanskrit verses, called *kārikās*, 50 in number, is accompanied by a commentary due to the author himself. This latter is partly in the *bhāṣā* of Vārāṇasī and partly in Sanskrit. In fact almost every sentence in *Kośalī*, as Prof. S. K. Chatterji (in his linguistic introduction to the text) remarks, is followed by its Sanskrit equivalent. Unfortunately this commentary breaks off abruptly, due to the loss of several palm leaves of the manuscript.

The author had composed the work to help young students easily acquire a working knowledge of Sanskrit, by making them learn graded sentences by rote. These latter contain numerous incidental allusions to every day life in the town as also in the country-side around the holy city.

This aspect of the data has been made use of by Dr. Moti Chandra and his conclusions are also found in the body of the book itself. Interested, as he had been, in presenting an over-all view of life, Dr. Moti Chandra devotes but a few lines (p. 84) to agriculture. This leaves out quite a number of facts bearing on agriculture and other relevant aspects.

Before dealing with the subject proper, let us also note that the dissertation of Dr. Roma Niyogi (*History of the Gāhaḍavālas*, Calcutta, 1959) does not contain any reference to this work (UVP). Dr. Niyogi, however, does refer to a learned scholar of Vārāṇasī, Dāmodara Śarman by name, who had received three village-grants from the Gāhaḍavāla ruling family (ibid., p. 252 and 254) for the inscriptions. On p. 208, she writes :—

> "The existence of two temples at Vārāṇasī dedicated to the sun-gods, Gaṅgāditya and Lolārka and the grant of half a village to the shrine of the latter, show that the sun-cult was also popular. As shown in the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, the necessary religious rites to be performed before making a gift include the invocation of the sun-god. One of the favourite donees of Govindacandra, Dāmodara Śarman who figures in three land-grants, was a *saura* or worshipper of the sun-god."

> "Dāmodaraśarman who, as we have seen before, was a student of Vājasaneyaśākhā, was also well-versed in the five siddhāntas of Jyotiṣa-śāstra (jyotis-śāstra-siddhānta-pañca-kovida)..." Ibid, p. 230.

She has also devoted some space to data on agriculture, to land revenue, etc. (p. 159), where she utilises the epigraphic evidence as her source-material.

Here also the data furnished by UVP can help fill in certain lacunae.

The date of the author is indicated first by his verses composed in honour of the Gāhaḍavāla king, Govindacandra who reigned from 1114 to 1155 A.D., describing the king as being then in power. They are as follows :

1. *Kasyaitad grihamunnatam kṣitipates tasyaiva rājñaḥ punaḥ,*
   sauvarṇāṇḍaka-maṇḍitonnatashikham paśyaitad asyāntike.
   Yasyeṣaṁ vasudhā sudhā-dhavalitā kīrtiśca śauryārjitā,
   śrī-govindanṛpasya tasya sutarām āyuś ciram vardhatām.
2. *Svarggas surāṇāṁ pātāla-lokas caiṣa phaṇābhṛtām,*
   śrī-mad govindacandrasya niḥśeṣam vasudhā-talam.

3. *Dhanadasya dhanam bhānoḥ pratāpo dhiṣaṇā guroḥ,*
govinda-nṛpates tvetat trayam apyamitam matam.

UVP. p. 24.

The first verse refers to the high palace of the king Govindacandra at Vārāṇasī, which has at its pinnacle a golden egg (*aṇḍa*, probably the 'āmalaka' is meant). The entire earth is his as also glory earned with prowess. It ends on a benedictory note for the king's long life. The second verse describes how the heavens appertain to the gods, the nether world to the *nāgas* and the entire earth to Śrī-mad Govindacandra. In the third verse the poet remarks that while the lord of wealth (Kubera) has wealth, the Sun has lustre and the teacher of the gods (Bṛhaspati) has intellect, the king Govinda has all the three in boundless measure.

In another context, in answer to a question, "who establishes Brahmins here ?", the author says, "Govindacandradeva", the king Govindacandra (p. 21). Read in conjunction with the three inscriptions (R. Niyogi, *op.cit.*, p. 252, 254), these references make it clear that our author was a contemporary of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra and lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The data, therefore, is valid, for this period, for what was called the Madhyadeśa, the Midland, that covered the major part of the Ganges Valley.

II

(a) *The Field*

Talking of agriculture, we may start with the sentence, *kṣetram jotate*, ploughs the field (p. 47, l.15; henceforth only page—and line-number are given). The sentence in what the author calls Apabhraṁśa is *khet jot* (henceforth reference to page and line will be followed by these equivalents). In this sentence, we get along with the root, *jotṛ*, to plough, the root, *aṭṛ* as a synonym. The idea is repeated in *kṣetram halati* (49/4, *khetu halāv*); here *hala* is denominatively employed. We can put next the sentence, *hālikaḥ kṣetram pāḍayati* (39/17. *hali khetu pāms*), the ploughman applied the harrow to the field. This operation follows both ploughing and sowing. Fields thus prepared were duly protected (cf. *kṣetram rakṣati*,

protects the field, 46/30, *khetu rāk*). This, however, did not ensure fool-proof protection against trespass by cattle, for we read, *gauḥ kṣetraṁ carati*, the cow eats the crop (46/21, *gāvi khet car*).

(b) *The Bullock*

The bullocks yoked for ploughing are separately mentioned, *balīvardaṁ joḍayati*, yokes the bullock (40/6, *valad jod*; here the noun supplied is *raḍḍa* or *radda* in Sanskrit, its *bhāṣā* equivalent being *rad*. If it is derived from *rad*, to draw a furrow, it may denote a ploughman). These oxen used to have a cord passed through their nostrils, to ensure full control. (The sentence is *balīvardaṁ nāthate*, passes the cord through the nostrils of the ox, 47/16, *balad nāth*). These draught-animals used to be branded on the side, in token of their being individually owned. (We read: *balīvardaṁ kaṭe aṅkate*, brands the ox on the side, 47/22 *baladdhi kaḍe āṅk*).

Branding used to be done with the help of red-hot metal, as is shown by the statement *ulmukena aṅkayati*, brands with the help of a fire-brand (41/20, *lui āṅk*). At the end of a day's work, the oxen were driven back home (cf. *grāmam balīvardān cālayati*, drives the ox to the village, 49/1, *gāun balad calāv*. This sentence can also signify the purchase of an ox and its being taken to the village of some new owner, after its purchase in a mart).

(c) *Reaping the crop*

The ripe crop used to be harvested by peasants with sickles (*dātreṇa lunāti kṛṣāṇaḥ*, with a sickle reaps the peasant, 14/13). Hired labourers were also employed for the job.[1] (*kṣetre dātreṇa brīhayo lūyante karmakāreṇa*, in a field with sickle is reaped the paddy by a labourer, 13/22; *khetaṁ haṁsie vrīhiṁ lavitīṁ kamāren*).

(d) *Products*

Besides *vrīhi*, other agricultural products mentioned in UVP are enumerated below :—

(i) *taṇḍula*, husked rice (39/15, 48/8; *cāula*).

(ii) *dhāna*, grains in general (47/25; *dhāhuri bhūj*, gets the grains parched).

(iii) *Caṇaka*, gram (45/3; cāṇā).

(iv) *kaṇikā*, broken wheat-grains (39/8; *kaṇika pisa*; grinds the wheat grains. The word annādyaanāj (45/17) denoting foodgrains may be noted here.

(v) *Saktu*, powdered barley (40/3; *sātu piṇḍ*, makes balls of barley-powder. In 45/15, we have *sātu vān, ta puṇi sān*).

(vi) *Sarṣapa*, mustard (*tailikaḥ sarṣapān pelayati*, the oil-man throws (into the press) the mustard-seeds, 59/24, *teli sarisav pel*).

(vii) *Tila*, rape-seed (40/31). *Taila*, oil (40/17) must have been extracted both from mustard and rape-seed.

(viii) *Māṣa*, Phaseolus Radiatus, is one of the most popular lentils (46/15, this is the Sanskrit reading. The bhāṣā-reading is *māṁsa*, meat mentioned elsewhere as well.)

(ix) *Tūla*, cotton (*tūlam piñjayati*, cards the cotton, 39/8, *rūa piñj*).

(x) *Karpaṭa*, cotton-cloth (40/16, *kāpaḍ*).

(xi) *Guḍa*, semi-refined brown sugar (40/28; the sentence signifies, licks the gud off the palm).

(xii) *Kṣāra*, soda ash (48/5, *kṣāreṇa bhuṇḍate*, fills (the stomach) with soda-ash., *chāren bhuruṇḍ*. This was presumably the poor man's substitute for common salt.

(xiii) *lavaṇa*, common salt, *sodium chloride* (46/15). The sentence suggests some sort of pulāv, consisting of well-cooked rice, meat, salt and ghee.

(xiv) *Pūga phala*, supari, betel nut (40/29). This could have been imported from farther east.

(xv) *Hiṅgu*, asafoetida (19/23). The context suggests that this product as also common salt were not local products.

(xvi) *Madhūka*, Bassia Latifundia, (called *mahuā* in modern languages in this area, was then known as mahū, 45/7).

(xvii) *Ghee*, clarified butter (46/15).

(xviii) *Dadhi*, curds (*dadhi viroḍati*, churns the curd, 45/13).

Of these xi-xv are not agricultural products, but were and largely are, connected with food. No. xvi, *madhūka* is the product of a tree, also known by the same name. The last two along with *māṁsa*, meat are animal-products.

Domesticated Animals : Besides the *gau*, cow (46/21 and elsewhere) and the *Balīvarda*, bull (*balad*) we have the *sūkara*, pig (39/26, *suar*) and the *aja*, goat (50/3, *cheli*). The general term for cattle (or kine !) is *gorūpa* (49/23, *goru*, still current, as in Bengali). The calf is called *vatsaka* or *tarṇaka* (35/9, *vāchā*, still current as in Bengali). The *gopālaka* or *gopāla* (13/27, 14/4-5, *guālā*) seems to have been a professional not owning the cattle, these latter being called, *gosvāmi* (ibid., Gosāṁvī). The *Ābhīras*, with a very long association with cattle-raising are mentioned in 38/20 (*ahir*).

III

The village, grāma (*gāun*) is repeatedly mentioned and we may presume that sentences like 'He throws away the cow-dung (*gomaya*, 37/12, *gobaru*) during the rains', The wall caves in during the rainy season (*varṣā*, 36/11; *bārisa*), 'The old mud-plaster (*lepa*, 37/13; *lau*), peels off' and 'The house-holder gets his house thatched' (39/6, *kuḍumbi gharu chāa*, also 42/9) apply not only to the majority of houses in Vārāṇasī but also to most of the village-cottages. The dung-heap, *kūṭa* (48/1, *ghuḍ*) as also its semi-permanent associate, the pig are noticed (39/26).

These villages would catch fire, by accident or otherwise (The village burns; he caused the village to burn', 48/22). Residence in a village infested by rogues (*durjana*, 23/19) was thought to be definitely more troublesome than living in a forest infested with snakes and tigers. A village would have wells and/or tanks. One sentence describes a well (*kūpa*, 46/14, *kūa*) being dug. In another we learn of a small tank, *puṣkarī* (49/22, *pokhari*) being dug. This is followed by the causal form of the root, *khan* (to dig), showing that labourers were also engaged in this work.

The crops, however, depended on rains. 'If god were to rain, there would be food' is met with early enough (9/15). If rains were on time and in good measure, then they had,

what is known as *sukāla*, good season, when crops prosper (35/29). In a catechism we read: 'With what does the cloud renew (re-invigorate) the world ?' 'With rains' (22/18). That famine affects prices is stated in 39/3, the word for famine being *durbhikṣa*. If we go by the *bhāṣā*-equivalent of the verb, *ghaṭāv* and assume that it had taken its present-day meaning, 'to bring down' in the 12th century, then one plausible way of understanding it would be: In a season of poor crops, the villagers' purchasing power steeply falls and in such an eventuality, prices of commodities intended for them are bound to fall. As has always been the case, the poor suffer from the pangs of hunger and their bodies get emaciated (*bubhukṣayā śuṣyati*, dries up due to hunger, 51/14, *bhūkhen sukhā*).

Ownership : A number of sentences help us to have some idea of ownership as well. One sentence refers to two persons owning a village (*tayor dvayoḥ grāmaḥ*, 16/20). Another shows a field being partitioned (44/10). Ownership-rights were also mortgaged, for we read, 'He gets his given (read 'mortgaged') village released (40/2). In case of failure to honour debts, the creditor would imprison the debtor in his personal prison ('where have you been so long?' 'In the prison of the *vyavahāraka*' (*vavaharaka*, nvd. *bahrā*). 'How did you obtain release ?' 'By borrowing from a friend and paying the same to him (the creditor)' (23/16-18). Due to reasons not explained in the text, at times some powerful person could proceed to a re-distribution of owner-ship rights in the village (*balīviraḥ grāmam vaṇṭayati*, the strong hero distributes the village, 40/21).

Forests, at least those in the vicinity of villages, were also privately owned (After the sentence 'The village of those two' the author adds, 'our forest', 16/20, *amhār vanu*).

WHAT IS HINDUISM ?

R. N. Dandekar

Hinduism is, in many respects, a unique phenomenon in the history of religions. Indeed, Hinduism can hardly be characterised as a religion in the strictest sense of the term. Unlike most religions, Hinduism does not regard the concept of god as being central to it. Hinduism is not a system of theology—it does not make any dogmatic affirmation regarding the nature of god. And what often appears confusing is that the Hindus are seen to worship many gods though they may be actually believing in only one god as the single ultimate reality. Similarly, Hinduism does not honour any particular person as its sole prophet or founder. It does not recognize any particular book as its absolutely authoritative scripture. It does not insist on any particular religious practice as being obligatory. It does not accept any doctrine as its dogma. Hinduism can also not be identified with a specific moral code. Hinduism, as a religion, does not convey any definite or unitary idea. There is no dogma or practice which can be said to be either universal or essential to Hinduism as a whole. People who call themselves Hindus have, in fact, not much in common as regards faith or worship. What is essential for one section of the Hindu community may not be necessarily so for another. Indeed, even within a particular sect of Hinduism, the essentials can hardly be separated from the non-essentials. And, yet, Hinduism has persisted through centuries as a distinct religious entity.

The Hindus are usually believed to be rather excessively obsessed with religion—they are said to be sharing this trait of being inordinately occupied with religion with most Asians—but, strange as it may seem, they themselves do not betray any self-consciousness in that behalf. They do not look upon religion as something essentially separate from the other activities of life. For a Hindu, religion is neither an extraneously imposed duty to be specially attended to nor a particular problem

to be deliberately pondered over. He views life as an integrated whole and its various aspects as being interdependent. This may account for there being no word in Sanskrit to denote religion as it is popularly understood. The word *dharma*, which is usually employed as a synonym for religion, has a far wider connotation. Broadly speaking, it implies the whole complex of theories and practices relating to the actualities and aspirations of the material and spiritual life of the individual and the society. Religion, to a Hindu, is, accordingly, co-extensive with life. It may be said to signify the entire way of life, which, however, is not necessarily and in all respects identical in the case of all those who call themselves Hindus.

Hinduism is, in a sense, an ethnic religion. It was not revealed to a prophet and then either propagated among or imposed upon the people. The Hindus are verily born and grow in Hinduism; and this condition of birth is so compulsive that many persons who are born of Hindu parents have to conform to Hinduism though they may not believe in many of its doctrines and practices. Indeed, Hinduism defies all attempts at definition. One can hardly assert that a person is entitled to be called a Hindu only if he believes in certain doctrines and follows certain practices or that he forfeits his claim to be called a Hindu if he does not believe in certain doctrines and follow certain practices.

Attempts have no doubt been made, from time to time, to lay down some criteria of Hinduism. Belief in the absolute validity of the Veda is, for instance, often mentioned as a distinctive attribute of a Hindu. Actually, however, one can be a good and devout Hindu without having to profess such a belief. The various schools of Tantrism may be referred to as an instance in point. Moreover, such a definition ultimately proves to be singularly vague and nebulous. For, the Veda, as we know it, being an essentially heterogeneous and, in some cases, even self-contradictory collection of texts, one would indeed find it difficult to accept the whole of it as being equally valid and binding. One of the *Upanisads* itself characterises the *Rgveda*, etc., as embodying "lower-knowledge" (*aparā vidyā*). The Veda is also open to a variety of interpretations, no one of which can be said to be invested with absolute authority. Observance of caste-rules is certainly a more potent criterion.

It is neither the disavowal of any particular doctrine nor the deviation from any particular religious practice that has been regarded as a serious lapse on the part of a Hindu; it is rather the non-conformity to the caste-rules which has been regarded as such. But even this latter may entail the loss of one's caste-status; it does not necessarily entail the loss of his Hinduism. Strictly speaking, Hinduism as religion must needs be distinguished from Hinduism as a social organization. It may also be pointed out that caste-rules are scripturally and conventionally believed to be non-operative in respect of certain classes of Hindus, such as ascetics and *sannyāsins*. Further, Hindu reformers openly speak of the abolition of caste-system, while conditions of modern life have tended to remove the caste-barriers among the Hindus. Thus, observance of caste-rules cannot any longer be regarded as a universally valid criterion of Hinduism. The belief in the sanctity of the cow and the Brāhmaṇa is too superficial a feature to be considered seriously in this context. One cannot also speak of any sacraments being obligatory to all the Hindus. Doctrines regarding *ātman*, *karma*, *saṁsāra*, and *mokṣa* may perhaps be regarded as axiomatic in many schools of Hindu philosophy, but they are by no means either universal or essential so far as Hindu religion is concerned. For, a person can claim to be a Hindu without believing in any or all of these doctrines, while a person is not entitled to be called a Hindu only because he accepts any or all of these doctrines.

The word "Hindu", it must be remembered, is of a foreign origin. It is also of a fairly late origin. Actually, most of what is usually understood by the term "Hinduism" or "Hindu religion" had been in existence since very much long before that term came into vogue. Indeed, the term "Hinduism" came to acquire its specific and complex socio-religious significance only in comparatively recent times. Originally, the term "Hindu" seems to have had a purely geographical connotation. The people who lived on the other side (that is, on the eastern side) of the river Indus were loosely called Hindus. And, even after that name had, as it were, become naturalised, it was for a long time understood in a more or less negative sense. Whoever was born in India and was not a Muslim or a Christian or a Parsi, etc., was called a Hindu.

Obviously, such a negative description can hardly be made to serve any useful purpose. It is sometimes suggested that the term "Hindu" is an essentially juridical term, and that a Hindu may be most conveniently defined as a person to whom the Hindu law becomes applicable in the law courts of India. But this would amount to arguing in a circle, for, Hindu law itself cannot be defined except as the law which is generally made applicable to the Hindus. Moreover, the Hindu law does not become applicable to all the Hindus in the same manner and to the same extent. Conversely, it is seen that all those who are today governed by the Hindu law do not necessarily profess Hindu religion. Such, for instance, are the Sikhs, the Jainas, and the Buddhists. The relationship between Hinduism and the Hindu law is by no means comparable to that between Islam and the Muslim civil law.

Hinduism cannot thus be subjected to any theological definition or sociological tests or juridical characterisation. One has, therefore, inevitably to fall back upon the very simple definition, namely, that a Hindu is one who is born of Hindu parents and who has not openly abjured Hinduism. This definition does, no doubt, involve a kind of *petitio principii*; but, in view of the great antiquity of Hinduism, it may be treated as more apparent than real and may not be regarded as seriously vitiating the definition. The real difficulty here would be in respect of recent converts to Hindu religion.

By the very nature of its origin and growth, Hinduism has been exceedingly tolerant—tolerant towards other religions and tolerant towards itself. It cannot, however, be said that this tolerance has always represented a sublimation of religious feelings or that it has in every case been deliberate and discriminating. But Hinduism has, by and large, always tended to incorporate and assimilate rather than to choose and eliminate. Hinduism is a remarkably free religion—a religion which is untrammelled by any fixed creeds, dogmas, or rituals. In the course of its long history, it has manifested a unique capacity for almost infinite expansion. One of its basic assumptions seems to have been that, though religious practices and beliefs were bound to change according to different times and different climes, they could all be comprehended within a larger unity.

Accordingly, Hinduism has always been variable, elastic, and receptive.

Hinduism is essentially dynamic. Unlike most religions, which are prophetic or creedal and which, therefore, necessarily tend to remain static, it has exhibited, throughout history, a remarkable silence and responsiveness to the needs of different communities and to the demands of different ages and regions. It has never hesitated to sponsor newer scriptures, newer gods, and newer institutions. It has rejected none; it has welcomed within its fold all those who have sought its spiritual leadership and social sustenance. It thus represents different levels of religious belief and practice and different stages of cultural development, and offers almost endless grades of spiritual possibilities. Indeed, the two great merits of Hinduism have been its concern for the specific spiritual competence of a person (*adhikāra*) and its readiness to allow him freedom of worshipping his chosen divinity (*iṣṭadevatā*). A reference may be made in this very context to another feature of Hinduism, namely, that Hindu worship is individualistic rather than congregational in character. A Hindu feels as uninhibited in adopting any particular religious practice as in subscribing to any particular doctrine.

The result of all this has been manifold. It is true that Hinduism has rarely been guilty of religious persecution. It is also true that this tendency of Hinduism to absorb and sanctify whatever it came across has been to a large extent responsible for the fact that it spread all over India rapidly and without resorting to any active proselytization. It may be further pointed out to the credit of Hinduism that the religious absorption which it promoted was invariably accompanied by a social absorption and readjustment. But on the debit side it must be mentioned that the over-tolerant and absorptive attitude of Hinduism has resulted in lowering the average level of its doctrines and ritual. And, what is perhaps still more serious, Hinduism has, on account of this trait, all along been deprived of compactness and distinct characterization which normally invest a religion with a peculiar strength. It should, therefore, not be surprising that Hinduism has never encouraged a theocratic state or that it has hardly ever become a state religion.

If one might at all speak of any distinctive features of Hinduism, one could mention the belief in the ideological complex of *karma-saṁsāra-mokṣa* on the metaphysical-ethical plane and the acceptance of caste-system on the socio-ethical plane. And, even here, since Hinduism is essentially an ethnic religion, it is the latter feature which has to be regarded as the more basic and compelling of the two. As the result of his original ignorance, man gets involved in a whole cycle of existences which has been revolving since eternity (*saṁsāra*)—his doings in the course of one life inexorably governing the nature and conditions of his next life in a perpetual chain of causality (*karma*). His religio-philosophical *summum bonum* lies in *mokṣa* or his becoming free from this involvement through the realization of his true nature, that is to say, of his essential identity with the one absolute reality. A Hindu is, accordingly, fully obsessed with the quest for *mokṣa*, and his attitude towards life is generally determined by his conviction that a single life in a whole cycle of existences is valueless from the ultimate point of view. On the other hand, however, a Hindu does not altogether ignore his individual life—it serves as the ground for his efforts to attain *mokṣa*. He believes that the existence in flux holds a promise for the existence in essence. He further believes—and this is perhaps far more important—that the manner in which he lives his life vitally affects the security and solidarity of the society to which he belongs. A proper co-ordination between the philosophico-ethical ideal of *mokṣa* and the socio-ethical ideal of *dharma* (*varṇāśrama-dharma*), which latter is regarded as investing the phenomenal existence with meaning, may be said to constitute the most central problem of Hinduism. *Mokṣa*, it is realised, is theoretically attainable by any individual by himself, but *dharma* has to adjust itself with a given social situation.

Another problem, which has often figured prominently in the history of Hinduism and which, in the ultimate analysis, is just a reflection of the problem referred to above, relates to the conflict between the traditional *dharma* or the way of life prescribed in scriptural texts and the eternal or absolute *dharma* which reveals itself to the enlightened one and to which the traditional *dharma* attempts to give but a practical expression. In other words, it may be said to relate to the conflict

between 'law' and 'justice'. The attitude of Hinduism in this respect is ambivalent—on the one hand, it insists on the subordination of the sense of right to the sense of duty, while, on the other, it unequivocally states that, at a certain stage in his spiritual advancement, the true seeker may set aside the injunctions of the traditional *dharma*.

It needs to be remembered that Hinduism is not a unitary concept or phenomenon nor a monolithic structure. It is, therefore, hardly possible to make any statement which can become applicable, without exception, to Hinduism as a whole. Hinduism is, indeed, as unpredictable as human nature. In the last analysis, a study of Hinduism would invariably amount to a study of the various Hindu castes and sects. The Hindu society is cut up horizontally into castes and vertically into religious sects—but the vertical stratification is not as rigid and as exclusive as the horizontal one.

Hinduism appears to be marked by several paradoxes and polarities. For instance, it emphasizes religious equality among all men and at the same time not only connives at but actually promotes a rigorous social hierarchy. It allows complete freedom in the matter of belief but insists on a rigid conformity to caste-rules. And what is particularly striking is that, though the lower castes suffer from many disabilities both in the religious and social spheres, we see that the lower the caste is in the social hierarchy the more religiously conservative and conformistic it usually happens to be. Hinduism does not insist on any set form of worship, but this fact itself has given rise to a veritable plethora of religious practices. Similarly, on the one hand, Hinduism regards god as a superfluity, while, on the other, it sponsors a deeply emotional theism as the noblest form of religion. On the one hand, it lays down rigorous austerities and penances for the sake of religious discipline, while, on the other, it seems to permit various orgiastic and sensualistic rites. On the one hand, it extols *mokṣa*, *jñāna*, and *saṁnyāsa* as the highest religious ideals, while, on the other, it also prescribes elaborate rituals which are believed to win *svarga* for their punctilious performer. Hinduism does not countenance any dichotomy of religion and philosophy. Philosophy is believed to involve man in a very profound manner. It is, indeed, understood to be essentially an applied

—and not merely theoretical or contemplative—discipline. It aims at concrete, tangible results. It is certainly significant that the *Upaniṣads* and similar texts often speak of *vidyās* (pragmatic philosophical doctrines) rather than of *jñāna* (pure, academic knowledge). Philosophy is thus regarded as an integral part of religion. This would also account, in some measure, for the paradoxes and polarities mentioned above. But the true glory of Hinduism consists in presenting all these polarities and paradoxes and the various levels of doctrine and practice as constituting a single well-coordinated religious system.

PĀṆINI AND ṚGVEDIC EXEGESIS[1]

By

G. V. *Devasthali*

It is now generally admitted that Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* can serve as a useful aid to Ṛgvedic Exegesis; and that serious attempts have to be made to exploit this aid to the fullest extent possible. There are, no doubt, very serious handicaps[2] for one who tries to utilise this aid. But this circumstance need not deter us from this task. On the contrary the sooner we introduce our young students to this aid to Vedic Exegesis the better will be the prospects of achieving tangible results and of reserving this important work from the neglect to which it has been subjected so far. It is intended here to indicate how this can be done with ease and also without scaring the student away from the study of the Veda and Vedic Grammar.

Let us start with accentuation, which is considered to be the most intricate, though at the same time the most important topic of Vedic grammar. In this connexion it is very interesting to see how a few rules of Pāṇini are calculated to give the student a firm grounding in this field and make this topic look quite easy.

Pāṇini's use of *anubandhas* is quite well-known; and very often a student of Pāṇini's rules wonders why some of these mute letters have been used at all. Such, for example, are the letters *k*, *c*, *ṅ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *ṃ*, *r* and *l*, which to a student of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* are only redundant. Most of these letters in Pāṇini's system serve no other purpose except that of indicating accent; and unless the student turns to the *Svaraprakriyā* (which is rarely the case), there is no chance of his knowing the purpose served by these letters. But to a student of the Veda—

1. Oct. 1968.

2. This has been amply discussed and illustrated by the present author in two articles (i) *Pāṇini as an Aid to Ṛgvedic Interpretation* (Prof. H. D. Velankar Commemoration Volume, 1965, pp. 20-26); and (ii) *Sāyaṇa utilising Pāṇini in his Ṛgveda Bhāṣya* (A Study of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on *RV* 1.1-19, *J.A.S Bombay* (New Series), Vol. 38 (1998), No. pp. 165-173.

particularly the Ṛgveda—they could appear to be the key letters which open before him a major portion of the phenomenon of accentuation. This will be clear from what follows.

Let us take the rules wherein Pāṇini lays down the accentuation indicated by these letters, one by one. Mute *l* indicates that the word formed by appending a *lit* suffix has the acute on the syllable preceding the suffix,[3] irrespective of the accentuation of the base, e.g. *imdthā* (*idam*+*thāl*)[4], *jyeṣṭhtāti* (*jyeṣṭha*+*tātil*)[5], *abhītaḥ* (*abhi*+*tasil*), *viṛṛcham* (*vi-pracch*+*Kamul*). Mute *r* indicates that a formation in a *rit* suffix has the accent on the penultimate syllable.[6] The only suffix with mute *r* that has two formations occurring in *AV* is *anīyar*; and it is observed that both these formations in *AV* are paroxytone as required by the rule just quoted e.g. *upajīvanīya*, *āmantraṇīya*. Mute *P* indicates that the suffix to which it is attached is enclitic,[7] so much so that a formation with a *pit* suffix retains the acute of the base, e.g. *priyātara*,—*tama* (*priyá* + *taraṃ*, +*tamaṃ*), *dalataya* (*dálan* + *tayaṃ*), *bhágavat* (*bhága* + *vatuṃ*). Mute *n* indicates that the formations in *nit* suffixes are barytone[8] e.g. *drāghīyas* (*dirgha* + -*īyasun*), similarly *jyāyas* and *jyéṣṭha*[9] (formations in *īyasun* and *iṣṭhan* respectively) ; *pátman* (*pat* + *manin*), *yāman* (—*yā*+ *manin*). Mute *t* indicates that the formation in a *tit* suffix has the circumflex on the final syllable[10] e.g. *kva* (*kim*+*at*) *nāyá*(*nau*+ *yat*); *janitayá* (*jan* + *tayat*), *hiṃsitayá* (*hiṃs* + *tayat*) (both in *AV*). Mute *c* indicates that the formation in a *cit* suffix is oxytone[11] : *mahimán* (*mahát* + *imanic*), *tredhá* (*trí* + *edhāc*). The best illustration of this rule is found in *kyac* formations or Denominatives

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3. *Līṭi*, *PA* 6.1.103; *pratyayāt pūrvam udāttam/ekādeśaḥ/ SK*.

4. *Pratyaṭ ūrvasiddhāt tāṭi chandasi*, *PA* 3.3.111.

5. *vṛṣajyeṣṭhābhyāṃ tilādilau ca chandasi*, *PA* 5.4.41.

6. *upottamaṃ riṭi*, *PA* 6.1.217; *ṛtīyatryantayopottamam udāttaṃ syāṭ / yadāhuranīye / SK*.

7. *anudāttau suppitau*, *PA* 3.1.4; *pūrvapāpūrvādaḥ / na ye yudhyati / luptīpro anudāttaḥ sarvātpracayau / SK*.

8. *śeṣādvibhāṣā*, *PA* 6.1.197; *śeṣantaya nidantaya cādir udāttaḥ syāṭ / amin vibhāṭi pastyā*, *RV* 1.5.9 / *sute dadhīpa nau vasuḥ*, *RV* 1.3.6 / *SK*.

9. It may be noted that *jyeṣṭha* is oxytone also in RV 4.33.5; and 10.11.2. For this see *jyeṣṭhakaniṣṭhayor vipari*, *Ph*. 1.22.

10. *ṭit svaritaṃ*, *PA* 6.1.185; *nipātaikājāḥbyaṃ / kva nāmam*, *RV* 1.38.2; 8.7.20 / *SK*.

11. *citaḥ*, *PA* 6.1.163; *anta udāttaḥ syāṭ / SK*.

which always have the acute on *ya* (the final syllable of the base), e.g. *vṛṣāyate*, *pṛtanyási* (*pṛtanyá*, Denom. of *pṛtaná*).

After these let us now pass on to accentuation in the declension. The first point to note here is that all case endings are enclite[12], and hence generally words (particularly ending in *a*, *ā* and other vowels) retain the acute of the base throughout. Thus from *devá* we have *devāḥ*, *devā́ya*, *devébhiḥ*, *deveṣu*; from *āśā*, we have *āśā́bhyaḥ*, *áśāḥ*; from *hári* we have *hárim*, *hráye*, *hárīṇām* from *nadī* we have *nadī́bhiḥ*, *nadīnām*, *nadīṣu*, from *mádhu* we have *mádhūnam*, *mádhoḥ*, *mádhan*, *mádhvaḥ*; from *pitṛ* we have *pitré*, *pitúḥ*, *pitróḥ*, *pitáram*. In the case of words which are monosyllabic before *su* of loc. pl.,the acute is on the case endings from instr. sg. upto loc. pl.[13] Thus *nā́vaḥ* (barytone) would be nom. or acc. pl.; but *nāvā́ḥ* (oxytone) would be abl. or gen. sg., and though otherwise identical, they can be easily distinguished from each other by means of accentuation. Similarly in the case of the words *ap*, *puṁs*, *rai* and *div* case-endings from acc. pl. upto loc. pl. have the acute.[14] This holds good also in the case of the words *pad*, *dat*, *nas*, *mās*, *hṛd* and *nis*. Thus we have *padbhyám*, *dadbhiḥ*, *mā́sāḥ*, *hṛdí*, *puṁsā́ḥ*, *divā́ḥ*, *rā́yā* etc.

The optional monosyllabic forms of *asmad*, and *yuṣmad*[15], as also the oblique forms of *idam* when used by way of *anuddeśa*[16] are enclitic. Vocatives not standing at the beginning of a *pada* or a sentence are enclitic[17], when however, they stand at the beginning of a pāda or a sentence they are always barytone.[18]

Let us now turn to accentuation in conjugation. Here we have to note that after bases (*aṅga*) ending in *a*, the *sārvadhātuka* personal endings are enclitic.[19] This means that in

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12. *anudāttāṅ ca pā́pāte, PA* 3.1.4; *pūrvatrāsiddham / SK* (See No. 7 above).

13. *nāmakāṇḍa ṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ, PA* 6.1.168; *sāmīti saptamībahuvacanam / tatra ya ekāc tataḥ parā ṛtīyādir vibhaktir udāttā / SK.*

14. *āṭaḥ supāṅāpatyuttamasyubhyaḥ, PA* 6.1.176; *ebhyo'nantarāmantrasthānavibhaktir udāttā / SK.*

15. *yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsthayor vānāvau bahuvacanasya vasamasau / tavamamakāvekavacanasya / tvāmau dvitīyāyāḥ. PA.* 8.1.20-23.

16. The substitute *ai* laid down by *PA* 2.4.32 is enclitic; and the case endings also are enclitic (by *PA* 3.1.4). This makes the whole form enclitic.

17. *āmantritasya ca, PA* 6.1.198; *padāt parasyāpādādisthitasyāmantritasya sarvānudāttaḥ syāt / prāṅnātasya pāṭhasyāpādāv' yam ārṣa-nikṣaḥ / SK.*

18. *āmantritasya ca, PA* 6.1.198; *āmantritapādir udāttaḥ syāt / SK.*

19. *tāsyanudāttendiddhapacchidādisvaradhātukam anudāttam sārvadhātukam, PA* 6.1.186; *asmāt paraṁ sārvadhātukam anudāttaṁ syāt / SK.*

such cases the acute of the base is retained. Now in cl. 1, the sign (*vikaraṇa*) is *śap* which being *pit* is enclitic. Hence naturally roots of cl. 1 retain their acute before *sārvadhātuka*[20] personal endings. The sign of cl. 6, however, is *śa* which is not *pit*; and is, therefore, acute. Hence roots of cl. 6, in conjugation have the acute on this *śa* (= *a*). In such cases the general rule to follow is *satiśiṣṭasvarabalīyastva*[21] which means that the acute of the part which comes last chronologically is stronger than all other acutes and is, therefore, retained. The bases of the roots of cl. 4 and cl. 10 (as also causal bases) are barytone and oxytone respectively owing to mute *ṣ* (of *śyan*)[22] and mute *e*[23] of *ṇic*. Thus we can easily understand the accentuation of the personal forms of roots of these four classes e.g. *námati*, *gácchanti* (cl. 1), *vindáti*, *vinddte*, *muñcáti* etc. (cl. 6); *yádhyante*, *jayate* (cl. 4); *bandhdyati* (causal of √*bandh*). The passive forms can easily be distinguished from those of *ātm* roots of cl. 4 because whereas the latter are barytone as shown above, the former are always accented on *ya* (*yak*[24] which not being *pit* is acute). Hence *nádhyanti* is pr. 3rd pl. active, while *nahyáse* would be pr. 2nd sg. pass. Similarly *yajyáte* is passive and not active; while *mṛṣyate*, *budhyate*, and *dīpyate* are active forms and not passive. Similarly the causal forms and those of roots of cl. 10 can be easily distinguished from the forms of the Denominatives. Thus *pūrdyati*, *lāpdyati*, *heldyati*, *locdyati* (all accenting the *á* of *ay* i.e. *ṇic*) are causal forms; while *pṛtanyáti*, *ojāyáte*, etc. are forms of the Denominatives (which accent the suffix *yá*).

In the case of roots of the remaining classes the main rule on which to work is the *satiśiṣṭasvarabalīyastva* referred to above. Accordingly in cl. 2 there is conjugational sign. Hence before *pit* endings the base will retain its accent; in the case of cl. 3, where the root undergoes reduplication, the acute is on the reduplicated syllable;[25] while in the case of the remaining classes the acute will be on the conjugational sign. Thus we

20. For *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* see *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam / ārdhadhātukaṁ śeṣaḥ / śit ca / liṅ āśīṣi / chandasy ubhayathā / PA* 3.4.113-117.

21. For this see *MBh* on *PA* 6.1.158, *vā* 9.

22. *divādibhyaḥ śyan*, *PA* 3.1.69.

23. see *PA* 3.1.25.

24. *sārvadhātuke yak*, PA 3.1.67.

25. *abhyastānām ādiḥ*, *PA* 6.1.189.

have *ásmi*, *ási*, etc. (√*as* cl. 2), *dádāti*, *dídhye* (√*dā*, √*dhī*); *śṛṇómi*, *śṛṇóti* (√*śru*); *bhandákti*, *bhinadmi* (√*bhaṇḍ*, √*bhid*); *tanóti*, *karomi*, (√*tan*, √*kṛ*), *punāmi*, *mināti* (√*pū*, √*mī*). Before all *pit* endings in the case of these roots the accentuation can be similarly determined. Before *apit* endings, however, accent will be on the endings themselves. This difference is due to the fact that *pit* endings are enclitic while the *apit* ones are not so. They are by the general rule[26] barytone. Thus forms with *apit* endings will retain the accent of the endings. Hence when the endings are monosyllabic the forms will be oxytone while before endings with more syllables than one. The acute will be on the initial syllable of the endings. Thus we have *íyām*, *vidmáḥ* (√*i*, √*vid*), *dadīmáhi*, *dhattám* (√*dā*, √*dhā*); *śṛṇvánti*, *sunvánti* (√*śru*, √*su*); *bhindánti*, *bhindyāt* (√*bhid*); *tanvánti*, *tanuhí*, *kurvé*, *kurutá* (√*tan*, √*kṛ*); *badhnánti*, *badhnīmáḥ* (√*bandh*). The forms with the augment *a* or *ā* (i.e. of *luṅ*, *laṅ*, *lṛṅ*) accent the augment;[27] if however, the form is augmentless, the accentuation in the case of *laṅ* is like that of the *laṭ* (present)[28].

Consideration of a few rules concerning declension, conjugation, *sandhi*, etc. may not be out of place here. The nom. pl. ending when appended to masc. (or fem.) words ending in *a* (or *ā*) takes the augment *asuk* (=*as*). This is naturally to be appended at the end and hence the augmented ending becomes *as* + *as* = *asas*.[29] In *RV* we have several such forms as *devāsaḥ*, *jānāsaḥ*, *putrāsaḥ* (masc.), *dhanvrāsaḥ*, *durmitrāsaḥ* (fem.) This holds good for the voc. pl. ending also. The nom. acc. and voc. pl. endings appended to neut. words ending in *a* are often elided.[30] This is seen in forms like *vánā* (for *vanāni*), *yugā* (for *yugāni*), *bhadrā* (for *bhadrāṇi*). The gen. pl. ending *ām* takes the *āgama nuṭ* (=*n*) when appended to the word *go*, provided the word occurs at the end of a *pāda*.[31] e.g. *utá vrajám apavartāni gonām* (*RV*. 4. 20.8), but *gávam áṣa*

26. *ādyudāttaśca PA* 3.1.3; *ṭnityaya ādyudāttaḥ syāt | SK.*

27. *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣvaḍudāttaḥ*, *PA* 6.4.71.

28. Of course, by the *sārvadhātukamapit*. See no. 21 above.

29. *ājasyasuk*, *PA* 7.1.50; *sarvanāmāsthāne'dhātoranapuṃsakasya jhasya'suk syāt | devāsaḥ, brāhmaṇāsaḥ | SK.*

30. *śeṣe chandasi bahulam*, *PA* 6.1.70; *lopaḥ syāt|SK.*

31. *goḥ pādānte*, *PA* 7.1.57.

vrajáṁ vṛdhi (*RV* 1.10.7). Besides these there is one sūtra[32] which is very comprehensive and covers several declensional peculiarities of the Veda. But we need not go into all such details here.

As for conjugational peculiarities the most common is what has been covered by the word *vyatyaya* which literally means transposition or substitution of something (which is not regularly expected) for something else (which is regularly expected).[33] The various kinds (or possibilities) of *vyatyaya* have been nicely put together in one couplet.[34] The *Kāśikā* has given the illustrations *bhedati* (for *bhinatti*, *vyatyaya* of *vikaraṇa*), *tarusema* (for *tīryāsma*) etc. The *hi* of impv. 2nd sg. is substituted by *dhi* after roots *hru*, *pṛ*, *kṛ*, and *vṛ*[35] and we get the forms *hrudhi*, *pṛdhi*, *kṛdhi*, and *vṛdhi*. The pr. 3rd sg. *ātmp* ending *te* drops its *t*[36] as we find it in *dānuḥ śaye sahávatsā ná dhenuḥ* (*RV*. 1.32.9).

In the case of verbal formations we may note the existence of multiplicity of forms, e.g. absolutives are formed by appending *tvā* (which is substituted by *lyap* = *ya* when a root has a pre-fix). But in addition we have formations in *trāya* (e.g. *hitvāya*), and also in *tvī* (e.g. *hitvī*).[37] Similarly we have formations in *tavai*, *ken*, *kenya*, and *tvan*, in the sense of *kṛtya* (what should be done).[38] Thus we have *āptavai* (*ava* + √*i*), (√*kṛ*). *avagāhe* (*ava* + √*gāh*), *dṛṁhaṇyaḥ* (√*vṛdh*), and *kārtva* (√*kṛ*). Pāṇini has likewise noted not less than fifteen suffixes which convey the sense of *tum* (infinitive).[39] We need not

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32. *nṛ-pā-kyo-sulo-p-āmaṣṭa-ṅyāṭ-ṭyāṭ-ṭyāṭ-ṭ

enter into details of all these. Here we may only note that divested of all *anubandhas* their number would come to about six or seven.

We may now conclude by noting a few *saṁdhi* rules. The final *ā* is often nasalised in the Veda[40] : e.g. *abhra ā apaḥ*; sometimes even a final *an* is so nasalised, provided it is not *pragṛhya*[41] e.g. *nyuptāś ca babhravo vācam akrata* (*ṚV* 10.34.5c.). The *visarga* of *saḥ* is elided before a vowel if this elision serves to give the line the required number of syllables;[42] e.g. *sa u rājā kṣayati caryaṇīnām* (*ṚV* 1.32.15). A final *visarga* is often changed to *s* before *kaḥ, karat, kṛdhi, karati, kṛtaḥ*:[43] e.g. *viśvatas karat, uru ṇas kṛdhi* etc. Before *pari* and *pātu* the *visarga* of abl. case ending is similarly changed:[44] *atāriṣma tamasas pāram asya* (*ṚV* 1.183.6) ; *sūrya no divas pātu* (*ṚV* 10.158.1). But the most peculiar *saṁdhi* in *ṚV* refers to a final *n*. Generally a final *n*, preceded by a long vowel and followed by *at* in the same *pāda* is changed to *ṁ*[45] and the preceding vowel is nasalised[46]; this *ṁ* is elided after *ā* only. e.g. *mahān + indraḥ = mahāṁ̃ indraḥ* but *ṛtūn + anu = ṛtūṁ̃ranu*.

It may thus be seen how it would be quite interesting and also useful to introduce a student to Vedic grammar and accentuation through Pāṇini's rules. This would, it is expected, give the student a firm grasp over the basic facts of Vedic grammar and accentuation and would thus serve to rouse his interest in the subject. Further practice in the application of P's rules under the guidance of a teacher or even otherwise would raise before him a number of problems thus leading him deeper into Pāṇinian studies. A scrutiny of the words of the Veda in the light of Pāṇini's rules is sure to yield some useful result as has been already demonstrated elsewhere. I should, therefore, earnestly urge that our study of Vedic grammar and

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40. *ād'guṇaḥ chandasi*, *PA* 6.1.126; *dīrgho ṇi para aṇādiṣṭaḥ syāt / sa ca prakṛtyā / SK*.

41. *aṇ'pragṛhyaścānunāsikaḥ*, *PA* 8.4.57.

42. *so'ti lope ot pādapūraṇam*, *PA* 6.1.134.

43. *kaskādiṣu ca*, *PA* 8.3.50.

44. *pañcamyāḥ parāvadhyarthe / pātau ca jahateḥ / PA* 8.3.51f.

45. *dīrghādāṭi samānapāde*, *PA* 8.3.9.

46. *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye'pi / ād'eśāḥ sidham / PA* 8.3. 2f.

accentuation should as far as possible be based on P's work, though this is not at all to deny or belittle the importance of the work done in the field by modern scholars—particularly European.

Abbreviations used in this paper :—

MBh	*Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.
PA	Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.
Ph	*Phiṭsūtra*.
RV	*Ṛgveda*.
SK	*Siddhānta-kaumudī*.
vā	*vārttika*.

THE BHĀṢĀKAUṬALIYAM

K. N. *Ezhuthachan*

It is well-known that there exists an old anonymous Malayalam commentary on Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra which goes by the name of Bhāṣākauṭalīyam or Kauṭalīyam Bhāṣā.[1] Its first three parts were published from Trivandrum (Adh. I. 1930; II. 1938; III. 1945) and the last portion comprising the remaining four Adhikaraṇas (i.e. IV-VII upto the end of Ṣāḍguṇya) was published from Madras in 1960. Further portions of the commentary are not available. The manuscripts of this work are very rare and the Travancore Palace library *grantha* which was used by the late Ganapati Sastri is no more traceable. According to him it was 200-300 years old. Most of the manuscripts now available are either torn or incomplete and none can claim very high antiquity. Sambasiva Sastri's estimation of 500 years appears to be somewhat exaggerated. From a close examination of the available palm-leaf and paper MSS. it becomes clear that all the copies which we now possess have been taken at different times from one defective original; for the same gaps occur exactly in the same places. (In passing, it may be mentioned that this is the case with many of the old Malayalam works of which we get only single copies). The MSS. of the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam, most of them torn and mutilated, are found in the University MSS. Library, Trivandrum; very rarely with private individuals also. The commentary on prakaraṇas 45 (*nāyādhyakṣa*), 47 (*akṣādhyakṣa*, partially) and on 113-117 (both inclusive, dealing with *yātavya-vṛtti*, *anugrāhyamitra-viśeṣāḥ* etc.) is not available. Thus 6 chapters are omitted fully and 1 partially towards its end (i.e. 47th). It may be noted that Bhaṭṭasvāmin whom the Malayalam author apparently follows has commented on Prakaraṇas 45 and 47 fully. It is most likely that he has commented on all chapters at least upto the 7th Adhikaraṇa, which might have been lost somehow.

1. The term *bhāṣā* was used to denote Malayalam in olden days. Cf. '*Bhāṣā-samskṛta-yogo nasṛjyatāsau*'—Līlātilakam, I.1.

With all the omissions and incompleteness, the Malayalam commentary is important in many respects. It covers two-thirds of the Sanskrit original which contains 180 prakaraṇas. Moreover, it comments on the most important and difficult portions of the text. The Pratipada-pañcikā, the Jayamaṅgalā, the Nayacandrikā etc. are available only for some portions and hence for a student of the Arthaśāstra, the Malayalam commentary is indispensable. It is well-known that Ganapati Sastri has utilized its material to the full upto the point of translating whole passages without due acknowledgment. Secondly, our commentary throws much light on the development of the Malayalam language. It shows that by the 12th or 13th century A.D. the language had advanced well and scholars found it feasible to write a scientific treatise in Malayalam. Shama Sastri's opinion that it is a mixture of dialects, that it is modern and is full of mistakes[2] is not taken seriously now by scholars. In the old Malayalam works Tamil words are, of course, found in plenty but there are some basic differences in the linguistic pattern. The Malayalam commentary shows that its idiom is indigenous and a close examination will show that there is a vast difference between the language it employs and that which is used in some later Vedānta works written by some Tamil scholars residing in Kerala.

Its date. As to the date of the Malayalam commentary, Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, after admitting the difficulty in fixing it, says: "Considering the archaic nature of the language, it appears that the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam was written in the 9th or 10th centuries A.D. when the Cera kings were powerful. It is also possible that the work was written at the instance of those kings".[3] Ullur's contention cannot stand scrutiny; for there is no proof to show that Malayalam had developed so far by the 9th or 10th centuries. Little credence can be given

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2. One example shown by him was that the Malayalam writer has explained *praharaṇam* of the text as garden party etc. while the correct meaning is shipping company. In fact it was a scribal error effected by metathesis. *Praharaṇam* was the actual word and the Jayamaṅgala, (p. 104) comments thus : *Praharaṇam bhojanādīni navargikādhiṣṭhitāni*. It explains :—*prakṛṣyante asmin svajana-mitrāṇi iti praharaṇam*. (Functions like garden party or feast to which friends and relatives are called are meant by *praharaṇa*.)

3. Ullur, *Kerala Sāhitya Caritram*, I. p. 268 ff.

to the story of Tōlan and his Maṇipravāla ślōkas some of which are undoubtedly quite modern. Making a detailed study of the old Malayalam inscriptions from 849 to 1189 A.D. Prof. Ilamkulam Kunhan Pilla has conclusively proved that Bhāṣā-kauṭalīyam should be dated between 1150 and 1200 A.D.

The author. No clue is available in the work regarding its author. Prof. Ilamkulam says that he might be some Traivarṇika (one belonging to the higher three castes) does not take us far. Ullur and Sambasiva Sastri, allude to a passage in *prakaraṇa* X of the Arthaśāstra which deals with potential enemies (*Paraviṣaye kṛtyākṛtyapakṣopagrahaḥ*). The text "*svadharmād dāyādād vā uparuddhaḥ*" is explained by the Malayalam commentator thus: "*svadharma* means the marriage of uncle's daughter for the Southerners; *dāyāda* means the inheritance of uncle's wealth by nephews; *uparuddha* denotes people who are obstructed from these." (There is a probability for such people becoming hostile). Bhikṣuprabhamati speaks of paternal inheritence only. Hence it is clear, says Ullur, that the author of the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam might be a scholar who lived in Kerala where matriarchal system prevails and 'he was surely a good scholar of political economy'. According to Sambasiva Sastri[4] the author might have been a local king or his great minister. It is not possible, according to him, to ascertain whether he is a Keralite or out-sider in view of the Tamil-biassed language. Perhaps we may not go wrong in assuming that the commentator was a Nambudiri scholar who lived in some royal courts of Kerala and he might have written it for his patron's use. We know of princes like Saṅgrāmadhīra Ravi Varma (1266-1314) of Quilon who was himself a Sanskrit writer and patron of letters and was praised as Dakṣiṇabhoja. The Nambudiri brahmans, as is well-known, were the custodians of knowledge in olden days. It is not probable that such a scientific treatise as Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra would be translated or commented upon just for the sake of enjoyment or popularity. A knowledge of the work was considered essential for the Hindu rulers in ancient India and hence the commentary might have been possibly meant for some royal disciples. The Malayalam work was not at all written for average

4. *Kauṭalīyam Bhāṣā*, Pt. I, preface.

students as is evident from the skipping over of many verses which are left with a simple note of '*subodham*' (clear). The writer, as a rule, does not give the Sanskrit text; only at times some lines or verses of Kauṭalya are quoted and annotated.

The linguistic composition of the work deserves some general notice.[3] It contains pure Malayalam and Tamil forms and lot of Indo-Aryan loans. Among the latter the OIA, MIA and NIA elements are found. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer has pointed out : "Whereas Malayalam in the course of its history has gone on borrowing *tatsamas* from OIA, the MIA elements of Malayalam are mainly those which it has inherited from the common parent speech which came under the influence of MIA speeches (particularly of Buddhists and Jains)". Words like *uruvam* (*rūpa*), *āram* (garland), *kambiḷi* (*kambala*), *karumam* (*karma*), *vāṇiyaṇ* (*vaṇija*), *virutti* (*vṛtti*), *nākam* (*nāga*) are found in plenty in the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam. A large number of Pāli and Prākṛt words are also met with, e.g., *āvaṇi* (Pkt. *sāvaṇa*, Skt. *śrāvaṇa*), *oṇam* (Pkt. *sāvaṇam*), *kalkar* (sediment, Pkt. *kakka*), *kaṇṇam* (rod, Pkt. *kaṇṇa*), *ilakkaṇam* (sign, Pkt. *lakkaṇa*, Skt. *lakṣaṇa*), *kaiyaṇ* (slave, Pkt. *khaia*), *vaṇṇam* (shape, manner Pkt. *vaṇṇa*). NIA words are also found which are of special importance to us as they may throw some light on the date of the work. The following may be noted :—*uṇṭikai* (stamp, H. *huṇḍi*, *huṇḍika*), *kakkiri* (cucumber, H. *kakri*), *takiṭa* (metal plate, H. *tagar*), *kāl* (water channel, H. *khāl*), *naiṅa* (girl, H. Mar. *naṅgā*), *nāttu* (nose-jewel, H. Mar. *nāth*), *muḻu* (full moon or new moon (Mar. *māḻ*). These correspondences are taken from Godavarman's Loan Words in Malayalam but it is doubtful whether all are acceptable, e.g. *nāttu*, nose jewel, may be connected with the Dravidian root, *nāl*, to hang. But the word *uṇṭikai* found in the Malayalam commentary (II. 12) is definitely not indigenous. It is an Urdu word used in the meaning of bill of exchange or stamp. In the *Bhāṣākauṭalīyam* it is used in the latter sense. If we could ascertain the date of its entrance into the Tamil-Malayalam languages, it would shed some light on the date of the work.

3. The importance of the work for the study of Malayalam language will be clear from the fact that it contains about 1,000 words, expressions and grammatical peculiarities which call for some sort of elucidation and comment.

The commentary contains such place names as : Izha nāṭu (Ceylon), Malanāṭu (Kerala), Muraci (Cranganore, Muziris of the Greeks), Cūṛṇi (R. Periyar in Kerala), Cōni-nāṭu (Yavana-deśa), Āraṭṭa-deśa (Maharastra), Papparakūlam (Barbarakūla). We have the caste name of Izhavas; but most probably it was used in the general sense of toddy-drawers. *Aṭṭilar* (fishermen), *gōpalakar* (herdsmen), *veḷampar* (rope dancers) etc. are found with no caste mark. The Indo-Aryan loans for the modern Malayalam months like *Meṭam* (*meṣa*), *Iṭavam* (*ṛṣabham*), *mithunam* etc. are absent. Only the Tamil months, *Āvaṇi*, *Aipika* (*aippaci*, *arpaci*), *Āṭi*, *Mārkaḻi* etc. are seen. The correct meanings of *paṭavāram* (one-tenth), *poḻi* (interest) etc. found in old inscriptions can be understood with the help of the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam which is virtually a mine of obsolete words and expressions as pointed out above. It has some peculiar grammatical usages also which are well attested by old works.

How far the Malayalam commentator is indebted to Sanskrit authorities and what exactly is his independent contribution? It seems the problem has not been fully worked out. Ganapati Sastri has opined that the writer follows Bhaṭṭasvāmin. Sambasiva Sastri argues[6] that there is no basis for this view. He points out that the three important commentaries of the Arthaśāstra, viz. the *Pratipada-pañcikā*, the *Nayacandrikā* and the *Jayamaṅgalā* all have come from Kerala. The existence of the Malayalam commentary also shows its great popularity in that region. Hence Bhaṭṭasvāmin might have copied the Malayalam commentator. As a proof of this he quotes extensively from Ganapati Sastri's Śrīmūlam commentary which simply translates the Malayalam passages at times. But this is an exception and Sambasiva Sastri's contention may be safely passed over as an unlikely suggestion . An impartial observation will show that Ganapati Sastri is substantially correct.

On careful examination it is found that the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam generally follows Bhaṭṭasvāmin closely, translating, summarising, adapting, paraphrasing and at times omitting portions. Many verses of the Sanskrit commentary do not

6. *Kauṭalīyam Bhāṣā*, Pt. I, introduction p. iii ff.

appear in the Malayalam work. Sometimes the very words of Bhaṭṭasvāmin are copied by the Kerala writer. For example, under *valka varga* (Arth. II.35) we have a passage beginning, '*mālatī-mūrvārka*' which is commented upon by him thus : '*mālatiyāyitu māhulāni ennu colluvitu; mūrvayāyitu* (*maral*) *ennu drāviḍadeśattil prasiddham*'. Bhaṭṭasvāmin says : '*mālatī māhulāniti taddeśaviśeṣa-prasiddhā; murveti drāviḍadeśaprasiddhā.*'[7] Ganapati Sastri follows this. (In the Jayamaṅgala (p. 222) no such comments are found). The Malayalam writer in II.38 makes these remarks : '*bhūmi-grahaṇattinṟe tadvikāram āyirunna prākārastambhādikaḷeyum deśam ennu kolliṉṉitu*'. Cf. *tadgrahaṇād vikārasyāpi prākārāder grahaṇam* (Bhatt. p. 117). Under *godhyhakṣa* (II.46) the Malayalam commentary is very brief while Bhaṭṭasvāmin (p. 162) gives an elaborate introduction.

It is possible to correct the Malayalam commentary with the aid of Bhaṭṭasvāmin at times. For example, the Malayalam commentary at p. 65 (I.28) has *śuddhānvayam* while the Sanskrit gloss has it as *samānvayam* which is more sensible. The Malayalam work (II.28, p. 65) gives the name of a person as *Śūdralavarman* which is *Śūravarman* according to Bhaṭṭasvāmin which is more probable. The passage beginning, *simhala visati rohaṇa* (II.29, p. 83) seems to be a mistake for *simhala-viṣayattil rohaṇa* (Cf. Bhaṭṭ. *simhalabhūmau ca rōhaṇādeśaḥ*). The Malayalam work gives (II.29, p. 94) *sandhana* which should be *sughdana* (i.e. Sogdania). At p. 109 of the Malayalam work (II.31) we read '*guṇaśodhana doṣamum, parikṣanamum, parikramyamum*', which ought to be '*guṇadōṣa śodhanamum, parikṣaṇamum, parikramanamum* (Cf. Bhatt. 61, *varṇa-sodhana, parīkṣaṇa, parikrama* etc.). Such examples can be easily multiplied.

Again, there are many interesting portions in other Sanskrit commentaries which do not find any echo in the Malayalam work. Take for instance, the passage dealing with plant poisons (Arth. II.35). The Malayalam writer says briefly (II.p.149): *kālakūṭa* is a tree like ficus religiosa. Its exudation coming

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7. The usual meaning of *Mālatī* is jasmine. *Māhulāni* of our commentator appears to be a variant of *māludhāni* and a metathetic process can safely be postulated thus : *māludhāni*<*Māluhāni*<*mahulāni*. We have *māhuli* in Marathi and *māḷa* in Kannada.

out after 15 days is called *kālakūṭa* (Cf. Bhaṭṭ. p. 102). The Jayamaṅgalā (p. 222) gives a wealth of information. It says that Kālakūṭa is the name of an Asura. In the war between the Devas and Asuras he was wounded and from his blood a kind of tree like *aśvattha* grew up. *Kālakūṭa* is the black sap of this tree. It deals elaborately with the other plants like *vatsanābha* (Aconitum ferox) also giving their nature, shape, habitat etc. The Malayalam author slavishly follows Bhaṭṭasvāmin with his meagre description. All this clearly shows that the Malayalam commentator was chiefly indebted to Bhaṭṭasvāmin and it appears doubtful whether he was substantially influenced by any other Sanskrit commentary, though there is evidence to show that he had consulted other authorities also.

Although Ganapati Sastri's work has absorbed most of the important portions of the Bhāṣākauṭalīyam, the latter has its own importance. An intensive study to bring out the actual relation of the work with other Sanskrit commentaries is also worth attempting.

SOME PERSIAN POETS OF TRANSOXIANA (Beyond the Oxus) WHO MIGRATED TO INDIA DURING THE EARLY MUGHAL PERIOD (10TH CENTURY A.D./16TH CENTURY A.D.)

By

S. M. *Fazlullah*

From time immemorial, the lure of India has been irresistible to foreigners for all plausible reasons. It has been the treasure-house of knowledge, the repository of all wisdom and the abode of spiritualism in the East. The Prophet of Arabia felt the gentle waft of wind from Hindustan, which Dr. Iqbal, the poet of the East, referred to in the following couplet :—

"Mīr-i-'Arab ku āyī ṭhaṇḍī havā jahān se
Mairā waṭan wahī hai, maira waṭan wahī hai."

To seekers of material wealth, it has been the veritable Eldorado of the then known world. Practically every nation cast hungry looks on the prosperous India and tried to exploit its natural wealth for its own end.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Indo-Persian relations go back to the dawn of history. Both Iranians and the Aryans belong to the same stock of race and their languages to the same group of family. After the Arab conquest of Persia and especially in the wake of Muslim conquests, Muslims from abroad came in continual batches, speaking Arabic, Persian and Turki—especially Persian which soon became the language of administration in India and with the patronage of Muslim rulers, Indo-Persian literature took its roots in the Indian soil in the Pre-Mughal period. By the turn of the 7th century, A.H/13th century, A.D., at least two Persian poets born in India, Amīr Khusraw and Khwāja Hasan Sanjarī, merited the attention of the native Persian poets, who called these Indian Persian Poets "the sweet-tongued parrots of India" and Persian poets became popular in far flung provinces of India like Bengal and the inimitable Hāfiz, the Prince of Persian poets, sings of them as follows :—

"Shakkar Shikan shawand hama ṭuṭiyān-i-Hind
In qand-i-Pārsi ki ba Bangāla mirawad"

Quite apart from political disturbances which were mainly responsible for the dispersal of poets from Iran and other Persian speaking countries, this diffusion and popularity of Persian Poetry and the growing patronage and due recognition of Persian Poets in India gave a fillip to a number of poets of Iran and Mawara-al-Nahr (Transoxiana) to migrate to India in search of pastures new, or to better their prospects with some such lines on their lips :—

"Hindu na barad ṭuhfa kasī jānib-i-Hind
Bakht-i-siyah-i-Khwish ba Irān biguzār"

In this paper, I confine myself to 16 Persian poets who came from Mawara-al-Nahr (Transoxiana) and flourished in India during the early Mughal period, mainly based upon a rare hitherto unpublished work—the Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb of Khwaja Hasan Nithārī Bukhārī composed in 974 A.H/1566 A.D. It has been edited by me. This work contains biographical notices of about 275 persons who composed Persian Poems in the post-Jāmī period and contributed in their own way towards further enrichment of Persian literature. In the Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb, there are notices of about twenty poets who migrated to India and adorned the courts of the early Mughal Emperors, princes and nobles, and alongside the native Persian poets, promoted the "Indian Summer of Persian Literature". The Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb has been the source book of the Ma'āthir al Nafā'is of Kāmī, which is itself the source-book of several biographical works. According to Browne, "the third volume of Badāuni's Muntakhab-al-Tawārikh contains no fewer than 167 poets most of whom, however, though they wrote in Persian and in many cases Persians by birth, are unknown even by name in Persia" (History of Persian Literature, Vol. IV. pp. 249-250). Blochmann notices 59 Persian poets who were presented to Emperor Akbar. Among them, there are four poets out of 16 poets discussed by me, who came from Transoxiana and were presented to Emperor Akbar.

(1) *Amīr Nidhamal Dīn Abu'l Baqa* :—

Nithārī pays glowing tributes in prose and poetry to this learned Sayyid as follows :—

"Sīt-i-Sukhan dāniyash dar bast-i-zamīn ba sam'-i-saghir wa Kabir rasida wa ālamgir gardida. Kasi ra dar mabḥas-i-dānish-i-u baḥthī wa jadlī nīst 'etc'

"The fame of his poetical achievements and eloquent powers has reached the ears of the young and old of the land and has become world wide. There is no dispute and wrangling over his wisdom etc."

After completion of his studies, he remained long in Samarqand. His fame as a scholar and a poet spread beyond the pale of mortality. Obviously in disgust he left for India, which he enriched with his vast erudition. He was held in high esteem by Emperor Humayun. He even accompanied the royal exile to Sind. The fugitive king sent him on a mission to negotiate talks with the intransigent Sindhis, who had taken refuge in a fortress. An arrow from the enemy's camp killed him accidentally. His body was taken to Bukhārā where he was buried besides Khwāja-i-Aḥrā. Even though he wrote poems occasionally by way of relaxation, he used to excel other poets. When he went to Meshhad Imām 'Alī b Mūsa Riḍā, he submitted a qaṣida in his praise two couplets of which are herewith quoted :—

"Imāmi ki ruband-i-khail-i-malaik
Ba ḥurmat harīm-i-darash ra ba shahpar etc."

(2) *Khwāja Ayyūb* :—

His father, Khwāja Abul' Barakah, the Qāḍī of Samarqand was a great authority on law and a poet. 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i upbraided him for his misconduct (vide Majālis al Nafā'is ed. A.A. Hikmat pp. 115-116).

We are indebted to Nithārī for quoting a charming ghazal by him under the pen-name, Firāqī, which was popular in his days. It begins as follows :—

"Ay shākh-i-gul chu sarv-i-sahī qad kashidaī
Pur lal-i-lab khaṭṭ-i-za zabarjad kashidaī" etc.

The following are the additional lines of Khwāja Abul' Barakah :—

"Mae ki sāqī-e-khunin dilān bi jām andākht;
pae kharabi-e-ushshāq talkhkām andakht.
Ramida būd azin dāmgāh murgh-i-dilam
Faraib-i-dāna-i-khāl-i-tuash ba dām andakht".

"The wine which the Sāqī of the warm hearted people poured

in the cup was telling in its effect. The (clever) bird of my heart had strayed away from the snare, but the lure of the grain of thy black mole netted it at last".

Ayyub inherited some of the qualities of his father. He was equally humorous and lax in his morals. His ugly physical features and mannerisms provoked laughter. He migrated to India. His talents merited Humayun's attention. He was sent on an important mission to Gujarat whose praises were sung earlier by Maulānā Shahīdī of Qūm, the poet-laureate of Sulṭān Yaqūb (883-896/). It must be noted that Shahidī settled and died in Gujarat in 935/1527. The following poem of Shahīdī whose opening verse is given below may be considered as one of the earliest Persian poems on Gujarat :—

"Gujarātiyān hama namakīn dil kabāb-i-shan
Mae khwāra and wa khun-i-shahidān sharāb-i-shan".
"The Gujaratis are all attractive; my heart is burning for them like the kabāb (roasted meat). They drink wine and it is the blood of those who die for their sake" etc.

Ayyūb got involved with the beauties of Gujarat and forgot his mission.

After the conquest of Gujarat, Humāyūn incarcerated him for dereliction of duty and later on pardoned him. But, according to Maulānā 'Alīm Kābulī, the King of Gujarat, had earlier imprisoned him obviously as a spy. He wrote fine poems under the pen-name 'Ayyūb'. Nithārī quotes one of his exquisite ghazals which begins as follows :—

"Sahar gāh sahn-i-chaman pur gul wa shaqā'iq būd
Chaman ba kam-i-dil-i-'andalib āshiq būd" etc.
"In the morning the bosom of the garden was full of roses and tulips.
Verily the (whole) garden was intent upon the success of the love of the nightingale for the rose".

He died sometime before 974/1566.

(3) *Khwāja Kalān Beg* :—

According to the Ma'āthir al Nafā'is (folio 164/a Aligarh Manuscript), he hailed from Andijān (a place in Māwarā al Nahr). According to Nithārī, he was an Amīr and confident of Bābur, who sent him out of India for the governance of

Ghazna and Kabul. This provoked him to indite the following line since become proverbial:—

"Agar ba khair wa salāmat guzar za Sind kunam
Siyāh rue shawam gar hawā-i-Hind kunam"

and occasioned ready repartee in Turki between him and Bābur. According to Blochmann, the Shāh of Persia took Qandahār from Khwāja Kalān Beg, during Humāyūn's reign and later on Kāmrān had to undertake an expedition to recover it.

(4) *Fāḍil Andijāni* :—

He was a reputed scholar, who was held in much esteem by the rulers and the learned people alike. Scholars of his age always sought for his delectable company. He was an authority on poetics. Only one verse is cited :—

"Hast dil Kaaba-i-maqsud mashau ghāfil azu
Gird-i-dil gard ki maqsud shawad ḥāṣil azu".

"Heart is the Kaaba (the Sacred House of God) of thy desire; be mindful of it. Perambulate around it so that thy aim is achieved."

He migrated to India where he died.

(5) *Khwāja-i-Kābuli* :—

He had his higher education in Bukhārā, where he was noted for his fine physical features and suave manners. Soon he acquired fame as a humorist.

One opening couplet is quoted :—

"Mara pursī ki az khubān turā khail was sipāh chand ast
Ajab shāhi ki az diwānā mi pursi ki mah chand ast"

"The beloved asks me how many beauties I have in my train. A wonderful ruler (of my heart) who questions a lunatic how many moons are there (in this sublunary world)".

Later on he became a cynic. Like Diogenes in the tub, he shut himself from the world . When his old friend could not recognise him, he recited an impromptu verse :—

"Bar rukh nishasta gard-i-gharībi basī mara
Nabwad ajab agar nashanasad kasī mara".

"So much dust of strangeness has settled on my face that it is no wonder none makes me out". He died young and was buried in India 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung'.

Now follow accounts of 11 poets personally known to Nithārī, who left for India.

(6) *Amīr Nidhām al Dīn Mudhaffar* :—

He was a noble of the court of Yāqub Shāh of the Āq Qoyunlū dynasty (883-896/ AH). This Sulṭān was given a poisoned drink by his own mother so that her other son, Yūsuf, might succeed and rule for some time. Accidentally the left-over was gulped by both the conspiring mother and the aspirant for the throne with the result that the drink washed all the three out of existence. Sulṭān Yāqub Shāh was an enlightened person, a good poet and the patron of (1) the famous traditionalist, Khwāja Māulānā b Rūzbhan Isfāhānī the author of the Suluk al Mulūk (recently edited by Dr. M. Nizamuddin) and (2) of Bannā'ī, who wrote an elegy on the tragic death of the Sulṭān beginning with the couplet :—

"Na az Yūsuf nishān didam na az yāqūb athāri
Azizān Yūsuf ar gum shud chi shud yāqub ra bari"

"I see no trace of Yūsuf or of Yāqūb. O Friends ! if Yūsuf (Joseph) was lost what betook Yāqūb (Job).

and a book on the life of the dead king in poetry called Bāgh-i-Iram. After the death of this Sultān, the said Amīr went over to 'Ubaid Allah Khān whom he served with distinction. On the occasion of the conquest of Khwarazan, he wrote a poem in which he offered to help him with "Hazārasp' (thousand horses), provided the Khān gave him the fortress of Hazārasp :—"Pañ sad du aspa bahr-i-ghaza mī kunam sawār
Gar bakshadam shahinshai ghāzi Hazarasp."

"I muster five hundred two horse for the battle provided the doughty king grants me Hazarasp".

Probably his services were not properly required. So he migrated to India where he died in his old age. He is mentioned as a writer of both elegant prose and exquisite poetry.

(7) *Jānī Tīmbar* :—

Probably he was a hotelier by profession, a good mixer and a genial extrovert. Ultimately he migrated to India where he died in the prime of his youth.

A fine rubā'i is quoted :—

"Khaṭṭgirde rukhat bā'ith-e-ḥairānī e māst
Zulfat sabab e bi sar wa sāmāni-e-māst
Ān kākul e muṣkīn pa e wirānī e māst
In hama asbāb parīshānī-e-mast"

"The line around thy cheek is the cause of our confusion.
Thy tress is responsible for our indigence.
That scented lock is after our desolation.
These circumstances have resulted in our distraction."

(8) *Khwaja Mīrakā* :—

He was the son of Hafiz Kalān, the famous reciter of the Holy Qur'ān and teacher of the art of reciting the Holy Qur'ān in Samarqand. Khwaja Mīrakā was a Ṣadr in the service of Suyūnich-Muḥammad Sulṭān (died before 936 A.H.), the son of Abu'l Khayr. Due to some unfavourable circumstances, he left for India with the following verse on his lips :—

"Za bidād e raqībān az darat rakhyte safrr kardam
Za 'ishqat ru e bahbhūdī nadīdam rakht bar bastam."

"Due to the oppression of rivals, I left thy door for good. I did not see any benefit in thy love and, therefore, prepared myself for the journey."

He was well advanced in years and alive in 974 A.H./1566 the date of completion of the Mudhakkira-i-Aḥbāb.

(9) *Mīr Fahmī* :—

Fahmī is the name of several poets, Vide foot note p. 599 of Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I p. 599. This Fahmī was a Sayyid related to Amīr Abu'l Baqā, the spiritual director of Abd al Aziz Khan (947-956/1540-1548), whose necrology is given on page 73 of Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb as follows :—

Abu'l Baqā was the son of Amir Ṣadr al Dīn Yūnus al Husainī, who was martyred in Balkh. He had spiritual training under Shaikh Nūr al Dīn Muhammad, one of the successors of Shaikh Hājī Muhammad Khabūshānī. Fahmī settled in Qandahār long time ago. He was quite old and alive in 974 A.H. Only one verse in cited by the author :—

"Fikr-i-sar-zulf e ta marā bi sar wa pākard
Andishae pā būs e tu-am pusht dutā kard"

"The (very) thought of the beginning of thy tress incapaci-

tated me. The constant worry how to kiss thy feet has bent my back."

(10) *Zubdat'ul Umara Muḥammad Amīn Bey* :—

He was the eldest son of Amīr Qambar 'Alī Qūshjī, one of the powerful nobles under Shaibānī Khān (906-916/1501-1511) and 'Ubaidallāh Khān (940-947/1533-1540), who died in the battle of Jām (947/1540). He attained high positions in life. He was himself an enlightened patron of the learned and the pious. Though he wrote charming poems in different verse-forms, his specialised field was riddles. One of his rubais is cited :—

It runs thus "Murghīdīdam-nishistā dar Tabrīz etc." As he was highly ambitious, he migrated to India, where kings and nobles extended their generous patronage to him and treated him with utmost consideration. The biographer, Nithārī, who knew him well prays for his further progress. He was well advanced in years in 974/1566.

(11) *Kamāl al Dīn Mushfiqī* :—

Nithārī has included him among young poets personally known to him living outside Bukhārā. He first visited India in 987/1579. So he is not mentioned by Nithārī as having migrated to India. Even in his youth he acquired fame as a powerful poet, who wrote fine qaṣīdas and effective ghazals. He made a mark as a satirist. His satirical performances are astonishingly irreproducible. His house was the resort of poets. He practised astrology and geomancy also. He attained the enviable position of the Royal Librarian (Kitābdār).
Nithārī quotes one full ghazal, two mar'la's (opening lines) and a rubā'ī :—
One of his famous ghazals begins as follows :—

"Chun nasīm e subḥ daryābad mae gulfām rā" etc.

His rubā'ī opens thus :—

"Shud fasl e bahār wa mosam-e-sair āmad etc."

Prof. Pohand 'Abdal Ḥayy Ḥabibī of Anjumān-i-Tārikh, Kabul, has given further particulars of this poet as follows :— He was originally from Merv. He resided in Bukhārā and studied music under Maulānā Kaukabi, a famous musician and a musicologist. After 965/1555 he held the post of

Kitābdār in Samarqand under Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān (975-980/1567-1572). In 960/1553 he reached Samarqand to serve Sulṭān Jawanmard 'Alī Khān (980-986/1567-1573), the younger brother of Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān. He wrote a dīwān of ghazals and qaṣā'id and a versified book called Gulistān-i-Iram. Due to internicine quarrels among the nobles, he wanted to migrate to India. He left Samarqand in 986/1573 and reached Lahore in 987/1574. As he could not get the audience of the Emperor Akbar, (1) he returned from India and got access to 'Abdallāh Khān, the ruler of Transoxiana, who conferred on him the Poet-laureateship. He wrote the Jahānnāma, a chronicle of 'Adballāh Khān. According to Storey, he was born in 945/1548 in Bukhārā. He went to India twice during Akbar's time. On return from India he died in 994/1588 in Bukhārā. His Dīwān of ghazals was compiled in 975/1577. Its copy is available in India Office Library, London. His second Dīwān was completed in 983/1570. It is available in the Bodlein Library, Oxford and in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Simanov refers to one more Dīwān of qaṣā'id and chronograms." In the foot-note to his article, Prof. Habibi gives the following bibliography :—

Muḥammad 'Arif Baqai Andijani's contemporary account in his Majmā al Fuḍalā (Manuscript in Samarqand) p. 158; Mudhakkir-i-Aḥbāb p. 275; No. 235 Berlin Manuscript copy —contemporary account; (2) Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī Vol. II p. 497—contemporary account; Ātāshkada No. 724; Khulasat'al Akbār No. 442; Storey Vol. I p. 373; Āini Akbarī p. 513 (correctly 583) contemporary account; Muntakhabal Tawārikh Vol. III p. 328—contemporary account; Safina-i-Khushgu- No. 310; Makhzanal Ghara'ib No. 237; Ethé 1346.

His Kulliyat is under edition by Dr. 'Ābidī, Head of the Department of Persian, Delhi University.

(12) *Qasim Arslān* :—

According to Badāoni was originally from Ṭūs or Mashhad, but he was brought up in Māwarā al Naher (Trans-

1. According to Abu'l Fadl's Akbarnāma (Lucknow edition Vol. III p. 203) Mushfiqi was presented to Emperor Akbar at Pak Patan in the end of 985 A.H.

2. Mudhakkiri Ahbāb edited by Prof. S. M. Fazlullah p. 452-457.

oxiana) and he died in 995 A. H. Among biographers Nithārī only gives an intimate account of this poet as follows :—

He was the son of Arslān Mashhadi, the bohemian and the friend of Darwesh Raughangar, who wrote a touching elegy on the death of Jāmī in 898 A.H. beginning with :—

"In gardish e Sephr ki Kham shud chu daur-i-Jām
Bar ruh-i-pak-i-hazrath-i-Jāmī kunad salām".

"This revolving vault (of sky) which is bent like the circumference of the cup greets the pure spirit of the revered Jāmī".

Arslān Mashhadī wrote, inspite of himself, a satire on the people of Mashhad as follows :—

"Pīr e 'ārif ki Mashhadash būd watan etc."

"Due to disturbance of peace, an old gnostic ran away from his native city, Mashhad, and took shelter in Yemen. There he saw his own face in a running brook and a mirror lest he should perchance see the face of another Mashhadi, (which he regarded as an evil omen").

During his early education, Qāsim Arslān resided with Nithārī. He did not show much progress due to indolence. He became a scribe known for his quick penmanship combined with his professional skill and reliability.[1]

Instance of ready repartee in which both this poet and Nithārī were engaged is available. He inherited a considerable sum from his father which he squandered in a gamble with one 'Abdal 'Alī Mush'. Nithārī relates this incident by way of his ready repartee with him. He is highly praised for his ghazals. Three couplets of a ghazal are quoted by Nithārī :—The opening line is "Bar dahānat tuhmat-i-hasti gumān e bīsh nīst etc."

According to Blochmann vide p. 609 No. 55 fn. Arslān chose his pen-name because his father claimed descent from Arslān Jazib, an Amir of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Badauni quotes an ode written by Arslān on the Mountain of Ajmer. According to Dāghistānī he died at Aḥmadābād. He was one of the poets presented to Emperor Akbar. Copies of his Diwan are available in Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, No. 237 Adab Naẓm—Persian (a rare manus-

1. Blochmann ed. : Āīni Akbarī Vol. I p. 103 mentions him among the renowned calligraphists patronised by Akbar.

cript) and in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras vide No. 5 under Persian Manuscripts.

He was famous for his chronograms which are of much historical importance e.g., the births of the two sons of Emperor Akbar, Salim and Murad in 977 and 988 respectively, construction of Bengālī Maḥal by Akbar in 970 A.H. etc.

(13) *Sahmī* -:—

He was a young budding poet personally known to Nithārī as having migrated to India and joined the service of Bairam Khān (killed 968 A.H.). In a mushaira presided over by the Bairam Khān, in which his verse—

"Durd nushān e kharabāt 'ajab mastānnad
Ki ba yek jur'a e mai har du jahān nastanānad".

"The wine bibers of the tavern are wonderfully inebriate persons; they would fain take this world and the next for one draught of wine" was the model for the poets to compose poems upon. Maulānā Adham[1] and Qāsim Arslān also recited their poems, whose opening lines are as follows :—

Maulāna Adham's poem beginning-:—

"Kashwar e Hind ki har gusha siyāh chasmānand
Ki hama āfat e dīnand wa bala e jānand"

"In every corner of the continent of India there are blackeyed damsels who are a danger to piety and a trouble to the soul."

Qāsim Arslān started his poem thus :—

"Māhruyān-i-jahan lutf turā natwānand
Ki ba rukhsar e tu ā'ina ṣifat ḥairānand'

But Sahmī carried the palm when he recited his ghazal beginning with :—

"Ān Kasāni ki sufidī za siyāhi dānand
Khaṭṭ-i-rukhsār-i-tura āyat e khūbī dānand."

"Those who distinguish the white from the black regard the line of thy cheek as a beautiful verse (of the Holy Quran)". Thereafter Sahmī gained wide and winning influence.

(14) *Khwāja Mu'īn* :—

He descended from the saintly family of the Khwaja-i Ahrar. This statement of Nithārī is corroborated by Bloch-

1. A rare Copy of Diwan i Adham is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, vide No. 4, Persian Mss.

mann on p. 322 Ain-i-Akbārī under Mīrzā Sharfaldīn Ḥusain, son of Khwāja Mu'īn. Khwājā Mu'īn was a son of Khāwind Maḥmūd, the second son of Khwājā Kalān (known as Khwājagān Khwājā), the eldest son of the renowned saint, Khwāja Naṣīraldīn 'Ubaidallāh Aḥrār. Hence Mīrza Sharfaldīn Ḥusain was generally called Aḥrārī. Khāwind Maḥmūd, the father of Khwāja Mu'īn, went to India and was honourably received by Humāyūn and he died at Kābul. So the rulers of the land venerated him and treated him generously. He migrated to India where the Indian rulers and nobles did not lag behind others in bestowing honours on him. On a certain occasion he betook himself to Kāshghar, where its ruler 'Abdal Rashīd Khān (939-971), the dedicatee of Mīrza Haidar, the author of the famous Tārikh-i-Rashidī (killed 958 A.H.), gave him kindly the amount of patronage he sought for. The Khwājā was well versed in several branches of learning, specially music in which he was an adept. The Sulṭān wrote poems under the pen-name Rashīdī. One of his ghazals quoted by Nithārī was set to music by Khwājā Mu'īn. It begins as follows :—

"Ba 'andalīb nadārad sar-i-sukhan gul i surkh
Magar ki muhr nihādast bar dahan gul -i surkh" etc.

"The red rose has no intention to converse (love matters) with the nightingale. Perhaps its mouth is sealed."

He wrote many felicitous poems. Mullā Huzūrī Kāshghari related to Nithārī that Ibrāhīm Mīrza had sent his ghazal to Kāshghar and Khwāja Mu'īn wrote a rejoinder to it. The opening lines are :—

Ibrāhīm Mīrza :—

"Āshna shud ba man ān ishwagar andak andak
Mand ān ishwagariha za sar andak andak".

"That coquette befriended me slowly and her coquettery ceased eventually.

Khwājā Mu'in :—

"Āncha maṭlūb i man -i- bisar was sāmanī bud
Ru'e banmūd ba man In sahr andak andak".

"The object of this indigent person showed her face to me this morning by slow degrees".

Blochmann gives further information about Khwājā Mu'in as follows :—

"He was rich but an avaricious man; he held the tract of land called Rudkhana-i-Nashcb and served under Abdullah Khan, ruler of Kashghar. He was married to Kijak Begum, daughter of Mir Alaul Mulk of Tirmiz, who is the daughter of Fakhr Jahan Begum, daughter of Sultan Abu Said Mirza". His son Mīrza Sharfaldīn Husain did not get on well with his father. So he went to Akbar and through the powerful influence of Mahum, Akbar's nurse and Adham Khān, her son, he was appointed Panj hazari. In the fifth regnal year, Emperor Akbar gave him his sister, Bakshī Bānū Begum in marriage and made him the Governor of Ajmer and Nagur. In 969 A.H. he distinguished himself in the siege of Mir'tha along with Akbar. In 970 Mīrza Sharfaldīn Husain's father, Khwājā Mu'īn came to Agra and was received with great honour by Akbar. In the same year Mīrza Sharfaldīn Husain, from motives of suspicion, fled from Agra, pursued by Husain Quli Khān and other grandees. His father, Khwājā Mu'īn, ashamed of his son's behaviour, left for Hijaz but died at Cambay. Mīrza Shāh Husain joined the rebellion of the Mirzas. When Gujarat was conquered, he fled to the Deccan where he was captured by a Zamindar and handed over to Akbar, who gave him a mild punishment of trampling under the feet of a tame elephant and sent him to Muzaffar Khān, the Governor of Bengal, with the order that, on improvement of his conduct, he should be given a jagir, if not to despatch him to Mecca. There in Bengal he was involved in intrigues and ultimately poisoned by one of his enemies, in 988 A. H He is wrongly called Siefudin in Stewart's History of Bengal (vide p. 108)".

(15) *Khwājā Hasan Naqshbandī* :—

He was a descendant of Khwājā Baha al Haqq wal Dīn Naqshbandi. Nithārī pays tribute to the qualities of his head and heart in very eloquent terms. In addition to his spiritual eminence, he had the poetic fire in him and love of the phenomenal which is the bridge of the Real. One of his couplets runs as follows :—

"Dil burd za man chashm-i-siyāhī ba nigāhī
Shrīn dahane lab shakre rūe chu māhī"

"The black eyed wrested my heart from me in a single glance, a sweet-tongued, sugar-lipped and moon faced person."

(16) *Shihābal Dīn Mu'ammā'ī* :—

He claimed descent from Hazrath Abū Bakr. Nithārī mentions him as a renowned scholar unparallelled in the writing of riddles. Nithārī does not mention his pen-name ("Haqīrī"). According to him he sought patronage of Emperor Humāyūn. But, according to Badāuni, he along with Mīr Khwand, the author of the Habīb al Siyār and Mirza Ibrahim Qānunī, received the recognition and patronage of Bābur in 935 A.H., when the latter celebrated his recovery from a severe illness contracted during his expedition to Gwalior. Nithārī has given an interesting piece of information about Pālam. (now an International Air-port near Delhi). The pargana of Pālam, famous for its wood was gifted to the poet by Humāyūn. One Janāb Muḥammad Falgharī made vexatious demands of wood on the poet who, in disgust, lampooned him. Humayun enjoyed the humour and rewarded him. According to Mirkhwand's chronogram, "Shihāb-i-Thāqib", he died in 942 A.H.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN VILLAGES IN ANCIENT INDIA

Lallanji Gopal

The administration of justice was essentially localised and, whatever might have been the nature of the village courts, an attempt was made to settle rural cases in the first instance in the villages themselves.[1] The reference to the village judge in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[2] suggests that as early as the Vedic period village disputes were decided in the villages. Bṛhaspati divides courts into four classes and states that the *pratiṣṭhita* or stationary courts are those functioning in towns and villages[3]. The land-grants include, in the list of incomes transferred to the donees, receipts from fines.[4] This implies that village disputes were decided locally; otherwise there would not have been much propriety in the king sanctioning the fines from a dispute decided by a court constituted at the district headquarters far removed from the village in question. The happy implications of this system of justice can be appreciated only when we call the ruin brought upon a village litigant by the system prevailing in modern times especially during British rule.

Graded Courts:—

Pitāmaha[5] distinctly recognises that rural cases were decided in the first instance in the villages. He prescribes that a dispute decided in a village may be taken to the city and one examined in the city court to the king; but a dispute decided by

1. *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXVII, 101-2.
2. A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, 248.
3. Q. by Aparārka, p. 600.
4. Cf. the term *sakaḷāparādhaḥ* (*E.I.*, IV, no. 8; Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, no. 46) which means a right to the proceeds of fines for commission of ten offences by the villagers. Cf. also the land-grants of some of the early medieval dynasties like the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Candellas and Kalacuris—*I.A.*, XIX, p. 163; XVI, p. 201 ; *E.I.*, II no. 23.
5. Q. in *Smṛtisandarbha*, II, p. 19.

the king, whether correctly or incorrectly, cannot be reviewed. The *Mahābhārata*[6] passage, that a brāhmaṇa must not take food offered by those who are punished by a *gaṇa* or a village, vests the village communities with some judicial power. Bṛhaspati[7] envisages a graded series of courts of justice. He says: 'a case not settled by the *kulas* is to be decided by the *śreṇis*, the *gaṇas* should decide a case not settled by the *śreṇis*, whose undecided cases in turn are to be considered by *niyuktas*; *sabhyas* are superior to all these, the chief justice or *adhyakṣa* is superior to *sabhyas* and the king is superior to all.' Bṛhaspati gives the *kulas*, *śreṇis* and *gaṇas* power only to decide the disputes of litigants[8]; it was the king who should carry out the order for fines or corporal punishments. Thus, the king was the highest court of justice;[9] the courts called *kula*, *śreṇi* and *gaṇa* were of the nature of arbitration councils with no power to impose fines or corporal punishments. Bṛhaspati, in a verse quoted by Pitāmaha[10] and Aparārka[11], gives these courts the power only to pronounce the two punishments of reprimand and condemnation as also of excommunicating the wrong doers.

Kula, Śreṇi and Gaṇa or Pūga :—

The three grades of arbitration councils, *kula*, *śreṇi* and *gaṇa*, are mentioned even by *Nārada* [12]. Yājñavalkya[13], in an otherwise similar list, substitutes *pūga* for *gaṇa*. These terms appear somewhat enigmatic, more so because of their conflicting explanations in the commentaries[14]. In any attempt to find their true import it would be better to remember three facts. Firstly, all these were arbitration councils without any power to execute their decisions for fines. Secondly, in any particular locality there were separate courts of these three types. Thirdly,

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6. XII. 37. 30.
7. Q. in *Vyavahāraprakāśa* of Mitramiśra, p. 30; cf. *Bṛhaspati* I. 28.
8. I, 28.
9. Cf. *Pitāmaha* q. in *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, p. 15.
10. Q. in *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, p. 15.
11. p. 704. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* IX, p. 289) the city court is said to have power only of deciding a case, the authority to punish or to discharge the accused vesting with the king.
12. Introduction 7.
13. I. 30.
14. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, pp. 280 f.

kulas, *śreṇis* and *gaṇas* or *pūgas* are mentioned in an ascending scale, each later one being superior to the preceding one. Now *kula* has been explained by Medhātithi[15] as a group of relatives. The *Mitākṣarā*[16] and the *Vyavahāraprakāśa*[17] take it to mean an assembly of the relations, agnatic and cognatic, of the litigants. According to the *Smṛticandrikā*[18] the term refers to the agnates of the parties. Thus, it would appear that a dispute was first tried to be settled by the relatives of both the parties. On their failing to come to any conclusion the case was sent to the *śreṇis*. About *śreṇi* there is not much difference of opinion. The commentaries generally explain it as the corporation of persons following the same craft or avocation, though belonging to different castes. The occupational court, representing a larger section of population, obviously claimed a wider jurisdiction. The third court, *pūga* or *gaṇa*, from its ascendancy in the scale, appears to have represented the village. These two terms have been used both for corporations in general and a specialised corporation. The context shows that being the highest local court for a village they refer probably to village assemblies taking cognisance of the village disputes. Support for this interpretation is found in the *Vyavahāraprakāśa*[19] section of the *Vīramitrodaya* where *gaṇa* and *pūga* are said to be synonyms and *pūga* is explained as the assembly of men of one place, whether a village or a town, belonging to different castes and following different avocations. That *gaṇa* and *pūga* refer to the same institution follows from Yājñavalkya, in his corresponding verse, substituting *pūga* for the word *gaṇa* used by Nārada and Bṛhaspati. The *Mitākṣarā* commentary[20] also explains the term *gaṇa* as the assembly of the people of village etc.

15. On *Manu*, VIII, 2. *kulāni bandhajanasamūhāh.*

16. On *Yājña*. I. 30.

17. p. 29.

18. II. p. 19.

19. p. 30. As has been rightly pointed out by A.S. Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 40 the description tallies entirely with the nature of the village assemblies. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 142 for other references in support of *pūga* being the local corporation of towns and villages.

20. On *Yājña*. II. 187.

Arbitration Councils :—

The local courts had an initial advantage in that the members of the same caste and occupation and the residents of the same place stood better chances of understanding the facts of a case correctly. In ancient India disputes about the boundaries of villages and fields were required to be decided in the first instance by four, eight or ten neighbours[21]. Vyāsa[22] says that in the case of disputes among traders, artisans, husbandmen and actors it is impossible for others to give a correct decision; hence such matters should be decided by experts in those professions. This system of local arbitration councils had another advantage in that the particular customs or usages of the disputing parties were better known to the people forming the tribune. Bṛhaspati[23] provides that in disputes among husbandmen, craftsmen, artisans, money-lenders, guilds, dancers, sectarians and criminal tribes, the decision should be made with the help of those who understand the conventions made by them and their usages. The *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama[24] also prescribes that in disputes of husbandmen, merchants, cowherds, money-lenders and artisans the king should first learn their customs and usages and then decide what is just.

Jurisdiction :—

It is, however, not to be supposed that these courts had unlimited rights. Their jurisdiction was actually restricted to petty cases. Important cases and those involving grave disputes were tried by other courts established by the king. The *Jātaka* stories also, as shown above, indicate that the village headman had power to decide only ordinary cases, and serious

21. *Manu*. VIII, 258; *Yājñ*. II. 150-152; *Artha*. III. 9.

22. Q. in *Pandita-nidhanaja*, III. p. 42. The recognition of the importance of local arbitration courts composed of men from the same occupation, caste or village is found best illustrated by *Bhṛgu* (q. by *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, II. p. 18). He says that foresters may get their disputes settled by foresters, members of caravans by other members, soldiers by a tribunal of soldiers and those who stay in a village as well as in a forest may get their disputes settled either by villagers or by foresters by mutual agreement and that the five tribunals for foresters and others are *kulika*, *śrēṣṭhi*, *mukhya* (headmen), residents of a city or village.

23. Q. in *Vyavahāraprakāśa*, p. 25.

24. XI. 21-22.

cases like those involving a village official or robbers were taken cognisance of by the king. Bṛhaspati[25] in his account specifically excludes disputes concerning violent crimes (*sāhasa*) from the jurisdiction of these three-graded local courts. Now *sāhasa* has been generally defined[26] as an act done with violence in defiance of or in spite of the presence of royal officers or guards or people. Crimes included under *sāhasa* by Nārada[27] and Bṛhaspati[28] are manslaughter, theft, violence to the wives of others and the two kinds of *pāruṣya* (abuse and assault)[29]. This, however, does not imply that the village courts were without any power to enforce their punishments[30]; their judgments had the sanction of the central authority.[31]

Elders Performing Judicial Function :—

But the question may arise as to how the assemblies performed their judicial functions. Are we to suppose that disputes were settled at a general meeting of the villagers or was there a permanent committee to deal with them ? From the *Arthaśāstra* it appears that the judicial powers of the village community were exercised by the influential or elderly villagers.[32] It would, thus, follow that at least in the time of the Mauryas there was no permanent judicial body of the villagers, the elders decided the cases, as and when they arose.

25. I. 28; *Nārada* (Introduction 7) also notes similar limitation to their powers, cf. *Alberuni's India* (Ed. E. C. Sachau) II. p. 162 for the exclusive jurisdiction of the king over criminal cases.

26. *Manu*, VIII. 332; *Nārada*, XVII. 1; *Yājña*, II. 230; *Kātyāyana*, 795-796; *Artha*. III. 17.

27. XVII. 2.

28. XXII 1.

29. The highly democratic system of criminal justice among the Licchavis (*J.A.S.B.*, 1939. pp. 593f; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 232 f.) has been rightly doubted by U. N. Ghoshal (*I.H.Q.* XX. pp. 339f.) and A.S. Altekar, *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 36.

30. H. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 68.

31. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 46.

32. In dealing with the settlement of boundary disputes it mentions the *grāmavṛddhas* and not any village assembly or council—III. 9. Likewise, in the absence of the creditor or mediator, a debtor could have the pledged property redeemed by keeping the amount of the debt in the custody of the elders of the village (*grāmavṛddhāḥ*)—III. 12.

Mahattaras :—

A. S. Altekar[33] has convincingly shown that *mahattaras* mentioned in the land-grants of later times were the persons who were responsible for the settlement of village disputes. Mahattara, as we know, was a general term meaning a mighty, strong, great, respectable chief or elder person and not a technical term restricted in its use[34]. But that the *mahattaras* referred to in land-grants were essentially the residents of the village is clear from the expressions *brāhmaṇottarān mahattarādi-kuṭumbinaḥ* in the Paharpur inscription[35] meaning the *mahattaras* and other householders headed by the brāhmaṇas. An expression of similar import is found in the Rithpur inscription of Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā[36]. A specific reference to the *mahattaras* exercising judicial power is found in the Damodarpur inscription of the time of Budhagupta (A.D. 482)[37] which is addressed among others to the *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa* (village jury consisting of eight members) headed by the *mahattaras*. This establishes that, whatever the other duties and powers of the village elders, it were they who manned the village tribunals. The expression *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa* would imply that the village court had an established office of its own; the disputes were decided not by all the elders of the village but by a body of some (most likely eight) of them. The expressions *mahattarādhikārika*, *adhikārikamahattara* and *mahattaropayukta* have alike to be explained as officers who were *mahattaras*; these show that the village elders were also appointed to various offices. The *mahattaras*, though really residents of the same village, were recognised by the state, as is explicit from their being mentioned in the graded list of officials addressed to in land-grants.

33. *History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 38.

34. In the *Daśakumāracarita* (Ed. M. R. Kale) pp. 120, 122 we have a reference to a *jānapadamahattara* who has been later mentioned as *rāṣṭra-mukhya*. In a grant dated A.D. 439 (*I.H.Q.* XIX. pp. 16, 21) occurs the term *sthānamahattara*. The Faridpur inscription of the time of Dharmāditya mentions the *mahattaras* of a *viṣaya* (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 355). In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (V. 34; XVI. 94. 97, 99, 104; XXXI. 52, 54; XXXII. 18; XXXIX. 210) the *mahattaras* are often described as sitting in the courts, giving advice to the king and queen and accompanying them wherever they went. Tawney rightly translates the term as chamberlain.

35. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 346.

36. Ibid. p. 417. "*nabrāhmaṇapuraprapagrāmamahattarāṃśca.*"

37. Ibid. p. 324.

FORMULAS FOR SINES OF MULTIPLE ARCS AS FOUND IN THE SIDDHĀNTATATTVAVIVEKA

R. C. *Gupta*

1. *Introduction* :

The Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa I (born 476 A.D.) is the earliest extant work in which the Indian sine function is used. The Indian sine of an angular arc a is equal to R sin a, where sin a is the modern trigonometric sine of the angle a and R is the sinus totus i.e. the radius of the circle of reference. Below we give the rules which express the Indian sines of double, triple, quadruple and quintuple of any arc in terms of the sine and cosine of that arc, as found in the third chapter, called spaṣṭādhikāra, of the Siddhānta Tattva Viveka (1658 A.D.) of Kamalākara. The author, who is well-known for his criticism of the famous Bhāskarācārya (12th century A.D.), composed the work according to the extant Sūrya Siddhānta which is the most popular work on Hindu Astronomy. Siddhānta Tattva Viveka (STV) has been regarded by Sudhakara Dvivedi (Gaṇaka Taraṅgiṇi p. 99 of the 1933 end.) to be the best among the various Siddhāntas (astronomical works) of India. The printed edition used for quoting the Sanskrit Text is the fasciculus I of the STV (revised edn. 1924), with notes of Sudhākara Dvivedi, edited by Murlidhara Jha (Benares Sanskrit Series No. 1).

2. *Indian sine of twice a given arc* :-

दोःकोटिजीवाभिहतिर्विनिघ्नी
त्रिज्योद्धृता सा द्विगुणांशजीवा ॥ ७३ ॥

(STV. III. 73. p. 136)

'.....Twice the product of the sine and cosine of an arc divided by the radius; that (is) the sine of twice the degrees (of the given arc). i.e.

$$R \sin 2a = 2R \sin a . R \cos a / R \quad \ldots\ldots (1)$$

which is equivalent to the modern formula

$$\sin 2a = 2 \sin a . \cos a.$$

3. *Indian sine of thrice a given arc :*

दोर्ज्यैकराशिज्यकया विभक्ता-
फलस्य वर्गेण विहीनितं च ।
त्रयं भुजज्यागुणितं विनिघ्न-
भुजांशकानामिह शिञ्जिनी स्यात् ॥७४॥

(STV. III. 74. p. 136)

'Divide the sine of an arc by the sine of one sign (i.e. 30 degrees); three diminished by the square of the (above) result and (then) multiplied by the sine of the arc becomes the sine of the degrees of thrice the given arc'. i.e.

$$R \sin 3a = R \sin a \,[3 - (R \sin a / R \sin 30^\circ)^2] \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots (2)$$

Since

$$R \sin 30^\circ = \tfrac{1}{2} R$$

the above formula is equivalent to the modern trigonometric identity

$$\text{Sin } 3a = 3 \sin a - 4 \sin^3 a.$$

4. *Indian sine of four times a given arc :*

एवं मिथः संगुणिते घनेन
दोः कोटिजीवे विवरं चतुर्घ्नम् ।
वृत्तार्हतं संविहृतं त्रिभज्या-
घनेन वेदघ्नभुजांशजीवा ॥७५॥

(STV. III. 75. p. 136)

'.....Mutually multiply the sine and cosine of an arc by (their) cubes. Their (i.e. of the above two products) difference multiplied by 4 and divided by the cube of the radius (is) the sine of degrees of four times the (given) arc'.
i.e.

$$R \sin 4a = 4/R^3 [R \sin a \,(R \cos a^3) - R \cos a \,(R \sin a)^3)] \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots (3)$$

This will become in the modern form by taking $R = 1$.

5. *Indian sine of five times a given arc :*

नृघ्नो दोर्ज्यं पञ्चवर्गैर्वधेषु निघ्नी त्रिभर्मौर्विकायाः ।
कृतेः कृतिस्तद्युतिहीन्या नखैर्हृतां वर्गसमाहृतिं च ॥७६॥
दोर्ज्यां त्रिभौर्व्यौरवधेर्विनिघ्नी दौर्ज्यां त्रिभज्याकृतिवर्गभक्ता ।
लब्धं हि पञ्चघ्नभुजांशजीवा.....

(STV. III. 76-77. p. 136)

'16 times the square of the sine-square of an arc and 5 times the square of the square of the radius. From their (i.e. of the above two quantities) sum subtract 20 times the square of the product of the sine of the arc and the radius. The remainder (so obtained be) multiplied by the sine of the arc and divided by the square of the radius-square. The quotient is verily the sine of the degrees of five times the given arc.....' i.e.

$$R \sin 5a = \frac{R \sin a \,[\, 16\,(R \sin a)^4 + 5R^4 - 20(R.R \sin a^2)\,]}{R^4} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (4)$$

With unit radius this becomes equivalent to the modern formula $\sin 5a = 5 \sin a - 20 \sin^3 a + 16 \sin^5 a$

6. *Proofs of the formulas* :

The systematic derivation of these mathematical identities is indicated in the author's own commentary (p. 138-40) which follows the statement of the rules. The proofs given are based on the Addition Theorems of the Indian sine and cosine viz.

$$R \sin (a+b) = (R \sin a.R \cos b + R \cos a.\ R \sin\ b)/R \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (5)$$

and

$$R \cos (a+b) = (R \cos a.\ R \cos b - R \sin a.R \sin b)/R \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots (6)$$

Taking b equal to a, the first of these will yield the formula (1) for R sin 2a while the second, viz. (6) will give an expression for R cos 2a which is utilized subsequently in finding R sin 3a by using (5) with b equal to 2a. In this way by putting b equal to a, 2a, 3a and 4a successively in the above two addition theorems the formulas for sines as well as the cosines of the multiple arcs, 2a, 3a, 4a and 5a, have been obtained and are given, in the Hindu algebraic notation, in the commentary (p. 140). For R sin 2a Kamalâkara has given a simple geometrical proof also (commentary p. 138-40).

7. *Concluding Remarks* :

The Addition Theorem of the Indian sine, expressed by the equation (5), is first found in the Indian literature in the small trigonometrical tract, called Jyotpatti (verse No. 21) of Bhâskara II (second half of 12th century) who called the rule as 'samâsa-bhâvanâ' and the corresponding rule for R sin

(a—b) as 'antar-bhāvanā. In the late medieval Āryabhaṭa school the above 'Jyābhāvanā' rule of Bhāskara was known as 'Jive parasparanyāya' and was ascribed to the famous Mādhava (C. 1350-1410) of Saṅgama grāma (e.g. see Tantra Saṅgraha, Trivandrum 1958, p. 22). It is also worth noting that the Arab mathematician Abu'l-Wefa (C. 980) has shown the Addition-Subtraction theorems in the forms

$$\sin(a \pm b) = \sqrt{(\sin^2 a - \sin^2 a \sin^2 b)} \pm \sqrt{(\sin^2 b - \sin^2 a \sin^2)}$$

This we are quoting on the authority of D.E. Smith (Hist. of Math. Vol. II. p. 617; Dover ed. 1958).

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SOME LOST WORKS ON VYĀKARAṆA

K. A. Subramania *Iyer*

There is a big interval of time between Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* and his great commentator, often called *mahāvaiyākaraṇa*, namely Bhartṛhari, who cannot be later than the 5th century A. D. Many grammatical works belonging to the Pāṇinian school must have been composed during this period, but they have not survived. Bhāmaha, in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, refers to a *Dhyānagraha* as a big boat for crossing the ocean called Grammar. He describes this ocean in a picturesque manner in the following stanzas :—

सूत्राम्भसं पदावर्तं पारायणरसातलम् ।
धातूणादिगणग्राहं ध्यानग्रहबृहत्प्लवम् ॥
धीरैरालोकितप्रान्तमन्यैर्धीभिरसूयितम् ।
सदोषभक्तं सर्वाभिरन्यविद्याकरेणुभिः ॥
नावारयित्वा दुर्गाधमम्भः व्याकरणार्णवम् ।
शब्दरत्नं स्वयं गन्तुमलंकर्तुमयं जनः ॥

(Bhāmaha-*Kāvyālaṅkāra*—VI. 1-3)

"Nobody can master this Word-jewel without having crossed the hard-to cross ocean called Grammar, of which the *sūtras* constitute the waters, the padas (the *vārttikas* ?) the whirl-pools, the *pārāyaṇa* (the *Mahābhāṣya* ?) the deep bottom, in which there are marine monsters like the *Dhātu*-(*pāṭha*), the *Uṇādi* (sūtras) and *Gaṇa*-(*pāṭha*), the other end of which has been seen by the courageous, which is envied by the dull, which is always resorted to by the female-elephants that sport in the other sciences and the big boat for crossing which is the *Dhyānagraha*."

It is reasonable to take पद and पारायण, coming immediately after सूत्र and before धातु, उणादि and गण as equivalent to the *vārttikas* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, thus making up the six important constituent parts of the *Vyākaraṇaśāstra*. In this passage, *Dhyānagraha* is mentioned as a great boat of crossing the ocean of *Vyākaraṇa*. This word has been a puzzle to all students of Bhāmaha. One could only guess that it was probably the name of some grammatical work which helped much in the study of the śāstra.

Recently, Acharya V. P. Limaye has drawn our attention to two references to this work, one in Bhartṛhari's commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* and the other in the ancient *Vṛtti* on the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, attributed by long tradition to Bhartṛhari himself.[1] From these two references, it is clear that *Dhyānagraha* or '*Dhyāna*' for short was a grammatical work which existed before Bhartṛhari, that is, before the 5th century A.D. As Bhartṛhari refers to the views of the author of he '*Dhyānagraha*' on grammatical points with great respect, he must have been a great authority on the subject, one of the great grammarians who came between Patañjali and Bhartṛhari. While we have so far three references to the work called *Dhyānagraha*, the name of its author has not been mentioned in any of them. Nor is it possible to say what kind of work it was, an original work on grammar, or a commentary on some previous work. Bhartṛhari refers to the work in his commentary on *Vā.* 20 with the *Mahābhāṣya* on P. 1.1.44. He gives the opinion of the author of the '*Dhyānagraha*' on the meaning of the word विभाषा especially in its application to the sūtra विभाषा जसि (P. 1.1.32.). In the *Vṛtti* on the *Kārikā*

अर्थवद्ग्रहो विशिष्टोऽर्थः संघात उपजायते ।
नोपजायत इत्येके समासस्वाश्रिकादिषु ॥

—*Vākyapadīya* II. 208

which says that, from a compound-word, a meaning different from that of the two constituent terms is understood, whereas that is not the case with a word ending in a *svāśrika* suffix, the opinion of the author of '*Dhyāna*' is quoted. Our curiosity as to who the author of the *Dhyānagraha* was, has been aroused. When it will be satisfied or whether it will be satisfied at all one does not know. The loss of the work, judging from the way in which Bhartṛhari refers to it, is a major one.

2. The loss of four works of Helārāja must also be looked upon as a serious one. He was a master of the Pāṇinian system of Grammar, as can be seen from his commentary on the IIIrd *Kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya*. In that commentary, he tells us that he is the author of four other works : (1) *Śabdaprabhā*, (2) *Vārttikonmeṣa*, (3) *Adhyayasiddhi*, (4) *Kriyāvineka*. It is a

1. V. P. Limaye "Dhyānagrahakāra or Dhyānakāra, a pre-Bhartṛhari grammarian" Vishveshwaranand Indological Journal, IV. pt. 2.

great pity that these works have not been found. On many occasions, Helārāja, while explaining a particular point in *Kāṇḍa* III of the *Vākyapadīya*, refers to what he has already said in these works and directs us to look them up for further information. By putting together these references, one can get some idea of the contents of these works, now not available to us. In this paper, I propose to put together these references in order to see what kind of works they were.

1. *Śabdaprabhā*. (a) From at least two of the references, it is clear that *Śabdaprabhā* was a commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa*, the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya*. In his commentary on stanza 37 of the Jātisamuddeśa of the third *Kāṇḍa*, Helārāja tells us that Time is not an independent substance, as some believe, but a power of *Brahman*, responsible for the manifestation of all objects in a temporal sequence, through their different activities like birth etc. He adds that he has explained this point in his commentary called शब्दप्रभा on the *Vākyapadīya*. Here are his own words—

क्रमारूढा हि कालशक्तिर्ब्रह्मणो जन्मवत्सु पदार्थेषु जन्मादिक्रियाद्वारकमेव पौर्वापर्यविभागोपगमविधायिनी नापरो द्रव्यभूतः काल इति ।

अभ्याहितकलां यस्य कालशक्तिमुपाश्रिताः ।
जन्मादयो विकाराः षड् भावभेदस्य योनयः ॥

इत्यत्र शब्दप्रभायां निर्णीतोऽयमर्थः ।

Now this stanza is *Vāk*. I. 3. Thus, it is clear that Helārāja's commentary on the 1st *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* was called शब्दप्रभा.

(b) On another occasion, while explaining Bhartṛhari's statement that some extraordinary individuals can perceive the universals like 'brāhmaṇahood' with all their senses in the following stanza—

ज्ञानमात्मदृशिष्टानां तासु सर्वेन्द्रियं विदुः ।
अभ्यासान्मणिकल्पादिविशेषेष्विव तद्विदाम् ॥

Vāk. III. जा. 46 (Deccan College Monograph Series, 21, 1963)

Helārāja says that he has proved in detail the authority of tradition in his commentary *Śabdaprabhā* on the first *Kāṇḍa*. These are his words—

विस्तरेणागमप्रामाण्यं वाक्यपदीयविज्ञप्तौ प्रथमकाण्डे शब्दप्रभायां निर्णीतमिति तत एवावधार्यम् ॥

(*Vāk*. III, pt. 1, p. 54, l. 9. D.C.M.S. 21).

(c) On some occasions, he does not mention the शब्दप्रभा by name, but refers to what he has said in the *Brahma-kāṇḍa*. It is legitimate to infer that he means the शब्दप्रभा on the *Brahma-kāṇḍa*, because he has openly told us that what he has written on the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* is called by that name. For example, he tells us that he has already explained in detail in the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* that the expressive word, the expressed objects and their relation are one. The expressive power and the power of being expressed are mixed up as one within our inner reality, and it is they which are manifested in two branches as the word and the object. Similarly, the knowledge and the known are manifested as two separate things, but all this is Nescience, *avidyā*—

वाच्यवाचकसंबन्धानां भावतोऽद्वयरूपता । तत्र ह्यान्तरे तत्त्वे शब्दार्थशक्ती संसृज्येते इति विवर्तदशायां शब्दार्थशाखात्मना तत्त्वमेव विकासाद्वाच्यवाचकरूपतया भेदावभासौ ज्ञानज्ञेयरूपतयाविद्येति ब्रह्मकाण्ड एव प्रपञ्चेनायमर्थोऽस्माभिर्निर्णीत इति तत एवावधार्यम् ।

Vāk. III. pt. 1, p. 116, l. 17. (Deccan, C. M. Series, 21).

(d) On another occasion, he tells us that he has already proved in the first *Kāṇḍa* that, as consciousness runs through all manifestations, everything is a product of it and so there is a fundamental unity :

चित्सामान्यानुगमाच्च विश्वस्य प्रमाणसिद्धोऽभेद इति प्रथमकाण्ड एव निर्णीतम् ।

Ibid, p. 35, l. 14.

(e) Again, he says that he has shown in detail in the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* that Nescience is indefinable as being identical or otherwise with the ultimate. It is responsible for the appearance of the beginningless difference in the individual selves :

कल्पना चाविद्याशक्तिः । सा तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यामनिर्वाच्येति ब्रह्मकाण्डे निर्णीतम् । *Ibid*, p. 171, l. 18

अविद्यापि च तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यां परस्मादनिर्वाच्यानादिसिद्धजीवात्मगतभेदप्रतिभासकारिणीत्युपपादितं ब्रह्मकाण्डे विस्तरत इति तत एवावधार्यम् ।

Ibid, p. 173, l. 16.

(f) On another occasion he tells us that he has established in the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* that, in ancient days, human speech वाक् was free from all corrupt forms just as it was free from all untruth—

अत एव हि पुराकल्पेऽनृतादिभिरिवापभ्रंशैरपि रहिता वागासीदिति ब्रह्मकाण्ड उक्तम् ।

Ibid, p. 143, l. 14.

(g) Again he says that he has shown in the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* that the form of a word is also conveyed by it as a primary thing, because it is an inner factor, it is something which is always with it and cannot be abandoned and is particularly its own. The word conveys it without the help of convention. It can be looked upon as a universal or as a single unchanging thing—

तस्मादन्तरङ्गत्वादहेयत्वादसाधारणत्वाच्च स्वरूपं मुख्यमभिधेयम् । तत्र हि सङ्केतानपेक्षा शब्दस्य वृत्तिः । तच्च जात्यादिभेदेन ब्रह्मकाण्डे निरूपितम् ।

Ibid, p. 127, l. 7.

(h) Again, Helārāja refers to what he has shown in the first *Kāṇḍa* when he says that one must accept the word to be an indivisible meaning-bearing unit, either a universal or an unchanging entity in the nature of Sphoṭa. He also says that it has already been shown in the first *Kāṇḍa* that there is a difference between the way in which the universal of the Sphoṭa is manifested and that in which the other universals are manifested—

तस्माच्छब्दादर्थं प्रतिपद्यामहे इति व्यवहाराद्वर्णानामर्थविसायजनकत्वानुपपत्तेः प्रकृतिभङ्गस्य प्रथमकाण्ड एव विहितत्वान्निरवयवं प्रत्यायकं शब्दतत्त्वं जातिव्यक्तिभेदेन भिन्नं स्फोटस्वभावमेवाङ्गीकार्यम् ।

Ibid, p. 18, l. 14.

(i) Lastly, he tells us that it has been stated in the *Brahma-kāṇḍa* that the Veda, consisting in a particular composition, always exists in the mind of God, the essence of which is vision or knowledge (*darśanātmani*), thus differing from *Smṛti* which is composed at different times by authors like Manu.

विशिष्टरचनावत् एव वेदस्येश्वरबुद्धौ दर्शनात्मनि सदावस्थितत्वमिति स्मृतिवद् यथाकालं मन्वादिवदस्य रचनाकर्तापि नास्तीत्युक्तं ब्रह्मकाण्डे 'अनादिमव्यवच्छिन्नाम्'. . . इति ।

Ibid, p. 53, l. 19.

It is quite possible that *Śabdaprabhā* was the name, not of Helārāja's commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa* only, but of his commentary on the first and second *Kāṇḍas* taken together.

But I have not come across any passage in his commentary on the third *Kāṇḍa* where he has told us what he has done in his commentary on the second *Kāṇḍa*, as he has told us so many times what he has done in his commentary on the first *Kāṇḍa*.

2. *Vārttikonmeṣa*. From the title, this appears to have been a work on the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana. This is confirmed by the three references which I have been able to find in Helārāja's commentary on the third *Kāṇḍa*. In one place he tells us that what is called gender is a state of the *guṇas* and not what is called sex in the world. This can be inferred from the fact that words having different genders express the same object. That is why gender is not taught in the śāstra. The state of the guṇas exists in the objects and is made known by the word having a particular gender. A word is correct as making known a particular gender. As all the *guṇas* exist in everything, there is no contradiction in different words making known different genders in the same thing. Helārāja tells us that this conception of gender is that of the author of the *Vārttikas*. In fact the grammarian's definition of gender is given in the *Vārttikas* and elaborated in the *Mahābhāṣya* on P. 1.2.64 and P. 4.1.3. Helārāja makes all this clear in the three following passages—

(a) तदित्यमनेन एकार्थे शब्दान्यत्वाद् इत्यादिना लिङ्गमशिष्यम् इति च प्रत्याख्यानेन शब्दशक्तिभेदोपवर्णनतात्पर्यरूपेण गुणावस्था सर्वत्र संभविनी लिङ्गमिति सूचित भवति । वाक्यकारस्यापीदमेव दर्शनमिति **वार्त्तिकोन्मेषे** कथितमस्माभिः ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III लि. 26, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, CXVI, p. 149).

(b) तथाभिव्यक्तिदर्शनेऽभिव्यङ्ग्यः अभिव्यक्तिः अभिव्यंजनमिति शब्दप्रमाणको लिङ्गभेदो 'भावस्य च भावयुक्तत्वादित्यत्र **वार्त्तिकोन्मेषे** विस्तरेण यथातत्त्वमस्माभिर्व्यवस्थितः इति तत एवावधार्यम् ।

(*Ibid*, लि. 27, p. 150).

(c) सिद्धान्तस्तु यथाभाष्यं गुणावस्थारूपं लिङ्गमित्यस्माभि-**र्वार्त्तिकोन्मेषे** यथागमं व्याख्यातं तत एवावधार्यम् ।

(*Ibid*. लि. 31. p. 152).

3. *Advayasiddhi*. (a) As the title shows, this work must have been dedicated to the establishment of Monism. In other words, it confirmed the doctrines which have been

explained in the first *Kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya*. Helārāja tells us that the ultimate Reality manifests itself as the individual experiencers and the objects experienced. The objects experienced are reflected in the Consciousness. As the things known are one with knowledge, their essence consists in being known. If they were themselves not of the nature of knowledge they would not shine in consciousness. This truth, Helārāja assures us, has been fully discussed in the first *Kāṇḍa* as well as in the *Advayasiddhi*.

द्रष्टृदृश्यरूपतया तस्यैव विवर्तः । तथा हि दृश्यं तावदभावजातं संविदुपारूढम् । वेद्यमानैकत्वादेव वेदनैकपरमार्थम् । अप्रकाशस्य प्रकाशमानतायोगात् इति **पूर्वकाण्डे अद्वयसिद्धौ** विस्तरेण विचारितम् ।

Vāk. III, pt. 1, p. 117, l. 2. (D.C.M.S. 21).

(b) Again it is pointed out that the Ultimate Reality which is of the nature of consciousness is eternal and unchanging and, therefore, its manifestations are unreal, *vivarta* and not *pariṇāma* as in Sāṅkhya philosophy. Helārāja claims that he has pointed out in his *Advayasiddhi* that nothing else can be the ultimate cause and refers the curious reader to that work for further information—

कारणान्तरव्युदासश्चाद्वयसिद्धौ अभिहित इति सत्यधिये तत एवावगन्तव्यः ।

Ibid, p. 119, l. 6.

4. *Kriyāviveka*. Helārāja's references to this work are found in his commentary on the *Kriyāsamuddeśa* of the *Vākyapadīya*. When the sentence-meaning is analysed, the notion of some action or process is found to be the main meaning expressed by it. It is this action which leads to the attainment of the fruit. Vedic injunctions prescribe some action or other. That actions lead to some result is due to their natural capacity. It is not the result which is enjoined in the Vedas, but the action which leads to that result. That is why Grammarians look upon action or process as the main meaning of a sentence. It is true that an action is performed in order to achieve a result and, therefore, it might be said, the result should be looked upon as the main thing. But this might be so from the point of view of outside reality and not from the point of view of what the words express. From the latter point of view, it is the action which is the main thing. Helārāja

claims in the following three passages that he has pointed this out in his *Kriyāviveka*.

(a) यदनुष्ठानात् फलं वस्तुसामर्थ्याद् भवतीति **क्रियाविवेके** क्रियैव प्रधानभूता वाक्यार्थ इति निर्णीतं तत एवावधार्यम्।

(Helārāja, on Vāk. III क्रि. 1. (T.S.S. CXVI).

(b) क्रियैव हि प्रधानभूता चोदिता सत्यनुष्ठीयते। वस्तुसामर्थ्यात्तु फलं भवति। न तु फलाय क्रिया चोदिता, प्राधान्येन चोदनाद् यजेत इत्यादि। अत एव सैव प्राधान्याद् वाक्यार्थो वैयाकरणानामिति **क्रियाविवेकेऽस्माभि-**विवेचितं तत एवावधार्यम्।

Ibid, क्रि. 40.

(c) कर्मणोऽपि साधनसाधारणस्य कारकत्वस्य भावात् क्रियां प्रति गुणभाव एव। यत्र तु तदेव फलं तत्र फलरूपानुप्रवेशादस्य वास्तवं प्राधान्यम, न तु शाब्दम्। एतच्च **क्रियाविवेकादेव** विस्तरतोऽवगन्तव्यम्।

Ibid.

THE CONCEPT AND SCOPE OF ADHIKARAṆA IN SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer

Pāṇini defines the kāraka *adhikaraṇa* as *ādhāra* or substratum (*adhāro'dhikaraṇam*, 1.4.45),[1] obviously the substratum of action (*kriyā*). The action may be in relation to the agent or the object, the respective illustrations being *kaṭe āste* 'sits on the mat' and *sthālyām pacati* 'cooks in the vessel'.[2] But with regard to the scope and varieties of this substratum, views are found to vary. It is generally taken to be of three kinds : *aupaśleṣika*, *vyāpaka* and *vaiṣayika*, but some add *sāmīpya*, others *naimittika* and still others *aupacārika*. There is also difference of opinion about the exact implications of these terms. It is therefore worthwhile to examine these different views.

Pāṇini himself does not speak of any varieties of *adhikaraṇa*, but Patañjali speaks of three : *vyāpaka*, *aupaśleṣika* and *vaiṣayika*[3]—

अधिकरणं त्रिप्रकारं व्यापकमौपश्लेषिकं वैषयिकमिति ।

Of these three he takes *vyāpaka* to be the principal *adhikaraṇa*[4]—

अधिकरणमाचार्यः किं न्याय्यं मन्यते, यत्र कृत्स्न आधारात्मा व्याप्तो भवति, तिलेषु तैलं, दध्नि सर्पिरिति ॥

This indicates that he takes the other two as subsidiaries. The examples given for *vyāpaka* namely, *tileṣu tailam* 'oil in sesamum' and *dadhni sarpiḥ* 'butter in curd', show that in this variety the *ādheya* fully pervades the *ādhāra*. *Upaśleṣa*, as gathered from

1. Pāṇini uses the term *adhikaraṇa* in two different senses, one in the sense of *ādhāra* as in this sūtra and the other in the sense of *dravya*, as in the sūtras *apratiṣiddham cānadhikaraṇavāci* (2.4.13) and *adhikaraṇaviśeṣaṇānāṃ ca* (2.4.15). This paper is confined to the scope of *adhikaraṇa* in the first sense alone.

2. आश्रयन्तेऽस्मिन् क्रिया इत्याधारः । कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाश्रयभूतयोः धारणक्रियां प्रति यः आधारस्तत्कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं भवति । कटे आस्ते, स्थाल्यां पचति ।

(Vide *Kāśikā* on 1.4.45)

3. *MBh.* on 6.1.72—*Saṃhitāyām.*

4. *Ibid.*, on 1.3.11—*sarvādhikārāḥ*; see also under 1.4.42.

the illustrations, is taken to imply two things, namely proximity and association and an *ādhāra* pertaining to either of them in *aupaśleṣika*. The proximity can be in relation to time or space and with regard to objects concrete or abstract. The locative, for instance, in *aci* in '*iko yaṇaci*' denotes close proximity and *ac* is the *aupaśleṣikādhikaraṇa* for an *ik*-vowel for its change into the corresponding *yaṇ* letters :[5]

शब्दस्य च शब्देन कोऽयोऽभिसम्बन्धो भवितुमर्हत्यन्यदत उपश्लेषात् । 'इको यणचि', अच्युपश्लिष्टन्येति ।

The *ac* is not directly the *ādhāra* but is considered to be so on account of its being so near, and so it is a *gauṇa ādhāra*. In *māse dīyate* the sense is 'given soon after a month' and *māsa* is an *aupaśleṣikādhikaraṇa* as before :[6]

यदपि मासे दीयते तदपि मासे भवं भवति । तत्र 'तत्र भवः' इत्येव सिद्धम् । न सिध्यति । न तन्मासे दीयते । किं तर्हि । मासे गते । एवं तर्ह्यौपश्लेषिकमधिकरणं विज्ञास्यते ।

In both these examples the *ādhāra* is in relation to time; in the first the *ādheya* just precedes the *ādhāra*,[7] and in the second it just follows it. The examples indicated by Patañjali for *gauṇa ādhara*, namely *gaṅgāyāṁ gāvaḥ* and *kūpe gargakulam* relate to proximity in space :

आधारमाचार्यः किं न्याय्यं मन्यते, यत्र कृत्स्न आधारात्मा व्याप्तो भवति । तेनेहैव स्यात्, तिलेषु तैलं दध्नि सर्पिरिति । गङ्गायां गावः, कूपे गर्गकुलम् इत्यत्र न स्यात् । कारकसंज्ञायां तरतमयोगो न भवतीत्यत्रापि सिद्धं भवति ।[8]

The words *gaṅgāyām* and *kūpe* mean 'near the river Gaṅgā' and 'near the well' respectively. That this is their import is made clear by Patañjali himself.[9]

5. *MBh* on 6.1.72.

6. *Ibid.*, on 5.1.96— *tatra ca dīyate kāryaṁ bhavasi*. See also Kaiyaṭa thereon—

मासेऽतिक्रान्ते यद्दीयते तस्यौपश्लेषिकमधिकरणमिति तत्र भव इत्यनेनैव सिद्धमित्यर्थः ॥

7. In the analytical stage of the utterance, the vowel which causes the change of *ik* into *yaṇ* comes immediately after the changing vowel.

8. *Ibid.*, on 1.4.42—*sādhakatamaṁ karaṇam*.

9. *MBh* on 4.1.48. *puṇyagāḍ ākhyāyām*.

चतुर्भिः प्रकारैस्तस्मिन् स इत्येतद्भवति—तात्स्थ्यात् ताद्धर्म्यात्, तत्सामीप्यात्, तत्साहचर्यादिति..... तत्सामीप्यात्—गङ्गायां घोषः, कूपे गर्गकुलम् ।

Under the vārttika, *dvividhāne parimāṇaśabdānām ādhikyasyādhikaraṇabhāvādanirdeśaḥ*, he says—

यद्यपि तावद् व्यापके वैषयिके वाधिकरणे सम्भवो नास्ति, औपश्लेषिकमधिकरणं विज्ञास्यते—एकादश कार्षापणा उपश्लिष्टा अस्मिन् शते एकादशं शतम् ।

In this illustration *aupaśleṣika* means 'added to', 'attached to' or 'associated with'. The *vaiṣayikādhāra* is neither explained nor illustrated in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Kaiyaṭa gives for *vyāpaka* the same examples as in *Mahābhāṣya* but for *aupaśleṣika* he gives *kaṭe tiṣṭhati*, *mathurāyām vasati* with the explanation —

सर्वविषयव्याप्त्यभावात् कटादेर्व्यापकत्वाभावः

which shows that he takes *upaśleṣa* to mean 'partial contact' in contrast with *vyāpti* which means 'complete or intimate pervasion'. *Vaiṣayika* is illustrated by *khe śakunayaḥ*, 'birds in the sky' and *gurau vasati*, 'lives with the teacher', but they are not explained.[10] Although Kaiyaṭa gives all this in the context where Patañjali mentions the varieties of *adhikaraṇa* to show that *upaśleṣa* means 'proximity', he does not mention this sense here or give an illustration implying it. In *gaṅgāyāṁ gāvaḥ* he seems to emphasise the attributed nature of the *ādhāra* (*prakalpitādhāra*) and thereby its secondary nature. According to him, in this example *gaṅgā*, the river, is the attributed *ādhāra* of the cows that stand close by on the bank.[11] It is a

10. Vide *Pradīpa* under 6.1.72.

11. गङ्गायामिति । गोभिर्गङ्गाया व्याप्त्यभावान्न स्यादधिकरणसंज्ञा । अस्माज्ज्ञापकात् सामीप्यमात्राश्रयेण प्रकल्पिताधारनिबन्धना सा भवति ।

(*Pradīpa* under 1.4.42).

गङ्गायां गाव इति । गङ्गाशब्दोऽत्र नद्यामेव वर्तते, न तु तत्समीपदेशे । तस्य मुख्यमेवाधारत्वमित्यप्रयोजनमेतत् स्यात् । नद्यास्तु तत्सामीप्यात् गौणमाधारत्वमिति पश्चात् संज्ञा भिदा ।

(*Ibid*, under 1.3.11)

secondary substratum in the sense that what is not really an *ādhāra* is looked upon as *ādhāra*.[12]

Kāśikā does not speak of the different types of *ādhāra*, but its commentary *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi does. It gives *gurau vasati* and *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ* as examples of *vaiṣayikādhāra*. How the latter can be such an example is not explained, but as for the former it offers a detailed explanation. *Viṣaya* means *ananyatrabhāva* 'not being elsewhere', that is, not being connected with (or comprehended by) anything else. Just as colour is considered the *viṣaya* of the eye, in that the eye alone is capable of grasping colour; a teacher is considered the *viṣaya* of the pupil in that the pupil is so intimately connected with him in his grasping knowledge. The term *ādhāra* should be understood to mean (in fact its sense should be extended to) *āśraya* and although *āśraya* is based on the relation of *saṃyoga* or *samavāya*, the *āśraya* can also be taken as that entity which a person or object depends upon. The teacher thus becomes the *ādhāra* of the pupil since the pupil is dependent upon him.[13] In Abhayanandin's *vṛtti* on the *Jainendravyākaraṇa* the same divisions and examples given in the *Nyāsa* are seen.[14]

In the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari we find *adhikaraṇa* defined as—

12. Since according to this interpretation *gaṅgā* means itself, the river, and not the bank, there is no need to speak of *lakṣaṇā*. It is the *ādhāra* that becomes *gaṅgā* and not the meaning of the word. Vide Nāgeśa—

—प्रकृतिः स्वार्थे, सप्तम्येव गौणाधारत्वार्थिकेति भाव इति कैयटमतानुसारिणः (*Uddyota* on 1.3.11); प्रकल्पितेति । सम्पूर्णप्रवाहे एकदेशत्वमस्य तीरत्वमस्य वा आधारत्वस्योपचार इति भावः । तादृशमाधारमपि सप्तम्याः शक्यमेवेति बोध्यम् (*ibid* on 1.4.42).

13. विषयो ह्यनन्यत्व भावः । यथा चक्षुष्प्रभृतीनां रूपादिभ्योऽनन्यत्वभावात् चक्षुरादीनां रूपादयो विषया इत्युच्यन्ते एव शिष्यादीनां गुर्वादिभ्योऽनन्यत्वभावादेवां ते विषया इति ।..... आधारश्च को भवति ? य आश्रयः ।..... यदायत्ता हि यस्य स्थितिः स विनापि संयोगसमवायाभ्यां तस्याश्रयो भवति।..... शिष्यादीनां गुर्वाद्यायत्ता स्थितिरिति युक्तस्तान् प्रति गुरुप्रभृतीनामाश्रयभावः ।

(*Nyāsa* on 1.4.45, Varendra Research Society edition, p. 292).

14. Vide *Jainendravyākaraṇa* 1.2.116—(edited by Sambhunath Tripathi, Kasi, 1956, p. 39).

कर्तुः कर्मव्यवहितामसाक्षाद् धारयत् क्रियाम् ।
उपकुर्वत् क्रियासिद्धौ शास्त्रेऽधिकरणं स्मृतम् ॥

and *upaśleṣa* given as the common characteristic of all its varieties and the difference as being due to the difference in the relation *saṃyoga* or *samavāya*[15]:

उपश्लेषस्य चाभेदः तिलाकाशकटादिषु ।
उपकारास्तु भिद्यन्ते संयोगिसमवायिनाम् ॥

Upaśleṣa here, as explained by the commentator Helārāja, is the relation between the *ādhāra* and *ādheya*—

उपश्लेषः आधारस्वाधेयेन सम्बन्धः यद्वशादसावाधारः ।

and not proximity as given by Patañjali.[16] It is *saṃyoga* or conjunction as in *kaṭe āste devadattaḥ* but *samavāya* or intimate pervasion as in *tileṣu tailam*.[17] Helārāja, however, speaks of the three kinds of *ādhāra* based on the indication in the *kārikā*,-*tila*, *ākāśa* and *kaṭa*. He gives *kaṭe āste* as an example of *aupaśleṣika* in a general sense. For *vaiṣayika*, in addition to *ākāśe śakunayaḥ*, he gives *jale matsyāḥ*, *gurau vasati* and *yuddhe sannahyati*. *Viṣaya* seems to be taken to denote two different things namely, the character of locus attributed to a partless substratum (*kalpitapradeśatva*) and an object in association with which alone the particular thing in question exists (*ananyatrabhāva*). The first is illustrated by *ākaśe śakunayaḥ* and the second by the rest. The partless *ākāśa* is conceived of as having parts when we speak of birds in it. In *jale matsyāḥ* water is the *ādhāra* of the fish, and it is *vaiṣayika* in that the fish cannot live apart from it, but it is also pointed out that since the fish are in actual physical contact with water, it can also be considered as *aupaśleṣika*.[18] In *gurau vasati* the contact between the pupil and teacher is intellectual (*upaśleṣo'pyatra bauddhaḥ*). In *yuddhe sannahyati*

15. *Vākyapadīya*, Sādhanasamuddeśa 141. (edited by K.A. Subramania Iyer, Poona, 1963, p. 348.

16. Patañjali's *upaśleṣa* is *upa=samīpe*, *śleṣaḥ=sambandhaḥ* as explained by Nāgeśa.

17. *Samavāya* here is intimate pervasion and not the inseparable union of the Naiyāyikas.

18. 'ये शकुनयः' इत्यत्र त्वाकाशस्य तात्त्विकावयवाभावात् कल्पितप्रदेशतया सम्बन्धाद्वैषयिकमेतदधिकरणम् । अनन्यत्रभावश्चात्र विषयार्थः । एवं 'जले मत्स्याः' इति । आधारप्रदेशापेक्षया चैतदौपश्लेषिकमधिकरणम् ।
(p. 349).

'gets ready for the battle', *yuddha* is clearly *viṣaya*, because donning the armour and weapons is relevant only then (*ananyatrabhāva*). But we can see that in the light of the explanation of *aci* in *iko yaṇaci* by Patañjali, this can be taken as *aupaśleṣika* of time, since the warrior gets ready when the battle is about to start or is just starting. *Gaṅgā* in *gaṅgāyām gāvaḥ* is given as *aupaśleṣikādhikaraṇa* and *gaṅgā* is taken as indicating the bank because of its proximity.[19] This explanation, therefore, implies *lakṣaṇā* in contrast with Kaiyaṭa's explanation according to which the *ādhāratva* for the cows is attributed to the river itself.

The *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti takes *sāmīpya* as an *ādhāra* distinct from the above three and not as a variety of *aupaśleṣika* and calls its *pratyāsatti*—

आधारः औपश्लेषिक-वैषयिक-व्यापक-प्रत्यासत्तिभेदवान् चतुर्विधः।[20]

Aupaśleṣika is divided into two kinds, one where there is contact between two finite solid objects as in *kaṭe āste*, and the other where there is contact between a finite object and an infinite one, as in *ākāśe vihaṅgāḥ*. *Vaiṣayika* is that which is due to *viṣayatāsambandha* (the relation with the object or the aim of an action) as in *śive bhaktiḥ* or *putre prītiḥ*. *Vyāpaka* is illustrated by the usual *tileṣu tailam* and *pratyāsatti* (=*sāmīpya*) by *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ*, *vaṭe gāvaḥ*.[21] We find here in addition to the separation of *sāmīpika* as a distinct *ādhāra*, the inclusion in *aupaśleṣika* of what is *vaiṣayika* to Kaiyaṭa, Jinendrabuddhi and Helārāja, namely, *khe śakunayaḥ*. The relation between the *ādhāra* and *ādheya* is conceived as *saṃyoga* here and to place this example under this category is perhaps better than placing it under *vaiṣayika* to explain which an extraneous factor *ananyatrabhāva* has to be brought in. But Dharmakīrti does not

19. गङ्गायां गाव इति गङ्गाशब्दः सामीप्यात् प्रदेशवृत्तिरित्यौपश्लेषिकमधिकरणम्। (*ibid*).

20 *Rūpāvatāra*, edited by Rangacharya, Madras, Vol. I., p. 162.

21. मूर्तयोः कठिनयोर्द्रव्ययोः उपबंधोभावः औपश्लेषिक आधारः—कटे आस्ते; मूर्तामूर्तयोः संयोगे तु आधारस्य न यावद्द्रव्यत्वम्—आकाशे विहङ्गाः; वैषयिकः विषयतासम्बन्धकृत आधारः—शिवे भक्तिः; यावद्द्रव्यभावित्वं यस्य स आधारो व्यापकः—तिलेषु तैलम्; प्रत्यासत्तिः सामीप्यम्—गङ्गायां घोषः।

आस्ते कटे देवदत्तो गगने विहगश्चरेत्।
पुष्पे गन्धः सुते प्रीतिः वटे गावः सुखेरते॥ (*ibid*).

explain how in an instance like *śive bhaktiḥ* the general definition of *adhikaraṇa* which he accepts and clearly states as—

कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाश्रयभूतयोः धारणक्रियां प्रति यः आधारः तत् कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं भवति,

applies. The *bhakti* rests in the devotee and not in Śiva, who is really the object of devotion. Only if *ādhāra* is taken to comprise *āśraya* in the sense of object or aim as stated in *Nyāsa*, can the example stand.

In the *Vāraṇasaṅgraha* also we get a four-fold classification[22] and as detailed in the commentary *Dīpaprabhā* on it we find it to be the same as in the *Rūpāvatāra* with the difference that *pratyāsatti* is given as *sāmīpika* itself and the example given for *vaiṣayika* is *khe śakunayaḥ*. Like Helārāja, Nārāyaṇa, the author of this commentary, also holds the view that although *upaśleṣa* is primarily *ādhārādheyasambandha* which is common to all varieties of *ādhāra*, it is applied to partial contact by *gobalīvardanyāya*.[23]

The *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra gives the same four varieties[24]—

औपश्लेषिकः सामीपिको विषयो व्याप्त इत्याधारश्चतुर्धा।

These are not explained, but the examples are given. *Nadyām āste, tarke kuśalaḥ* and *sarvasmin sthitaḥ* are the respective examples for *sāmīpika, viṣaya* and *vyāpta*. Viṭṭhala in this commentary *Prasāda*, however, explains the terms as well as the illustrations. *Upaśleṣa* is partial contact, *viṣaya* is *ananyatrabhāva* and *vyāpti* is complete pervasion, and the *ādhāras* based on these bear the respective names.[25] Since *upaśleṣa*

22. आधारश्चतुर्विधः (*Vāraṇasaṅgraha* with the *Dīpaprabhā* of Nārāyaṇa, edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, TSS. 33, Trivandrum, 1913, p. 12).

23. कतिपयावयवव्याप्त्या कर्तुरुपश्लेषादौपश्लेषिकम् । आधाराधेयसम्बन्धस्यौपश्लेषस्य सर्वाधिकरणसाधारणत्वाद् गोबलीवर्दन्यायेनौपश्लेषिकस्यान्वेषां च भेदः । (*ibid.*)

24. Vide *Prakriyākaumudī* edited by K.P. Trivedi, Bombay, Part I.

25. आधाराधेययोः अन्यत्र सिद्धयोः प्रादेशिकः सम्बन्धः उपश्लेषः, तत्र भवः औपश्लेषिकः । समीपं सान्निध्यं, तत्र भवः सामीपिकः । विषयस्त्वनन्यत्र भावः, तत्र भवोऽप्युपचारेण विषयः । अपृथग्देशयोराधाराधेययोः यः सकलावयवसम्बन्धः तत्र भवो व्याप्तः । (*ibid.*)

does not denote close proximity according to this view, one can understand why *sāmīpika* is taken as a separate variety, as in the *Rūpāvatāra*. It is clearly stated that it cannot be included in the other three. The explanation given by Viṭṭhala for *tarke kuśalaḥ*, it is interesting to note, is that the person spoken of is no doubt an expert in logic but in that alone.[26] This is in keeping with the definition of *viṣaya*, but in actual usage we don't find such a restriction in sense observed and this only serves to show the difficulty one has to face in applying the definition of *viṣaya* to all examples given for *vaiṣayika*. Viṭṭhala explains the *ādhāratva* in this case in exactly the same manner as in the case of *gurau vasati* given in the *Nyāsa*.[27]

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in this *Siddhāntakaumudi* does not speak of *sāmīpika* but gives only the other three with the change of *vyāpaka* into *abhivyāpaka*, thereby stressing the aspect of entire pervasion in it and gives as example for it, *sarvasmin ātmā asti*. The example for *vaiṣayika* is *mokṣe icchā asti* but no explanation is given. The *Bālamanoramā*, however, observes that being (*sattā*) is the *kriyā* here and *icchā* its subject (*kartā*), and *mokṣa* becomes the *adhikaraṇa* for this *kriyā* through *icchā* with which it is connected by the relation *viṣayatā*.[28] This, of course, takes the relation of the *icchā* with the person who is really having it, as not meant here. Although this particular example is explained in this manner, a similar one is not easy for the stock example *gurau vasati* given by Bhaṭṭoji also in his *Śabdakaustubha*.

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa takes his stand on the *Mahābhāṣya* and considers *vyāpaka* as primary and the other two as secondary. *Aupalleṣika* chiefly relates to proximity.

उप–समीपे, श्लेषः–सम्बन्धः, तदुक्तसमीपश्लेषिकम्,

but it can also be taken to denote all secondary *ādhāras* based

26- तर्कविषयं कौशलमस्यास्तीत्यर्थः । देवदत्तस्य कौशलं तर्कादन्यत्र नास्तीति तर्कस्य विषयत्वम् ।

27- कौशलस्य तर्काधीनस्थितित्वात् युक्तः तर्कस्य कौशलं प्रत्याधारभावः ।

28- कर्तृभूतेच्छाक्रियां प्रति मोक्षस्य विषयतासम्बन्धपुरस्कारेण इच्छाद्वाराधारत्वादधिकरणत्वम् ।

on contact or pervasion.[29] The example given is *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ* and, it is incidentally pointed out, that here this sense is got from the locative itself, and there is no need to resort to *lakṣaṇā* with regard to the base or the suffix.[30] In the *Paramalaghumañjūṣā* Nāgeśa finds fault with Kaiyaṭa (and also Bhaṭṭoji) for giving *kaṭe āste* for *aupaśleṣika*, being against *Mahābhāṣya*, which makes it abundantly clear that *aupaśleṣika* indicates only proximity,[31] although in the *Uddyota* he concedes the possibility of justifying such an example if we take *upaśleṣa* to mean partial contact—

श्लेषस्य मुख्यस्य सर्वावारकव्याप्तिरूपस्य तयोर्यत् आधारोपयत्किञ्चिदवयवव्याप्तिरूपं तत्कृतमौपश्लेषिकम्—यथा कटे आस्ते इति ।[32]

All *ādhāra* other than *aupaśleṣika* and *vyāpaka* is *vaiṣayika*. In the *Uddyota*, *khe śakunayaḥ* is explained after the manner of Helārāja as due to the character of locus being attributed to the allpervasive *ākāśa*, and in *gurau vasati* as due to the pupil being dependent on the teacher—

'खे शकुनयः' इत्यादौ आकाशकल्पितदेशसम्बन्धाद् वैषयिकत्वम् । 'गुरौ वसति' इत्यत्र शिष्यस्य गुर्वधीनायां वृत्तौ वैषयिकमधिकरणं बोध्यम् । संयोगसमवायसम्बन्धेन य आधारस्तदतिरिक्त सर्वं वैषयिकमिति तत्त्वम् ।[33]

How in these two examples there is no *saṁyoga* is not explained. In fact the relation between the bird and the sky cannot be anything else. Perhaps this is not taken to be so because of the attributed nature of the *ādhāra* here. Similarly in the latter example although there is contact between the pupil and the teacher at the intellectual level, the absence of the same in

29. औपश्लेषिकशब्देन संयोगसमवायमूलको गौण आधारः सर्वोऽभिप्रेयते । (*Uddyota* on 6.1.72).

30. सर्वं चेद मण्डमीवाच्यमेवेति 'गङ्गायां घोष' इत्यादौ न लक्षणेत्यपि प्रत्ययस्य लक्षणेति बोध्यम् । (*ibid.*)

31. वस्तु 'कटे आस्ते' इत्यौपश्लेषिकोदाहरणमुक्तं कैयटेन तदयुक्तम्, उक्तभाष्यविरोधात् । (*Paramalaghumañjūṣā*, Baroda University edition, 1961, p. 188).

32. *Uddyota* on 6.1.72 See also *Laghulakṣaṇadīpikāra*—

यद्वा एकदेशावच्छेदेन श्लेषेऽपि श्लेषस्य संयोगमुपश्लेषं तत्कृतमिति व्युत्पत्त्यौपश्लेषिकत्वमित्यभिप्रायेण तदुदाहरणम् ।

33. *Ibid.*

the physical level is perhaps what distinguishes the *ādhāra* here, namely the guru, from the other two types. Nāgeśa's own and considered view seems to be that irrespective of the nature of the relation, whatever *ādhāra* is neither *vyāpaka* nor *aupaśleṣika* must be considered *vaiṣayika*, for he states so in his *Paramalaghumañjūṣā* and gives *kaṭe āste* as an example—

एतद्व्यतिरिक्तं वैषयिकमधिकरणम्। कटे आस्ते, जले सन्ति मत्स्या इत्यादि।[34]

Bhoja's conception of *ādhāra* is very much wider. In his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* he cites Bhartṛhari's definition of *adhikaraṇa*, but his classification is different. It comprises all that is given by others and and something more. He too divides *ādhāra* principally into three varieties, but omits *vyāpaka*, which he includes in *aupaśleṣika* and adds a new variety *naimittika* and subdivides each into six.[35] *Vaiṣayika* is identical with *viṣaya*[36] and it is the substratum not of *kriyā* alone but of *jāti*, *dravya* and *guṇa* also, and *saṃjñā* and *saṅketa* in addition.[37] Its six types are—

(1)	जातिर्वैषयिकम्	—दिवि देवाः, जले मत्स्याः	
(2)	गुण ,,	—कटकरणे साधुः, कटकरणे कुशलः, मातरि निपुणः	
(3)	क्रिया ,,	—प्राच्यामादित्य उदेति, आकाशे शकुन्ताः पतन्ति, शब्दादिषु श्रोत्रादयोऽभिनिविशन्ते.	
(4)	द्रव्य ,,	—गोषु स्वामी, अधिब्रह्मदत्ते पाञ्चालाः, अधिपाञ्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः.	
(5)	संज्ञा ,,	—ब्रह्मणि पितामहः, विष्णौ पुरुषोत्तमः.	
(6)	सङ्केत ,,	—तर्जनीमध्ये उदात्तः, कनिष्ठिकामध्ये अनुदात्तः.	

Upaśleṣa is defined as *avaṣṭhambha* or support and the *ādhāra* which pertains to that is *aupaśleṣika*.[38] This is divided into

34. *Paramalaghumañjūṣā*, pp. 188-189.

35. Vide Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Part I, edited by G.R. Joyer, Mysore, 1955. pp. 154-55.

36. विषय एव वैषयिकमिति।

37. विषयो जातिगुणक्रियादीनामाश्रयः।

38. उपश्लेषोऽवष्टम्भः, तस्मै प्रभवत्यौपश्लेषिकम्।

aupaśleṣika proper and five others which include *abhivyāpaka* and *sāmīpyaka*, and also two new kinds *aupaśalyaka* and *aupacārika*.

(1) एकदेशिकम् —गृहे तिष्ठति, स्थाल्यां पचति.
(2) अभिव्यापकम् —तिलेषु तैलम्, गवि गोत्वम्, तन्तुषु पटः.
(3) सामीप्यकम् —गुरौ वसति, तीर्थे वसति, गङ्गायां घोषः.
(4) औपश्लेषिकम् —द्वयहे भोक्ता, कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे, पाटलिपुत्राद् राजगृहं सप्तसु योजनेषु.
(5) औपशल्यकम् —उपस्थायी द्रोणः, उपशते पञ्चाशत्.
(6) औपचारिकम् —यो यस्य प्रियः स तस्य हृदये वसति, अङ्गगुल्यग्रे करियूथशतमास्ते.

Naimittika is identical with *nimitta*[39] and relates to place, time, event, object, action and result.

(1) देशनैमित्तिकम् —गेहे मोदते, जले मज्जति.
(2) काल ,, —मधौ माद्यन्ति कोकिलाः, पुष्ये पायसमश्नीयात्.
(3) भाव ,, —दर्शने प्रसीदति, विरहे विषीदति.
(4) वस्तु ,, —आतपे क्लाम्यति, गुणेषु रज्यते.
(5) कर्म ,, —आम्नाती छन्दसि, अधीती व्याकरणे.
(6) कर्मयोग ,, —चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति, दन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम्.

An examination of the above classification and examples of Bhoja shows that the three varieties mentioned by Patañjali and illustrated by his followers are practically covered here by the class *aupaśleṣika* itself, in fact something more. Its sub-variety *aupaśleṣika* (proper) comprises the close proximity meant for the term by Patañjali. The scope of *abhivyāpaka* is extended to comprise inseparable union also in addition to intimate pervasion. The *ekadeśika* stands for the *aupaśleṣika* as understood by Kaiyaṭa. *Sāmīpyaka* is given as a separate variety probably to indicate that it denotes nearness as distinguished from close proximity which implies a sort of peripheral contact or temporal continuity. The examples *gurau vasati* and *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ* show that it is only the neighbourhood that is meant in them.[40] A difference in the degree of the

39. निमित्त एव नैमित्तिकम् ।
40. This may be contrasted with Nāgeśa's view—
गङ्गायां गावः, कूपे गर्गकुलमिति । गङ्गैकदेशस्थितगोषु कूपैकदेशस्थितगर्गकुले च तथा प्रयोगः । (*Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara*, Varanasi, 1960. Vol. II. P. 139)

(Contd.)

proximity seems thus to be meant between *aupaśleṣika* proper and *sāmīpyaka*. Although *aupacārika* also refers to metaphorical usage as in *sāmīpyaka*, it is given as a distinct sub-variety since, as can be seen from the examples, it relates to ideas and not objects. 'The beloved person lives in the heart' obviously means that the heart is filled with loving thoughts of the beloved person: so also 'he has got at his finger's ends a hundred herds of elephants' indicates only that the person referred to can easily command the service of such a large number of elephants. *Aupaśaṭyaka* is the type which indicates the relation of the part to the whole. Since *droṇa* is a fraction, one-twentieth of *khāri*, *khāri* is the substratum for *droṇa*.

Although Bhoja defines *adhikaraṇa* as

कर्तुः कर्मणो वा क्रियावयवस्य क्रिया प्रति यः आधारस्तदधिकरणम्

following his predecesors, and cites Bhartṛhari's *kārikā*, some of his examples, particularly many under *naiṣayika* and *naimittika*, as for instance *mātari nipuṇaḥ*, *gaṅgā sthāmī*, *darśane prasīdati*, *carmaṇi hanti* etc., cannot be easily explained as fitting in with this definition. That he does not confine the *ādheyatva* to *kriyā* but extends it to *dravya*, *guṇa* etc., also shows that he is not abiding by this definition. His own view appears to be that anything for which the locative is ordained, should be considered as *adhikaraṇa*. For, he observes under *karmayogenaimittika*—

ननु च निमित्तहेतोः कारकत्वात् कारकस्य च प्रयोजकापरतन्त्रत्वादिह कथं कारकत्वमिति । उच्यते, द्विविधः कारकहेतुः प्रवृत्तप्रेरकः अप्रवृत्तप्रेरकश्च । तत्राद्यो णिज्विषयः इतरस्तु विध्यात्मको निमित्तात्मकश्च । ..... निमित्तात्मकस्तु क्रियायोग्यत्वात् सप्तमीवाच्यो नैमित्तिकमधिकरणमिति विभक्तमधिकरणत्वम् । ननु च उपरार्धे द्रोणः, अधिरज्वालेषु बद्धादन्तः इत्यादौ यद्धधिकरणं (में ? ए)व सप्तमी अधिकरणं किन् । उच्यते—यन्नादधिकं वस्तु चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी इति ।[41]

So some of the examples are not those got by the sûtra *saptamyadhikaraṇe ca* but by other sûtras and vârttikas. Thus, for ins-

Nāgeśa finds fault with Kaiyaṭa for taking it to mean 'near Gaṅgā'—

गङ्गादेः सामीप्याद्गौणमाधारत्वमिति कैयटस्तु तत्रापि मौख्यमेवाधारत्वमिति यथाकथञ्चिन्नेयः ।

41. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 155.

tance, *adhipāñcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ* and *adhibrahmadatte pāñcālāḥ* are examples under the sūtra *yasmādadhikaṃ yasya ceśvaravacanaṃ tatra saptamī* (2.3.9) in the *Bhāṣya*,[42] *upakhāryāṃ droṇaḥ* is an example in *Kāśikā* under the same. *Āmnāti chandasi* and *adhīti vyākaraṇe* are examples under the vār. *saptamīvidhāne ktasyeṣṭavyasya karmaṇyupasaṅkhyānam* under *saptamyadhikaraṇe ca* (2.3.36) and undoubtedly the locative here is in the sense of *karma*.[43] *Kaṭakaraṇe sādhuḥ* is an example under the vār. *sādhvasādhuprayoge ca*. *Carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti* is an example under the vār. *nimittāt karmasaṃyoge* where *nimitta* stands for *kriyāphala* and so the locative is for *hetu*, not *adhikaraṇa*.[44] In *mātari nipuṇaḥ* the locative is by *sādhunipuṇābhyāṃ arcāyāṃ saptamyaprateḥ* (2.3.43), in *kaṭakaraṇe kuśalaḥ* by *āyuktakuśalābhyāṃ* etc. (2.3.40), and in *gośu sāmi* by *sāmīśvarādhipati* etc. (2.3.39). For the locative in the sense of *nimitta* we have Pāṇini's own *nirdeśa* in the sūtra *antardhau yenādarśanam icchati* (1.4.28) where *antardhau* means *antardhānimittam*.[45]

In holding the view that whatever gets the locative case should be considered as *adhikaraṇa*, Bhoja does not stand alone. Even as early as the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* we get its indication in the statement—*ādhāra eva saptamī*.[46] We get it again in the *Vāraruchasaṅgraha* which states *saptamyevādhikaraṇe* which is explained in the commentary as—*adhikaraṇe eva saptamī, na kārakāntare iti niyamyati*.[47] We find it also in later Nyāya litera-

42. Although Kaiyaṭa states that in the example *adhibrahmadatte pāñcālāḥ adhikaraṇasaptamī* is possible (vide *Pradīpa* under 2.3.9), in *adhipāñcālēṣu brahmadattaḥ* this is inapplicable.

43. Vide Kaiyaṭa— अधीतीति... अत्र व्याकरणस्य कर्मत्वात् द्वितीया प्राप्नोति... ततस्तदपवादः सप्तमी विधीयते ।

44. Vide Kaiyaṭa— क्रियाफलमिह निमित्तत्वेन विवक्षितम् । यत्क्रियायाः प्रयोजकं यदर्थं क्रियारम्भस्तत्र 'हेतौ' इति तृतीयायां प्राप्तायां सप्तमी विधीयते ।

45. Vide *Kāśikā* under the sūtra; also *Nyāsa*—अन्तर्धावितिनिमित्तसप्तमीयम्.

46. Vide Candragomin's Vṛtti on 2.1.88. (*Cāndravyākaraṇa*, Deccan College edition, p. 181).

47. TSS. edition, p. 18.

ture as for instance in Jagadīśa's *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* which says[48]—

यत्क्रियायां यादृशार्थः सप्तम्या विग्रहस्थया ।
बोध्यस्तस्यां तदेवाधिकरणं नाम कारकम् ॥

But none of these offers any explanation as to why, if *saptamī* denotes *adhikaraṇa* alone and conversely whatever gets *saptamī* must be considered *adhikaraṇa*, Pāṇini gives several sūtras laying down *saptamī* in other senses; nor do they explain the need for considering all locatives to be in the sense of the substratum. No wonder, therefore, that this view does not find even a remote reference in works like the *Prakriyākaumudī* and *Siddhāntakaumudī*. Even Daṇḍanātha, the famous commentator on Bhoja's other celebrated work on grammar, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* accepts it but partially in that he speaks of six varieties of *ādhāra*, the conventional three and *sāmīpyaka*, *naimittika* and *aupacārika*. He maintains the distinction between *aupaśleṣika* and *abhivyāpaka* in that the one is *ekadeśamātrasaṃyogi* and the other *samastāvayavasaṃyogi* (note, not *samastāvyāpi*), takes *viṣaya* as *ananyatrabhāva* and illustrates *yuddhe sannahyati* for *naimittika*. These six varieties are based on marked differences in the relation between the *ādheya* and what is really its *ādhāra* or what is considered to be so. They are, therefore, found accepted also by *Anubhūtisvarūpācārya* in his *Sāraswataprakriyā*[49] and by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Prakriyāsarvasva*.[50]

48. *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*, kārikā 72 (Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 109, Benares, 1934, p. 314).

49. Vide under the sūtra आधारे सप्तमी—

षड्विधमधिकरणम्—औपश्लेषिकं सामीपिकमभिव्यापकं वैषयिकं निमित्तमौपचारिकं चेति ।

कटे शेते कुमारोऽसौ कटे गावः सुखेरते ।
तिलेषु विद्यते तैलं हृदि ब्रह्मामृतं परम् ॥
युद्धे सन्नह्यते वीरोऽङ्गुल्यग्रे करिणां शतम् ॥

(*Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1952, p. 86).

50. आधारः किल षोढा स्यात् तत्रौपश्लेषिकस्तथा ।
सामीप्यं विषयो व्याप्यातो निमित्तं त्वौपचारिकः ॥
औपश्लेषे कटे शेते पिठरे पचतीति च ।
सामीप्ये तु सरित्यास्ते विषयेऽरिषु दारुणः ॥ (Contd.)

Anubhūtisvarūpa, however, draws a distinction between *viṣaya* and *vaiṣayikādhāra*, for there is a separate sūtra *viṣaye ca* which lays down *saptamī* in the sense of *viṣaya*; the example is *tarke caturaḥ* and *viṣaya* is explained as *ananyatrabhāva*. This may be contrasted with the example for *vaiṣayikādhikaraṇa* namely, *hṛdi brahmāmṛtaṁ param*. While in the latter *hṛdaya* is the substratum for *brahmāmṛta*, in the former it is the *tārkika* who is really the substratum for the *cāturya* and not *tarka*.

The above examination of the treatment of *adhikaraṇa* in grammatical treatises shows that there is some confusion with regard to its concept and scope. All agree on the acceptance of the three major types *aupaśleṣika*, *vyāpaka* and *vaiṣayika*, but about the nature and illustration of these they differ. *Upaśleṣa* is close proximity or connectedness to Patañjali; it is the general relation between *ādhāra* and *ādheya* to Bhartṛhari; it is partial contact to Kaiyaṭa, Helārāja, Bhaṭṭoji and many others. *Sāmīpya* is implied in *upaśleṣa* according to Patañjali, Helārāja and Nāgeśa; but *sāmīpika* is a distinct *ādhāra* according to Dharmakīrti, Bhoja, Anubhūtisvarūpa and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa among others. We also find one and the same example given for different *ādhāras* by different writers. Thus *gaṅgāyāṁ gāvaḥ* (or *ghoṣaḥ*) is taken as *vaiṣayika* by Jinendrabudhi, but it is *aupaśleṣika* to Helārāja and Nāgeśa and *sāmīpika* to Dharmakīrti and Bhoja; *ākāśe śakunayaḥ* is *vaiṣayika* to Kaiyaṭa and Jinendrabudhi, but *aupaśleṣika* to Dharmakīrti; *gurau vasati* is *vaiṣayika* to Jinendrabudhi and Kaiyaṭa, but it is *sāmīpika* to Bhoja; *kaṭe āste* is *aupaśleṣika* to Kaiyaṭa, Dharmakīrti and Bhaṭṭoji, it is *vaiṣayika* to Nāgeśa; *yuddhe sannahyati* is *vaiṣayika* to Helārāja but *naimittika* to Anubhūtisvarūpa, Daṇḍanātha and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

There is no difference of opinion about the nature of *vyāpakādhāra*. The differences about *aupaśleṣika* also can be reconciled when we realise that they are mainly due to the

तद्गोचरं भवत्यस्य दारुणत्वमितीर्यते ।
अन्यत्र गतिस्त्वत्र विषयश्चेद्वने मृगाः ॥
व्याप्तौ त्रिभुवने कृष्णो निभिते वाचि हृष्यति ।
तथीपचारिके चित्ते वर्तते मलकाविनी ॥

(*Prakrīṇāsarvasva*, Part IV, TSS. 174, 1954. p. 134).

sense in which the term is taken, as denoting proximity or as denoting partial contact, although in the *Mahābhāṣya* only the former sense is given, and if we grant that when it is taken in the latter sense, *sāmīpika* has to be taken as a separate variety of *ādhāra* to explain instances like *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ*. It is about the *vaiṣayikādhāra* that the difficulty is felt most. As we have seen, Patañjali does not define or illustrate it. But it is clear that it is meant to comprise any *ādhāra* which cannot be accommodated within the purview of the other two, as pointed out by Nāgeśa. In the example *ākāśe śakunayaḥ*, the sky is neither an *aupaśleṣika* nor a *vyāpaka* substratum and so it is an example of *vaiṣayika*. For the same reason *kaṭe āste* can be an example for it; in fact, it is taken so by Nāgeśa. But there is this difference that while in *kaṭe āste* the substratum is finite, in the other it is infinite. While *kaṭe āste* can be brought under *aupaśleṣika* if we take the term as implying partial contact also, or under *vyāpaka* if it is taken to comprise *ekadeśavyāpti* or partial pervasion also,[51] the other example cannot be brought under either. Probably it is such an instance that really comes under *vaiṣayika*.[52] The meaning *ananyatrabhāva* for *viṣaya* also applies to it since the birds can fly only in the sky. But many other instances of widely different kinds like *gurau vasati*, *jale matsyāḥ*, *yuddhe sannahyati*, *mokṣe icchā asti*, *tarke kuśalaḥ* etc., which have been brought under *vaiṣayika*, are either not explained at all or the explanation is inconvincing. All instances where we get the locative and which do not come under the other two kinds of *ādhāras* or under the scope of other sūtras which lay down the locative, came to be assigned to *vaiṣayika*. The involved strained explanations like the one given by Jinendrabuddhi for *gurau vasati* and strange restrictions like the one imposed by Viṭṭhala on the meaning of *tarke kuśalaḥ*. It is probably in view of the difficulty in applying the definition of *adhikaraṇa* in some of these examples that Gadādharabhaṭṭa suggests in his *Vyutpattivāda* that *ca* in the sūtra *saptyamyadhikaraṇe ca* may be taken as indicating that the locative can apply

51. Bhoja's division of *aupaśleṣika* into *ekadeśika* and *abhivyāpaka* may be remembered in this connection.

52. We may remember, however, that Dharmakīrti considers *ākāśe śakunayaḥ* as a variety of *aupaśleṣika*.

also to an *ādhāra* which is not meant as a *kāraka*,[53] ignoring the obvious purpose of this *ca* namely to have the *anuvṛtti* of *dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ*. It is also possible to take many of these examples as coming under the other types, as has been done by some of these grammarians themselves. For instance, *gurau vasati* can be *aupalleṣika* (*sāmīpika*) just like *gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ*, and Bhoja takes it to be so. The expression *gurau* here obviously means *guroḥ samīpe* or *gurukule*. We get this usage in the *Manusmṛti*. (II. 164)—

गुरौ वसन् सञ्चिनुयाद् ब्रह्माधिगमिकं तपः ।

and Kullūka explains it as *gurukule vasan*. In the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* also *gurau vasati* is taken as an instance of *aupalleṣika*.[54] The possibility of *jale matsyāḥ* being considered as *aupalleṣika* is conceded by Helārāja. In *yuddhe sannahyati*, the locative can be in the sense of *nimitta* as taken by Bhoja.

The confusion regarding *vaiṣayika* is sought to be removed by the *Sārasvata* by having a sūtra *viṣaye ca* in addition to *ādhāre saptamī*, thereby separating *viṣaya* from *vaiṣayikādhikaraṇa* and making it possible for examples like *tarke kuśalaḥ* and *mokṣe icchāsti* to be brought under *viṣaya*. But strangely no writer of the Pāṇiniyan school, or for that matter of any other school, has taken notice of this or suggested any vārttika covering its scope. Bhoja has effected too much of a change in that he brings within the scope of *adhikaraṇa* almost all cases for which locative is laid down in the Pāṇiniyan system although the definition which he gives for *adhikaraṇa*, cannot apply to all of them.

Leaving aside treatments off the mark and clearly non-Pāṇiniyan such as Bhoja's, we can see that *adhikaraṇa* is the substratum for action through the subject or object. The

53. Vide *Vyutpattivāda* under *saptamī*—

अथवा 'सप्तम्यधिकरणे च' इति चकारेणाकारकाधारवाचिनोऽपि सप्तमी ।

(Umesh Misra's edition, Allahabad, 1953, p. 313).

54. Vide the commentary *Darpaṇa* of Harivallabha—

तत्राद्यस्य (औपश्लेषिकस्य) 'कटे शेते', 'गुरौ वसति' इत्युदाहरणे ।

The commentary *Parikṣā* of Bhairavamiśra—

'कटे शेते' 'गुरौ वसति' इत्याद्यस्य (औपश्लेषिकस्य)

(*Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 133, 1939, p. 177)

substratum may be finite or infinite and the subject or object may be a material body or a thought or emotion. The relation between the substratum and the subject or object may be contact or pervasion, entire or partial, direct or indirect, actual or attributed. The *vyāpakādhāra* which relates to complete pervasion is primary and the *aupaśleṣika* and the *vaiṣayika* secondary. The other varieties are either particular aspects or extensions of one of these or what are considered as *ādhāra* in a loose sense of the term.

PURŪRAVAS AND URVAŚI

Dr. S. S. Janaki

A good deal of interest attaches to the myth about Purūravas and Urvaśī(hereafter referred to as P and U respectively) not only as the oldest Indian love-story, which has had a continuous history in Indian literature, but also because of the various symbolic interpretations of it. As we have already shown in an earlier paper[1] the names of P and U and the story about them are to be found in the *Ṛg Veda*, as well as in the Saṁhitās of *Yajur Veda*, the Epics, the Purāṇas and in classical literature. Some more references to these two names, singly and together, would be dealt with now. Before going into detail about the various scattered references to P and U, we shall discuss their very names.

In the word P the etymology is simple. Yāska explains P as one who is very noisy (Purūravā bahudhā rorūpyate—X. 46)and the *Bṛhaddevatā*[2] (II.59)also echoes this idea. Max Müller[3] however says that tho' 'rava', generally means 'sound', yet the root 'ru' which means originally 'to cry' may also be applied to 'colour'[4] and hence P could mean 'one with a loud or crying colour', that is red. He also points out, in this connection, that the name 'Vasiṣṭha'[5] (superlative of 'Vasu', 'the brightest') is given in the *RV* to both P and Sun, and the epithet 'Aiḍa' or 'Aila', to both P and Agni.[6]

1. See the *Sanskrita Ranga Annual* IV. 1966, pp. 12-34.

2. स्वन्योम्नूदयं याति कृन्तत्राद्विसृनश्रपः ।
पुरूरवसमाहैनं स्वबाधवेनोरुवासिनी ॥

3. *Chips from a German Workshop*. Vol. II. 2nd edn. 1868, p. 104.

4. *RV*. VI. 3. 6. 'Śociṣā rārapiti'—'the fire cries with his sparks'; *RV*. IX. 74. 1. 'Śiśuḥ na jātāḥ avacākradat'—'Sun cries like a new-born child'. Due to these close associations between loudness of sound and bright light, Max Müller justifies his taking P 'as one with a red tinge'.

5. *RV*. X. 95. 17. P calls himself as Vasiṣṭha—अन्तरिक्षप्रां रजसो विमानीमुप शिक्षाम्युर्वशी वसिष्ठः ।
The *Bṛhaddevatā* (II.59) refers to P as a name of Sun.

6. *RV*. III. 29. 3. 'Fire, son of Ilā is born'—इलायास्पुत्रो वयुनेऽजनिष्ट ।

The name P occurs not only in the *Sūkta* dealing with his love for U but also in a mantra which to refers the upper *araṇi* or fire-stick in the course of generating fire by friction. Due to laborious churning the upper *araṇi* has to make a loud noise and P would then be a significant name for it.

The *Mahābhārata* ((Vana)[7] connects P with a mountain called 'Puru'; based on this the *Śabdakalpadruma* gives the etymology as—'Purau parvate rautīti'. In grammar-texts[8] the word is derived by an *Uṇādi* suffix (*asi-pratyaya*) added to the root 'ru' and by the change of 'Puru' to 'Purū'.

The word U is derived in four ways and in this connection, some stories have also grown round the name.

1. उरु + अश् : Yāska (V. 13) says—उरु अश्नुते, and Durga, explaining him further, adds— उरु महद् यशः, अश्नुते अभिव्याप्नोति ।

The Gaṅgā is called secondarily 'Urvaśī' in the *Mahābhārata*.[9] It is said here that on Bhagīratha's death, the Gaṅgā was filled with elephants, chariots, horses etc., to be given away as *dakṣiṇā* for the brahmins. Being not able to bear the heavy burden, Gaṅgā bent down and sat on the lap of her dead father.

तेनाक्रान्ता जनौघेन दक्षिणा भूयसीर्ददत् ।
उपह्वरेऽतिव्यथिता तातस्याङ्के निषसाद ॥
तथा भागीरथी गङ्गा उर्वशी चाभवत्पुरा ।

The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha says in this context :—

तथा तेन प्रकारेण गङ्गा उरु भारमश्नुते इति वा; राज्ञ ऊरुमश्नुत इति वा योगात् उर्वशी अभवत् ।

2. उरु + अश् a) Yāska gives in the same context an alternate derivation, ऊरुभ्याम् अश्नुते and Durga elaborates it as—

ऊरुभ्यां मैथुने धर्मे पुरुषम् अश्नुते व्याप्नोतीति उर्वाशिनी सती उर्वशीत्युच्यते ।

7. पर्वतश्च पुरुर्नाम यत्र याताः पुरूरवाः । Citrasala edn. 90. 22. BORI edn. 88. 19 substitutes *jātaḥ* for *yātaḥ*.
8. *Uṇād* IV. 231; *Uṇādi* Sūtra-Bhoja. II. 1. 345 etc.
9. Citrasala edn. *Drona*. 60., *Śānti* 22.

b) (i) *Śabdakalpadruma*—ऊरु (नारायणस्य महर्षेः) अश्नुते व्याप्नोति ।

This is based on the story narrated in the Purāṇas[10] that the sage Nārāyaṇa performed severe austerities, and as is usual in such instances Indra sent many Apsarases to disturb his penance; the sage however, created an extraordinary beauty from his own lap, who put-to shame the others sent by Indra.

(ii) Gaṅgā is called 'Urvaśī' because she sat on the lap of her father Bhagīratha. (See Nīlakaṇṭha q. above).

3. उरु...वश् a) Yāska's third derivation, उरुः वशोऽस्याः, on which Durga says— उरुः महान् अस्याः वशः कामः, सेयमुरुवशिनी सती उर्वशीत्युच्यते ।

b) *Govindarājīya* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Āraṇya. 48.18)— उरुन् महतो वशीकरोतीत्युर्वशी ।

4. a) *Bṛhaddevatā* (II.59) calls U by the more explanatory Uruvāsinī :

पुरूरवसमाहैल स्वकायत्तेनोरुवासिनी ।

b) (i) *Amaraṭīkā*—*Sārasundarī* (q. in *Śabdakalpadruma*).
(ii) *Govindarājīya* on Āraṇya. 48.18
(iii) Nīlakaṇṭha (*MB.* Śānti. 22.68).
} ऊरौ वसतीति

The above etymologies have naturally given rise to three forms of the word, 'Urvaśī', 'Ūrvaśī', and Urvasi. In fact, there is a small section entitled 'Urvaśīśabdaprabandha' in Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*[11] that records a discussion amongst scholars in the court of the Chalukyan monarch Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla (1143-72 A.D.), whether the dental or palatal is to be used in 'Urvaśī'. Govindarāja'[12],—Nīlakaṇṭha[13] and the scholar Kapardin in Ajayapāla's assembly vouch for the correctness of the palatal.

10. *Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 129. vv. 3-14.
11. *Singhi Jaina Granthamālā*, 1, 1933. Vol. I. p. 90.
12. *Ib.* Tālavyānta eva yuktaḥ.
13. *Ib.*

Whatever be the derivation, the comprehensive 'Pṛṣodarādi' is always ready at hand to explain the form 'Urvaśī.'

In *Rg Veda* the word P occurs twice (I.31.4 and X.95). That P is reckoned amongst the group of deities of the middle sphere (*madhyamasthāna*) along with Parjanya, Varuṇa, and others is known from *Nirukta* (X. 47) and *Bṛhaddevatā* (I. 124). The latter text refers also to P. as a name of Sun (II. 59). The Yajurvedic Saṁhitās of *Taittirīya* (I. 3.7.1; VI. 3.5.3), *Kāṭhaka* (IX.10), *Maitrāyaṇī* (I. 2.7, I.6.12, III.9.5) and *Vājasaneyī* (V.2) mention him along with U. and Āyus, in connection with the generation of fire by the friction of two *araṇis*. Of these, the *Maitrāyaṇī*, in one of its references (I.6.12) brings out clearly the fact that P the son of Ilā was the husband of U and father of Āyus. Amongst later texts, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. 4. 1. 22, V. 1-2) and *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (V. 22 ff) refer to P in the same context of fire-production.

As an ancestor of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, P is referred to more than once in the *Mahābhārata*. In the Ādi[14] the king is mentioned as a powerful monarch who ruled over a large empire comprising thirteen islands. He became puffed up with arrogance, fought with the brahmans and took away all their precious wealth. Sanatkumāra came from *Brahmaloka* and advised P on the proper mode of conduct, but the king did not pay any heed to his advice. The angry brahmins then pronounced a curse on him. Along with U, P brought from the *Gandharvaloka*, the three-fold fires for sacrificial purposes.

This Ādi-parvan reference brings out two facts about P namely, his animosity towards brahmins and his bringing down the triple fire to the mortal regions from heaven. Of these, the first is referred to again in a later context in the same epic[15] as also in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*,[16] Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*[17] and by *Bāṇa*[18] and Subandhu.[19] Of these the Purāṇa gives a

14. Citrasala edn., 75. vv. 18-23; BORI. edn. 70. vv. 16-22.
15. Citrasala edn., Anuśāsana. VI.31.
16. Prakriyāpāda. II. vv. 14-26.
17. I.6 (p. 11. Shama Sastri's edn. 1909).
18. *Harṣacarita*, IIIrd Ucchvāsa,

पुरूरवा ब्राह्मणवनवृष्यवा दयितेनायुषा व्यवृज्यत ।

(p. 40. P.V. Kane's 2nd edn. 1965)

19. *Vāsavadattā* (pp. 239-40), *Vidyābhavan Saṁskrita Granthamālā* 2. Varanasi. 1954.

detailed account of the heaps of gold kept in the Naimiśa forest by sages in connection with a sacrifice performed by them, of P avariciously carrying away all the gold and of the ascetics reducing the king to powder with sharp weapons.

The *Jayamaṅgalā* (p. 19. *TSS.* ed. Vol. I) while explaining the *Arthaśāstra*-text says that P perished due to his partiality for dharma; for, a clever man should be equally disposed towards both dharma and artha.

अविरोधेन धर्मार्थौ युक्त्या सेवेत पण्डितः ।
धर्मैकपक्षप्रवणो लोभाद्वैलोऽनशत्पुरा ॥

The commentary further explains how the king's leanings towards dharma led to his destruction. P met on a certain occasion, dharma, artha and kāma in human form. At that time he perambulated only dharma and not the others. At this disrespect kāma[20] cursed that the king would become insane due to his separation from U. Artha pronounced the curse[21] that he would meet with his death owing to his avarice.

The greediness of P is mentioned in Tamil literature also. Paripperumāl of the 11th cent. A.D. in his com. on *Tirukkural* (p. 25. *Venkateśvara Oriental Ser.* 14.) exemplifies P as a king who suffered due to his excessive desire for other's wealth.

The connection of the three-fold fire with P is told in the *Agni* (274.14), *Brahmāṇḍa* (III.66), *Vāyu* (*Uttarārdha.* 29.44), *Viṣṇudharmottara* (I. 136. 29-38) and *Bhāgavata* (IX. 14.43ff.). In the Purāṇas, however, the story is narrated in a different context. Herein, U leaves P due to the trick of the Gandharvas. The mortal king, after a long search found her near Kurukṣetra and requested her to come back to him once again. U turned down the entreaties of the king but conceded that he might meet her on a single night at the close of the year. Accordingly he went to her and at that time she took pity on the love-lorn king and suggested that he might worship the celestials. The king did so and the Gandharvas, being pleased with P gave him a brazier. Thinking that to

20. That the king's excessive passion for U led to his end is mentioned in *Anaṅgaraṅga* (VIII.12) :

उर्वशीसुरतचिन्तया ययौ संशयं किल पुरूरवा नृप ।

21. See also *Matsya purāṇa* 24. 15-9 and *Padma* (Śṛṣṭi. 12) for similar curses on P by artha and kāma.

be his beloved he wandered in the forest. After some time he realised his mistake, kept the *agniṭhāli* in some part of the forest and thinking of U alone returned to his capital Pratiṣṭhāna. While he was in such a mood, the three-fold Vedas unfolded themselves to him. P then went back to the place where he had kept the brazier, but found instead an Aśvattha grown in the middle of a Śamī tree. Desirous of reaching U's regions, he made two araṇis with that Aśvattha and rubbed them both with force. During that action he thought intently about himself and U in the form of mantras. Sanctified fire was thus generated and made three-fold by the king.

तस्य निर्मथनाज्जातो जातवेदा विभावसुः ।
त्रय्या स विद्यया राज्ञो पुत्रत्वे कल्पितस्त्रिवृत् ॥ *Bhāgavata*, IX.14. 46.

P considered that fire as his own son for it would be the means of his reaching heaven.

A doubt arises here. The *karma-mārga* is taught in those Vedas that have no beginning (*anādi*) and the worship of many deities like Indra and Rudra has been considered as conducive to heaven from time immemorial. How is it possible to say that the *karmā-mārga* had its beginning from P?

नन्वनादिवेदत्रयबोधितो ब्राह्मणादीनाम् इन्द्राद्यनेकदेवतायजनेन स्वर्गप्राप्तिहेतुः कर्ममार्गः, कथं स आदिरिव वर्ण्यते तत्राह—

Śridhara on *Bhāgavata* IX. 14.48.

To this it is said that in Kṛtayuga, there was only one Veda, one Lord Nārāyaṇa, one fire, one Praṇava and one caste and its three-fold division of the fire etc., was only due to P in the beginning of the Tretāyuga.

एक एव पुरा वेदः प्रणवश्चर्ववाङ्मयः ।
देवो नारायणो नान्यः एकोऽग्निर्वर्ण एव च ॥
पुरूरवस एवासीत्त्रयी त्रेतामुखे नृप । *Bhāgavata*, *Ib.* 48, 49.

Explaining the above further, Śrīdhara says that in the Kṛta yuga people were rich in Sattva guṇa and hence were always devoted to concentration. Karmamārga set in the Tretā yuga due the Rajoguṇa of the people in that age.

The connection of P with generation of fire referred to in the Yajurvedic saṁhitās and ritualistic texts, narrated in the same manner as above probably led to the attribution of the three-fold division of that fire also to the same person.

There are four more passing references to P in the *Mahābhārata*: the first in Udyoga (Citraśālā edn. 74.15) where Bhīma enumerates to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, prior to the latter's departure to Hastināpura as a messenger, the names of eighteen kings who destroyed their kinsmen and friends. Herein P is included in the list and is mentioned as having killed Dīptākṣas (Dīptākṣāṇām Purūravāḥ). The second is in Śānti, Rājadharmānuśāsana (Citraśālā edn. 76. 26) where P and Mātariśvan discuss the origin of the four castes, and the allocation of distinct duties for them. The third is in the same Parvan, Āpaddharma section (Citrasala edn. ch. 166), where Bhīṣma narrates to Nakula the origin of the sword and how it was transmitted from Rudra to the Pāṇḍavas. Here P is said to have got the sword from Ikṣavāku and in his turn handed it over to Āyus. The fourth is in the Anuśāsana (Citrasala edn. 76. 28) where Bhīṣma expatiates on Godāna and mentions amongst others, P who attained fame by Godāna.

While P is considered the initiator of karmamārga in Tretā yuga, it is rather strange to find in the *Viṣṇudharmapurāṇa*,[22] P himself receiving instructions from the Aśvins with regard to the karma to be performed by him.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is unique[22a] amongst the Purāṇas for devoting nine long chapters to P and U. With regards to the uncommon physical beauty of P the Purāṇa (I. chs. 148-56) says that as the ugly king of Madradeśa in his previous birth, the monarch not only worshipped Viṣṇu on Dvādaśī tithis on the Himālayas but also performed *Rūpasatra vrata* according to the method prescribed by Atri. Consequently P was endowed with extraordinary beauty that roused the jealousy of the mortals and immortals..[23]

The P-references in literature would be complete with those found in the *Śrāddhaprakaraṇa*[24] of the Smṛti texts[25] and

22. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in Upapurāṇas* Vol. I. p. 130.

22a. See *Samskrita Ranga Annual*, IV. pp. 17-19.

23. See also *Matsyapurāṇa*, chs. 115, 118 and 120 for a similar account about P.

24. In the *Śrāddhānukīrtana* chap. (14121) of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, there is a ref. to P visiting the heavenly regions on New Moon days for offering tarpaṇa to his forefathers, the Sun and the Moon.

In the beginning of *Vikramorvaśīya* also there is a reference to the king's *Sūryopasthāna*.

25. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma Śāstra*, IV. p. 457.

Purāṇic literature.[26] Herein among the ten Viśvedevatas for Śrāddha ceremonies the name P is coupled with Ārdrava.

The ingenious interpretations[27] by Eastern and Western scholars of the P-U legend in the *Rg Veda* are not a little due to the vagueness of the word U occurring in the *Rg Veda* and other Vedic texts. In the *Rg Veda* the word occurs in four contexts—II. 27.14; IV. 2.18; V. 41.19; X-95. In the 1st reference Urvaśyām abhayam jyotiḥ—'the vast light that destroys fear' the *pada-pāṭha* is given as 'Uru aśyām;' in the second, the word occurs in the plural, 'Urvaīīḥ,[28]—Martāsaścidurvaśīrakṛpan, and Sāyaṇa gives the meaning 'U and other Apsarases'; in the 3rd, Sāyaṇa explains the word as 'mādhyamikā vāk' while Durga (on *Nirukta* XI. 48) takes it as a synonym of Ilā or earth; in the 4th U figures as an interlocutor.

In the *Bṛhaddevatā*, while in one context (1. 128)[29] the name of U is mentioned along with deities like Vāk, and Sarasvatī belonging to Indra's sphere, in another (II.77)[30] the word is considered a synonym of 'Vāk' itself. U is also in the same text (II.83), a *Brahmavādinī* classed with Ghoṣā and Lopāmudrā. That the *Bṛhaddevatā* considered U as an apsaras also is however clear from two references : first (V. 149), in the narration of the births of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha when Mitra and Varuṇa saw the Apsaras U at a sacrifice, and second (VII.147), in the explanation of the conversation between P and U in *RV.* X. 95.

26. *Brahmāṇḍa.* III.3.30-1; 12.3 ff.

27. See *Sanskrit Research Annual* IV. pp. 19-21.

28. More recently it has been shown that P and U represent the moon and Rohiṇī, personified as the two aranis from which the sacrificial fire, likened to the sacrificial fire, is fancied to be churned. (Narayana Aiyangar, *Essays in Indo-Aryan Mythology.* Vol. I, p. 4)

U is again considered the life-principle in matter (Prāṇāgni) subsisting on ghee, her two pet lambs symbolising prāṇa and apāna and P the individual principle of Prāṇa (V.S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa—a study*, p. 133).

29. राका वाक् सरमाप्याश्च भृगवोऽन्या सरस्वती ।
यम्यूर्वशी सिनीवाली पथ्या स्वस्तिरुषाः कुहूः ॥

30. एवंच दुर्गा भूत्वर्चं कृत्वा स्यात्सूक्तभागिनी ।
तत्रामानि यमीन्द्राणि सरमा रोमशोर्वशी ॥

In the Yajurvedic saṁhitās and ritualistic texts referred to already in connection with P, U is mentioned in a mantra with reference to the lower araṇi. It is significant that in the Ṛg Vedic episode, U refers to her tasting a little ghee in the household of P and that she cherished that taste for a long time afterwards.

यद्विरूपाचरं मर्त्येष्ववसं रात्रीः शरदश्चतस्रः ।
घृतस्य स्तोकं सकृदह्न आश्नां तादेवेदं तातृपाणा चरामि ॥

In the Purāṇic[31] literature also, one of the conditions stipulated by U was that during her stay in the mortal world, she would take only ghee as her food.

In the ritualistic texts of *Taittirīya* (4.4.3.2.), *Maitrāyaṇi* (2.8.10) and *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (15-19) and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (8.6.1.20) the name of U is found along with another Apsaras Pūrvacitti in connection with a mantra for arranging the Pañcacūḍa bricks after the Nākasads.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions an Urvaśī tīrtha on two occasions (Citraśālā edn. Vana. 84. 157[32] and Anuśāsana 25.46. 33). The *Skānda* also (Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa, Ayodhyāmāhātmya, chap. 7. vv. 84-107) refers to a Urvaśīkuṇḍa. A person bathing here is supposed not only to obtain extraordinary beauty (सौन्दर्यं परमं तस्य भवेत्तत्र न संशयः) but also meet U in the celestial regions (यत्र स्नातो नरो विद्वन् उर्वशीं दिवि संश्रयेत्). A story is here narrated to explain the significance of the Tirtha. Once the sage Raibhya was performing severe penance near the Himalayas when U approached him to disturb his austerities. Realising the purpose of her visit to him, the sage cursed her to become an ugly woman as her maddening beauty prompted her to be a spoil to his penance. When U asked the sage about the termination of her curse he said that after a few years

31. *Vāyu. Uttarārdha.* 29. 12. : घृतमात्रं तथाहारः कालमेकं तु पार्थिव ।
Devi Bhāgavata 1.13.9. : घृतं मे भक्षणं नित्यं नान्यत्किञ्चन्नृपाशनम् ।

32. उर्वशीतीर्थमासाद्य ततः सोमाश्रमं शुभः ।
33. उर्वशीं कृत्तिकायोगे गत्वा चैव समाहितः ।
शौद्दिग्वे विधिवत्स्नात्वा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत् ॥

On this Nīlakaṇṭha says—उर्वशीमुर्वशीतीर्थे, कृत्तिकायोगे कार्तिक्यां पौर्णमास्याम् ।

if she bathed in a particular ghat in Ayodhyā she would get back her original charm and that the tīrtha would thereafter be famous after her name. The location of this[34] tīrtha in Ayodhyā could be considered along with the fact that the Gaṅgā as seen above, is also called U.

As a celestial hetaera she was not only possessed of extraordinary charm but also endowed with a knowledge of the fine arts. The *Mahābharata* (Citraśālā edn. Ādi. 123.66) refers to her singing at the *janmotsava* of Arjuna along with other celestials. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (I. 129. 11. 14; II. 35. 1-18) the art of painting originated when the ancient Nārāyaṇa created U by painting her figure on his thigh with mango-juice, the inciter of passion.

Dance and drama were no doubt U's forte. According to the *Matsya* and *Padma* Purāṇas and Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya*, she was the heroine in the dance-drama entitled *Lakṣmīsvayaṃvara*. While informing sage Bharata[35] of his desire to introduce the art of drama to the mortal world, Nahuṣa says that he was only resuscitating that art thrown into oblivion. For, in the house of his grand-father P, U had taught the art to the inmates of the harem. When P died due to the disappearance of U, the other queens of the King were dismayed and hence did not continue that art.

It is quite in the fitness of things therefore that the Tamil epic poet Ilango describes Mādhavī, the famous dancer-heroine of his Tamil epic *Śilappadhikāram*,[36] as coming in the line of another Mādhavī who was U herself, born in the mortal world due to a curse. The circumstance of U descending to the mortal world is stated to be the dereliction of the courtesan in the divine assembly consisting of Indra, Nārada and Agastya. This mistake of U was due to her exchange of loving glances with Jayanta who was also present there. Agastya cursed[37]

34. The *Matsya* (103.34-9) refers to an *Urvaśī-vanaṃ tīrtha* (the same is called *Urvaśīpulina* in *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Tīrthaviveccanakāṇḍa p. 144), that is whitish with swans and V S. Agrawala (*Matsya purāṇa, a study*, p. 183) identifies it with the white sandy area east of Jhusi near Prayag.

35. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, Kasi edn. XXXVI. 54-60.

36. *Aṇaṅgatru gathai, Kaḍalāḍa gāthai*, pp. 56-7, 174 (U. V. Swaminatha Iyer edn. 1955 (6th.)

37. According to the *Saddharmasaṅgraha-prakāśa* (quoted in U.V Swaminatha Iyer's Notes) U was born in Kāñcī and Jayanta in the Vindhyas.

that Jayanta would be born as a bamboo and U as a mortal.

Such are the references to P and U in *Indian literature*. There are also some compositions about them and those are dealt with in a separate paper[38] by us. All these only reveal the popularity of these immortal characters, as also the fact of their getting more and more fixed in the memory of people.

38. Pp. 118-21, *Dr. V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation Vol.*, The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1971.

VALIDITY OF KNOWLEDGE IN INDIAN LOGIC*

Dr. Rasik Vihari Joshi

The problem whether the validity of knowledge is intrinsic or extrinsic has been a cardinal point of discussion in Indian Philosophy. The problem has been most controversial through the ages among its various systems. The followers of Sāṁkhya-Yoga maintain both validity and invalidity of knowledge as intrinsic or by itself.[1] The Buddhists accept both as extrinsic (Paratah).[2] Śāntarakṣita, however, declared the doctrine of validity and invalidity in the context of Buddhist philosophy both as intrinsic to a man who, having the valid and invalid knowledge of an object proceeds on successive occasion (abhyāsa-daśā) towards the same object, and both as extrinsic to a man who, without having valid or invalid knowledge proceeds towards the object on the first occasion (anabhyāsadaśā).[3] The views of Buddhists are largely in harmony with those of the Jains.[4] The Jains hold that from the point of view of origin (utpatti) and understanding (jñapti) the validity of knowledge is intrinsic as well as extrinsic respectively.[5] In Mīmāṁsā, the Prābhākaras are in favour of self-validity of knowledge while the Bhāṭṭas maintain validity as intrinsic and invalidity as extrinsic.[6] The problem is, thus, an intricate one and it

* The problem has been dealt with in the terse works of Navya-Nyāya such as the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya and the *Prāmāṇyavāda* of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya.

1. Pramāṇatvāpramāṇatve svataḥ sāṁkhyāḥ samāśritāḥ /
Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, Ed. Śāstrī, Abhyaṅkara Vāsudeva, Poona,
(b) Chatterjee, S. C., ; Dutt, D. M., *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 274.

2. Saugatāḥ caramam svataḥ /
Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, Ed. Shāstrī, Abhyaṅkara Vāsudeva, Poona, p. 279.

3. Ubhayametat kiñcit svataḥ kiñcit paratah, iti pūrvāmupavarṇitam/
Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgrahakārikā*, 123.

4. Hemacandra, *Pramāṇamīmāṁsā*, 1. 1.8.

5. Devasūri, *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṅkāra*, 1, 21.
(b) Dasgupta, S. V., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1957, Vol. I, p. 188.

6. Svataḥ sarvapramāṇānām prāmāṇyamiti gamyatām /
na hi svato satī śaktiḥ kartumanyena gamyate //

Ślokavārtika 2.47.

has not yet been thoroughly explored in all its perspectives by the Indologists. Therefore, I intend to take it up again in the present article. I shall confine myself to the intercontradictory views of Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems of Indian Philosophy with special reference to Indian Logic.

The Mīmāṁsā maintains the self-validity of knowledge and the self-illuminous nature of knowledge (svataḥ prāmāṇyavāda), explaining that knowledge is valid by itself for, it does not depend on any other extraneous condition nor on any other knowledge.[1] The term 'svataḥ' means 'svajñānajanakasāmagrītaḥ' i.e. both the knowledge and its validity are produced by one and the same material.[2] The Prābhākaras hold that knowledge is self-illuminous. As light first manifests the objects, then itself and finally the wick, the locus of light, the knowledge also first manifests the object in conjunction with the sense-organ, then itself and finally the Ātman, the locus of knowledge. Thus all perceptions include the object of perception, the knowledge of perception and the knower, the soul. It is known technically as 'tripuṭipratyakṣa' in Mīmāṁsā.[3] Since knowledge is the cause of manifesting the objects, by the knowledge of jar the jar, the knowledge of jar and its locus, the Ātman all three are manifested. Knowledge actually covers its nature as well as validity.

The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsaka maintains that the perception of the knowledge of the knowledge of jar is against our normal experience because the knowledge being a quality (guṇa) does not have the basic capability of being perceived. As such, the knowledge of knowledge is always of the nature of inferential knowledge (anumiti) and not of mental perception (mānasa-pratyakṣa). This process of inferential knowledge according to the Bhāṭṭa school, is that whenever the perception or inferential knowledge is produced by the conjunction of

1. Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy*. Cambridge, 1957. Vol. I, pp. 372, 459.

2. (a) Keith, A. B., *The Karmamīmāṁsā*, Calcutta 1921, pp. 18-22.
(b) *Tarkabhāṣā of* Keśava Miśra, Ed. Ācārya Viśveśvara, Vārāṇasī, 1967, p. 136.

3. *Nyāyakandalī* p. 91., Śāstradīpikā pp. 213-14., *Tantravārttika* pp. 5-8; *Prakaraṇapañcikā* pp. 38-38.

the sense-organ and the object of perception, the knowledge produces, in its own turn, a special dharma known as 'jñātatā' in the objects jar etc.[1] We obviously apprehend after the knowledge of jar 'I have known the jar' 'jñāto mayā ghaṭaḥ'. The fact proves that a particular dharma known by the term 'jñātatā' is produced in the known jar. According to Kumārila, the knowledge by itself is not perceptible. It's only 'jñātatā' which is perceived. An object unknown before perception becomes known after the perception. Hence the result of knowledge is the production of 'jñātatā', a dharmaviśeṣa. So long as this dharmaviśeṣa is not produced, our perception depends on the contact between the jar and the sense-organ and the knowledge remains simply of the following form: 'It is a jar.' Morever, perception actually resides in the knower (jñātṛ) by the relation of intimacy (samavāya) and in the jar by the relation of objectivity (viṣayatā). It is an admitted rule that whenever knowledge is produced by the viṣayatā-sambandha, jñātatā is produced by samavāyasambandha.[2]

It may be clarified that knowledge arises in the presence of all necessary conditions such as sense-organs, contact with the object of perception and the object itself. Thereafter, immediately our activity begins without caring for the verification of its validity. Thus according to Mīmāṁsā, the validity of knowledge immediately arises from the necessary conditions themselves which are responsible for the production of knowledge.[3] Likewise, the experience (anubhava) is also considered as intrinsically valid, while remembrance (smṛti) is held as intrinsically invalid. It is noteworthy that Pārthasārathi Miśra has defined the valid knowledge in the *Śāstradīpikā* as that which is free from all possible discrepancies.[4]

We should not forget the point of the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsaka that knowledge of the knowledge of jar being a quality is not perceptible. It is of the nature of inferential knowledge only. This inferential knowledge is reckoned as follows :

1. *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, IV, 1.
2. *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvali*, p. 118.
3. (a) Singhavi, Sukhalāl, *Advanced Studies in Indian Logic and Metaphysics*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 38-40.

   (b) Chatterji S. C., and Dutt D. M., *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 320-30.
4. Miśra, Pārthasārathi, *Śāstradīpikā*, p. 28.

'Whenever the perception or inference is produced after the conjunction of the sense-organ and the object of perception or logical reason, then by that knowledge a particular dharma 'jñātatā' is produced in the known objects. As a result, we experience 'I have known the jar'. This knowledge appears only after the knowledge of jar. Prior to the production of this dharma, we simply know 'It is a jar' by mere perception.'

Now I should like to elaborate the Mīmāṁsā concept of this 'jñātatā' a bit more. To begin with, we have already seen that this 'jñātatā' is produced in the jar by the knowledge of jar. The jar is the material cause and the knowledge is the instrumental cause of the 'jñātatā'.[1] Thus the 'jñātatādharma', being produced by the knowledge of jar, is itself produced in the jar i.e. first of all we have the perception of jar which produces 'jñātatā' in the jar and by the contact of the sense-organ we perceive the knowledge of jar in the same jar. In this way, the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsaka admits the perception of jñātatā produced from knowledge (jñānajanyajñātatā) by external sense-organs, while the Naiyāyika accepts the mental perception of knowledge, which is, not at all, acceptable to Mimāṁsā.

The inferential knowledge of the knowledge of jar is of the following form in Mīmāṁsā :

'The jar is endowed by knowledge because it is the locus of jñātatā by the relation of objectivity plus intimacy. When we know jñātatā by the relation of intimacy, we also know the knowledge by the relation of objectivity'.[2]

It is thus proved that the material for acquiring knowledge is inference and by this very inference the validity of knowledge is also determined, i.e. this very jñātatādharma is held responsible for knowledge as well as its validity.[3]

1. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa does not admit the asamavāyikāraṇa as admitted by the Naiyāyika for the sake of ekādhikaraṇatva. Prābhākaras, however, do admit this type of cause.

(a) Joshi, Rasik Vihari, *The Role of Indian Logic in the Doctrine of Causality*, Mellanges d'Indianisme, Paris, 1968, pp. 403-13.

2. 'ghaṭo jñānavān, viṣayatāsambandhena samavāyasambandhena ca jñātatādharmayuktattvāt, yatra samavāyasambandhena jñātatādharmayuktattvam tatra viṣayatāsambandhena jñānam'.

3. *Nyāyaratnamālā*, p. 31-35; *Mānameyodaya* pp. 5-6; *Sūtradīpikā* p. 97-105.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Murāri Miśra, belonging to the third current of Mimāṁsā, admits the perception of knowledge. Accordingly, first of all, we acquire the (vyavasāyātmaka-jñāna) immediately after the contact between the sense-organ and the object of perception. This type of knowledge is followed by the consciousness of perception 'anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna.'[1] It is only the second type of knowledge which is held responsible for the validity.[2] Hence nobody doubts the validity after the 'anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna'. The thinking of this school of Mimāṁsā is undoubtedly influenced by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system. Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa, the great Navya-Naiyāyika of Bengal, having thoroughly examined all the three currents of Mīmāṁsā, rightly declared that Mīmāṁsā was for the validity as intrinsic 'svataḥ prāmāṇyavāda of the Prābhākaras'. The schools of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Murāri Miśra are for the validity as extrinsic and both are certainly influenced by Nyāya.[3]

The Vedānta vehemently criticises the doctrine of validity as admitted by the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas, arguing that it is most incongruous to hold that inferential knowledge is the cause of the knowledge of perception which itself is the cause of the perception of the jar. The Vedāntin, however, agrees with the Prābhākaras on the question of the validity of knowledge to a great extent. A comparative study of Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā reveals the fact that both these systems have the following common points of agreement :

(1) No extra material is required in addition to the material of knowledge in determining the validity.

(2) The knowledge of the objects does not depend on the consciousness of perception or perception of judgment 'anuvyavasāya' for its own manifestation.

(3) All kinds of knowledge are always 'Triputigocara'. It would not be correct to say that only the knowledge 'I know the jar' is 'Triputigocara' because even in the know-

1. In Nyāya, the actual cognition supervenes the mental perception of cognition. Keith, A. B., the Karma-Mimāṁsā, p. 28, 50.

2. Upādhyāya Baldev, Bhāratiya Darśana, Benaras, 1948, pp. 385.

3. svataḥ jñānārayajanakasāmagritaḥ : svaṃ pramātvam : etacca gurumatam: parataḥ tadanyasāmagritaḥ : etacca Miśramata-Bhāṭṭamata-Nyāyamateṣu: Tarkāvāgīśa, Mathurānātha, Cintāmaṇirahasya, p. 117.

ledge 'It is a jar' we experience that this type of knowledge does also include the jar, its form and its locus, soul. It is in the fitness of the arguments that this very knowledge also manifests the validity (pramāttva), and that the knowledge of jar does not depend on any other extra material for its validity as admitted by the Naiyāyika.

I may observe that it is only on the third point that the Vedāntin differs from the Prābhākaras because according to Vedānta the knowledge being 'Triputigocara' could not become the cause of its own manifestation. This point of the Prābhākaras appears to the Vedāntin as a self-contradictory one on the simple ground that the subject is always different from the object. The subject and object are never identical. To admit knowledge as subject as well as object of manifestation would involve self-contradiction. On the other hand the Vedāntin considers knowledge as of the nature of illuminating and as such there is no defect of self-contradiction in Vedānta. The Vedāntin declared that in the doctrine of self-validity of Vedānta the knowledge is manifested by the material of knowledge alone and by the same material its validity is also determined. He, however, adds that the material of knowledge must be free from all defects to be able to derive validity.

The Naiyāyika objects stating that cognition does not depend on its illuminative nature to illumine the objects but on some thing else. The Naiyāyika point of view is strengthened by the anology that as the objects jar etc. even being unknown perform the normal function of sustaining water, similarly the cognition also being unknown performs the function of illuminating the objects.

The Vedāntin dissents on the ground that light, the external cause of manifesting the objects, also manifests itself. No light could ever manifest any object if devoid of light or if of the nature of darkness. It may be noted that the illustration of light is from the stock example also available in Indian Logic and in Buddhism. According to the Nyāyasāstra, the light illumines itself and also other objects. The light being visible also becomes the means of visibility of other objects.[1]

1. The *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama, *Vātsyāyanabhāsya*, II, 1, 16.

It is held in Buddhism by Nāgārjuna that light cannot illumine itself because there is no darkness in light. The basic characteristic of light is to dispel darkness, covering the objects of perception.[1] Dr. S. Radhakrishanan has rightly observed that 'Vātsyāyana's view is not to be confused with the Vedāntic position of the self-evident character of the pramāṇas.'[2]

In order to justify the Vedāntic point of point, I may mention that it is our normal experience that the jar is manifested by light which is self-illuminous by its own nature. No object ever becomes manifested by gold, silver or iron which are not self-illuminous. Hence it ought to be admitted that the objects are also menifested by self-illuminous cognition. It is further noteworthy in this context that the Vedāntin considers knowledge as self-illuminous and propounds that direct experience is always superior to mere analogy and arguments. The statement of the Naiyāyika 'The knowledge of jar is known or unknown' appears absurd to the Vedāntin because in Vedānta the unknowability (ajñātatā) does not exist. As such, the Nyāya-view, that by the absence of 'jñātatā' in the knowledge the 'jñānagocara-anuvyavasāya' appears, the Vedāntin states, is not correct. Nobody, in fact, doubts whether he had knowledge or not. Hence it is proved that knowledge is never unknown and that 'anuvyavasāya' could not be accepted as illuminating the knowledge.[3]

The Naiyāyika argues that in case we do not accept the knowledge as an object of knowledge, we cannot distinguish between the following two types of cognitions :

(i) 'It is a jar'
(ii) 'I know the jar.'

So far as the Nyāyaśāstra is concerned there is no difficulty to distinguish because in the first statement the jar is the object of knowledge, while in the second the knowledge of jar is the object of knowledge. On the other hand, in the Vedānta, the knowledge never becomes the object of knowledge and as such the jar itself would be the object of knowledge in both

1. *Mādhyamikakārikā* vii.
2. Rādhākṛishnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, London, 1951, Vol. II, p. 126, NB2.
3. *Nyāyakośa* of Jhalakīkara Bhīmācārya, Ed. Śāstri, Abhyaṅkara Vāsudeva, 1928, pp. 735-38.

the cases and it would not be possible to maintain any distinction in Vedānta when the object of knowledge in both the statements remains identical.

The Vedāntin rejects the objection of the Naiyāyika, just stating that the knowledge of jar is sometimes of the nature of 'It is a jar', sometimes 'The jar is non-eternal' sometimes 'It is black' and so on. It is possible to discern different cognitions in one and the same object without the difference of objects. Even so, in the first, we apprehend the existence of jar and not the non-eternity of jar, while in the second we apprehend the non-eternal nature alone. Likewise, in the apprehension 'It is a jar', we do not cognise the 'jñātatā' of jar and in the statement 'I know the jar', we cognise the 'jñātatā'.[1] The object of the second type of apprehension is 'jñātatā' residing in the jar and not the knowledge of jar. Sometimes after the knowledge of jar, we apprehend 'I know the jar', and sometimes 'I have known the jar'. During the statement of knowledge 'The jar is known' we apprehend 'I know the jar'.[2] As such, the knowledge covers the jñātatā of the jar and not the knowledge of the jar. The Vedāntin, in conclusion, propounds his own point view that even without admitting knowledge as 'jñanagocara', as the Naiyāyika, does admit the different apprehensions are possible in one and the same object of perception.

It may be recalled that the Naiyāyika accepts quality (guṇa) as a cause in addition to the material of knowledge for the production of validity. The view is declared erroneous by the Vedāntin on the ground,

(i) that during the state of perception, it is rather practically impossible to behold the conjunction (quality) with the sense-organ. As for instance in case of 'rūpa' (colour, also a quality) which is without a part.

(ii) that during the state of inference, the quality of

1. By 'jñātatā' is meant the vaibility originated from knowledge.

2. The view is in accordance with the Bhāṭṭa Mimāṁsaka. The Vedāntin agrees to this on the basis of normal experience because in the statement 'The jar is non-eternal' we apprehend the non-eternal nature of jar; while in the statement 'The jar is known', we apprehend the jñātatā in the known jar.

the nature of knowledge (vyāpyahetu) on the minor term (pakṣa) is also impossible.

It is noteworthy that in connection with colour (rūpa) which is always without any part, the question of conjunction remains an absolute impossibility. Besides, whenever we have the inferential knowledge on a fiery mountain due to misapprehension of smoke on the dust, we consider the validity of such an inferential knowledge even in the absence of the above-mentioned quality. As a result of this discussion, it is certainly argumentative to hold, the Vedāntin asserts, that the causality of a quality does not necessarily depend on validity and that validity is produced from the ordinary knowledge itself.

The Vedāntin continues that in the presence of any defect the validity cannot be derived. A defect is always an obstruction to determine the validity of knowledge. In Vedānta, only the absolute non-existence of obstruction (pratibandhakābhava) has been accepted as the cause of productions.[1] Validity is always produced from the material of knowledge accompanied by the non-existence of obstruction. Hence validity is intrinsic (svataḥ) and not extrinsic (paratah). Likewise, from the material of knowledge alone such as sense-organ and inference, accompanied by a defect the misapprehension arises.

The answer of Naiyāyika is that in case of admitting validity from the material of knowledge itself, we should always be bound to cognise validity and validity alone even in case of misapprehension. And misapprehension should remain free from doubt.

According to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the validity and invalidity are both extrinsic (paratah prāmāṇyavāda) i.e. both are produced by something completely independent of the cognition itself.[2] It is neither produced from the material producing the knowledge, nor from the material indicating the knowledge, but is produced and known by something else. The word 'prāmāṇya' is an equivalent term of 'pramāttva' and the

1. Doubt is based on defect. In the absence of defect, doubt is not possible. Further, doubt is misapprehension. Since defect is the cause of misapprehension, the absence of defect in case of doubt is also impossible.

2. Rādhākrishnan, S, *Indian Philosophy*, London, 1951, Vol. II, pp. 125-30.

word 'paratah' stands for extra material different from that of knowledge. Hence the material of knowledge and the material of validity are entirely different from each other. If it is argued that validity is produced from the material of knowledge such as the sense-organ, preception and inference etc., then all kinds of knowledge should be valid and invalidity should not be experienced at all. On the contrary, our normal experience tells us that whenever we do not possess any extra material in addition to the material of knowledge, we are always uncertain about validity. It may be remarked that the Naiyāyika does not reject misapprehension as does the Mimāṁsaka of the Prābhākara school.[1]

I may now make it clear that by additional material or extra condition the Naiyāyika means only the quality (guṇa of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika). The idea is that in the case of the production of knowledge by the sense-organ and inference along with the quality, the correctness of knowledge does appear, but when the production of knowledge is based on the material devoid of quality, the correctness of knowledge cannot be ensured. For instance, the conjunction (quality) with the sense-organ occupies the largest part of the object of perception in determining the validity of perception. Likewise, to determine the validity of inference, the knowledge (quality) of the logical reason (smoke) of the nature of pervaded (vyāpya) and the major term (fire) on the minor term (mountain) is absolutely essential.[2] The theory is, further, supported by the fact that the validity of fallacy remains an absolute impossibility because whenever we possess the knowledge of a fallacious reason on a minor term, the quality of the form of knowledge of a pervaded logical reason remains non-existing due to its fallacious character, i.e. the existence of logical reason without the major term. Thus the validity of knowledge is always relative to the quality different from the material which is actually responsible for the production of knowledge and this

1. Prābhākaras totally reject misapprehension.

2. (a) parvato vanhimān ityatra sādhyaviśiṣṭe pakṣe sādhyavyāpyasya hetoḥ jñānarūpo guṇaḥ /

(b) Joshi, Rasik Vihari, *Treatment of Fallacy in Indian Logic*, V.V. Mirashi Felicitation Volume, Nagpur, 1963, pp. 270-301.

very fact leads the logicians to propound the doctrine of validity as extrinsic (parataḥ prāmāṇyavāda).

The Naiyāyika instantly takes a step forward further and declares that like the validity of knowledge, the invalidity was also derived as extrinsic (parataḥ) on the simple ground that misapprehension was always based on visual defect. The vision of two moons is just due to the lack of proper contact between eye and moon. Since there is no possibility between a defect in connection with the valid and correct knowledge, the question of defect is totally excluded from the material of knowledge. Thus validity as well as invalidity are both produced from another in this school of thought.[1] It is interesting to note in this context that the *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa is a production of a scholar belonging to the family of the Mīmāṁsakas and the author of the present text frequently attacks the Prābhākara Mīmāṁsakas.[2]

To elaborate the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view, I may mention that validity is not derived simply from the material producing the knowledge but from certain other conditions which are entirely different from the material of knowledge and the state of knowledge. Let us examine the following two possibilities to illustrate the notion :

(i) The cause of the knowledge of objects, the jar etc. is perception and inference etc. means,

(ii) The relation of conjunction plus intimacy with mind (manaḥsaṃyuktasamavāyasambandha).

In the first case, we acquire the knowledge of the objects by the conjunction of the sense-organs as follows : 'This is a jar'. In the second, the form ot knowledge is 'I know the jar'. It may obviously be noted here that the object of this second type of mental perception (ghaṭamahaṃ jānāmi) is the jar as well as the knowledge of jar.

We may remember that the Naiyāyika considers the knowledge of jar as 'vyavasāyātmaka', and the knowledge of the knowledge of jar as consciousness of perception (anuvyavasāyātmaka). It is the 'anuvyavasāyātmaka' knowledge

1. Tasmād aprāmāṇyamapi parokṣamityatah dvayamapi paratah ityeva pakṣah śreyān. /

Bhaṭṭa, Jayanta, *Nyāyamañjarī*, pp. 160-174.

2. Keith, A.B., *The Karmamīmāṁsā*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 15.

only which illumines the first 'vyavasāyātmaka' one and also the object of the 'vyavasāyātmaka' knowledge without abandoning the object of 'vyavasāya.' Going more deep in the problem, the Naiyāyika maintains that the soul itself is, in reality, the object of 'anuvyavasāya' on the basis of the fact that knowledge, happiness, and desire are the qualities of the soul. In the absence of the comprehension of these special qualities of the soul, the comprehension of the soul would be negated. In the absence of the soul, the comprehension of the knowledge would be impossible. As such, the knowledge of the knowledge is, in fact, related with the knowledge of the soul. It is thus propounded that the knowledge 'I know the jar' includes the following three factors :

(i) the jar, an object of knowledge.
(ii) the knowledge of jar.
(iii) the knower Ātman.

This very 'Triputigocara' knowledge is technically known in Indian Logic as 'anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna.'

The problem still remains unsolved as one may question that since the mind also, being the cause of 'anuvyavasāya',[1] ought to be related with all the objects of mental perception and it is through the mind that the knowledge of the knowledge of jar becomes connected with the Ātman. Likewise, the jar, the state of knowledge and Ātman all three should be accepted as the objects of the knowledge of knowledge.

The answer of the Naiyāyika is that the mind is related with the knowledge of jar by the relation of 'svasaṃyuktātmasamavāya' and with the state of knowledge by the relation of 'svasaṃyuktātmasamavetasamavāya'.[1] Nevertheless, mind, the cause of perception, does not have any relation with the jar because it does not perceive the external objects independently. As a result, the Naiyāyika accepts transcendental perception 'alaukika-pratyakṣa' of the nature of the knowledge of jar (jñānalakṣaṇa-alaukika-sambandha),[2] i.e. vyavasāyātmaka-jñāna, the object of anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna, is the relation

1. Mind had the relation of contact with Ātman and that of contact plus intimacy with Ātmatva.

2. When the word 'lakṣaṇa' is interpreted as 'svarūpa', relation is 'svasaṃyuktātmasamavetajñāna' but when interpreted as 'jñāpaka', (indicating), relation is 'svasaṃyuktātmasamavetajñānaviṣayatā'.

of mind with the jar. The nature of this anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna, according to the Naiyāyika, could be either 'svasaṃyuktātmasamvetajñāna' or 'svasaṃyuktātmasamavetajñāna-viṣayatā'. In both the cases, the word 'sva' stands for the mind which remains in contact with Ātman in which the 'vyavasāyātmaka-jñāna' has a relation of intimacy and does reside in the objects of perception. It is here noteworthy that in this type of relationship the jar and the state of jar are both the objects of 'vyavasāyātmaka-jñāna', and both are likewise the objects of 'anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna' through the relation of 'vyavasāya'. That's why the knowledge of knowledge is known as 'anuvyavasāya' and its material is of the nature of contact with the mind. It is true that this 'anuvyavasāya' apprehends knowledge as well as the state of knowledge but it is incapable to determine the validity of knowledge.

Finally, the Naiyāyika evidently maintains the essential of the doctrine of validity stating that having acquired the knowledge of an object whenever there follows the successful activity of the knower, the validity is inferred in the knowledge, which is in fact the cause of that activity. For instance, a thirsty man obtains water after its perception from a distance. The Nyāya-view is established in the following form of inferences.

'The knowledge of water is valid because it is the cause of successful activity: whenever there is a cause of the successful activity, there is validity. For example, the well-determined valid knowledge.'[1]

In the syllogism here the knowledge of water is the minor term 'pakṣa', the validity is the major term 'sādhya', to be the cause of successful activity is the logical reason and the correct knowledge is the example.

The form of inference with the negative concomitance will be as follows :

'Whenever there is non-existence of the cause of successful activity, there is non-existence of correct knowledge: For example, in the case of cognising silver in an oyster-shell.'[2]

1. Idam jalajñānam pramā, saphalapravṛttijanakatvāt, yatra saphalapravṛttijanakatvam tatra pramātvam, yathā niścitapramā.
(b)-*Tarkakāṇḍa* of Keśava Miśra, Ed. Ācārya Viśveśvara p. 141.
2. 'Yatra yatra saphalapravṛttijanakatvābhāvaḥ, tatra tatra pramātvābhāvaḥ, yathā śuktau rajatam'.

The Naiyāyika thus determines through inference the validity of knowledge (pramāttva) and through successful activity, further, infers the validity in the knowledge (anumiti).[1] I may add that the material for acquiring the knowledge of water is actually the material of 'anuvyavasāyātmaka-jñāna' of the nature of 'I know the jar' and the material for acquiring the correctness of knowledge is the inference. Since inference is different from the material of 'anuvyavasāya', the Indian Logicians accept validity as extrinsic (paratah prāmāṇyavāda).

A difficulty, however, again arises against the Nyāya-view as in Nyāya, no knowledge is considered as self-illuminous. It is Mimāṁsaka and Vedāntin who consider knowledge as self-illuminous. In fact, the material for acquiring knowledge is that by which the knowledge of knowledge is produced. It shows that the inferential knowledge in Nyāya of the form of 'The knowledge of water is correct' is also the knowledge of knowledge and its cause (inference) is the material for acquiring knowledge and by which the knowledge of correctness is produced. Strictly speaking the cognition is always apprehended by perception and its validity is determined by inference.[2]

The Naiyāyika again seeks an opportunity to attack the Mimāṁsaka stating that simply after perceiving a blue lotus-like object from a distance as a result of visual contact, we are not sure about its truth. The subjective perception may or may not be real when perceived objectively. Hence the self-validity of Mimāṁsā cannot be admitted as faultless. It is true that mere perceptual act is real but there is nothing in the knowledge itself by which the validity could also be ascertained. If it is not so, the invalidity would not exist at all. On the other hand, our common experience tells us that we do perceive a mirage, while our knowledge of water in a mirage does not help us to withdraw ourselves from proceeding to drink water.[3] Moreover, the knowledge being an effect involves

1. *Nyāyalaṁsāra*, Ed. Tarkatirtha, Amarendramohan, Calcutta, 1944, Vol. I. pp. 9-10.

2 Rādhākṛshnan, S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, London, 1951 p. 128.

(b) *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśava Miśra, Ed. Ācārya Viśveśvara, Vārāṇasi, 1967, pp. 136-41.

3. (a) Dasgupta, S. N., *History of Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1957, Vol. I. pp. 372-75.

the causal collocations[1] and the self-validity of Mīmāṁsā remains out of question.

It may be noted in this connection that the Naiyāyika totally rejects the necessity of accepting the theory of 'jñātatā' as advocated by the Mimāṁsaka. It has already been observed that Mīmāṁsā proves 'jñātatā' through presumption (arthāpatti) as otherwise the relation of object and the possessor of object (viṣayaviṣayibhāva-sambandha) will remain a sky-lotus. It is only by accepting 'jñātatā' that the Mīmāṁsaka distinguishes one object from another and it is only due to this fact that a jar could become an object of knowledge 'It is a jar' and not of the ornament.

The Mīmāṁsaka objection is set aside by the Naiyāyika as well as the Buddhist under the pretext of the doctrine of origination (tadutpattivāda) and that of identification (tādātmyavāda) respectively. In the doctrine of origination the Naiyāyika holds that the objects are also considered as cause of knowledge. Since knowledge of the nature of 'It is a jar' is produced from the jar, the object of the knowledge of jar is the jar itself and nothing else. On the other hand, the followers of the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika schools of the Buddhist philosophy do declare that knowledge is produced from the external objects of perception and is also endowed with the similar form and nature the object. As such, the jar and the knowledge of jar are identical and thus the jar alone becomes the object of knowledge and nothing else.

The Mīmāṁsaka, however, rejects both these views arguing that by accepting jar as an object of knowledge on the simple ground that it is the cause of the knowledge of jar, the Naiyāyika would be compelled to accept light also as an object of such knowledge because light is also a cause of the knowledge of jar, while the fact remains that nobody would accept light as the object of knowledge. The Mīmāṁsaka, further argues against the Buddhist view that knowledge and its object are always different. The objects have an external positive existence while the knowledge has only an internal one. So in the Buddhist doctrine there is no answer as to why the jar alone

1. Joshi, Rasik Vihari, *The Role of Indian Logic in the Doctrine of Causality*', Mellanges d' Indianisme, Paris, 1968, pp. 403-13.

becomes the object of the knowledge of jar and not the ring or the star. I may mention that these objections do not exist in Mīmāṁsā because it accepts that 'jñātatā' being produced from the knowledge of jar resides only in jar and nowhere else. Hence there is no problem in Mīmāṁsā. The Mīmāṁsaka thus proves the necessity of 'jñātatā' with the help of presumption because otherwise the relation of objectivity could not be established (viṣayattvānyathānupattiprasūtayā arthāpattyā jñātatā siddhyati). The Mīmāṁsaka then establishes by the same 'jñātatā' its knowledge by presumption, as otherwise the knowability 'jñātatā' does not come into existence (jñātatānyathānupattiprasūtayā arthāpattyā jñātatā svakāraṇībhūtam jñānam sādhayati). By this very presumption the validity of knowledge is also determined in Mīmāṁsā and hence the Mīmāṁsā doctrine of self-validity of knowledge.

Finally, the Naiyāyika propounds his own siddhānta-pakṣa stating that the relation of viṣaya and viṣayin is based on its inherent nature[1] and that the Mīmāṁsaka's point of view to accept 'jñātatā' as an independent 'dharma' just for the sake of the above-mentioned relation would involve the following objections :

1. It would not be possible for the Mīmāṁsaka to make the objects of past and future as objects of knowledge because the locus of 'jñātatā' could only be the existing present objects. It is absolutely out of question to prove the existence of objects in the past and future, as past is already past and future is still to come into existence. In the absence of the objects in the past and future, how could 'jñātatā' reside in the non-existing objects? It is noteworthy in this context that knowledge has been accepted as a cause of 'jñātatā' in Mīmāṁsā.

2. We also acquire the knowledge of 'jñātatā'. Thus, 'jñātatā' is also the object of knowledge. On the other hand, the Mīmāṁsā accepts that 'jñātatā' could be the object of knowledge only when 'jñātatā' produced by its knowledge resides therein. Now the Mimāṁsaka will have to admit a second 'jñātata' to make the first 'jñatatā' an object of knowledge. This will force the Mīmāṁsaka to accept an endless series of 'jñatatā.'

1. 'svabhāvādeva viṣayaviṣayitopapatteḥ' ;
Tarkabhāṣā of Keśava Miśra, Ed. Ācārya Viśveśvara, Vārāṇasī, 1967, p.

3. It should be further accepted that 'jñatatā' is produced from the correct knowledge as well as the incorrect knowledge. When the Mīmāṁsaka accepts the knowledge and also the validity of knowledge by 'jñatatā' produced from the correct knowledge, he should also accept the knowledge of invalidity. On the contrary the Mīmāṁsaka maintains self-validity on one side, and invalidity by another on the other. On this point the Naiyāyika corners the Mīmāṁsaka arguing that the Mīmāṁsaka should accept validity and invalidity either both by itself or both by other.

The Naiyāyika concludes that the Mīmāṁsā-concept of 'jñatatā' is identical with 'jñānaviṣayatā'. It is more logical and argumentative to hold the 'viṣayaviṣayibhāva-sambandha' on the basis of its inherent nature. Thus the Naiyāyika establishes that when 'jñatatā, the very foundation of the Mīmāṁsaka-doctrine of self-validity of knowledge, is uprooted, then is it not quite useless to discuss the possibility of knowledge and the validity by presumption? When the root is cut down, who would care to describe the leaves, branches, flowers and fruits?'

Now in the end, it will not be out of place if I proceed to develop the conclusion that a mere perception of an object from a distance does not help us to determine the certitude of its shape, dimension and other minor details. An object seen from a distance may not be the same as we cognised, for example, mirage. A thirsty man, seeing water from a distance, proceeds towards water. In case he finds water, we call it valid perception as the result of his action is successful.

In the context of clear cognition, we do not face any problem for its validity. For example, when we perceive a flower at a closer distance, we never doubt its validity. It is only in case of doubt or misapprehension that we have to depend on something else for its validity. The basis of our knowledge is our vital need. When an idea agrees with the object of need by a successful activity, it leads to validity: otherwise, to invalidity. The validity is derived from inference. The knowledge is valid when the result of our activity is successful and is invalid when the result of our activity is unsuccessful. In this way I may conclude that the Nyāya-view seems to be more logical in the context of the doctrine of validity of knowledge and the same may tacitly be accepted.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE VĀRĀHA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA I 1-3

C. G. *Kashikar*

The *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra*, which belongs to the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, has been edited by Caland and Raghu Vira[1]. The text is based on the transcript (Acc. No. 11234) entitled "Press Copy" of a Devanagari manuscript of the work in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. What is presented therein is only "a tentative text which could certainly be improved by the discovery of fresh manuscripts". The present author had an opportunity to study the original manuscript of that work (Acc. No. 680) belonging to the same Institute. As a result he published his study of the *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* I, 1-3[2] suggesting certain improvements in the text based almost on the manuscript-authority.

The present author has had the privilege of discovering yet another manuscript of the text.[3] Even though the new manuscript (N) is not much different from the Baroda manuscript (B = Acc. No. 680), and even though it gives faulty readings at many places, yet it has provided some good readings which help to improve the text at least to a certain extent. A further study of the same portion, namely, *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* I. 1-3, is, therefore, proposed to be made here. The improvements suggested below are only in addition to those already suggested. The study does not claim that all the textual problems met with in the portions have successfully been solved, nor does it record the entire variants-material of more or less critical value.

1.1.1.56 : *saṁdeśaṁ darśapūrṇamāsayor vidhānam anyatra nirdeśāt.* N reads *vinirdeśāt* instead of the last word.

1. Lahore, 1933.

2. The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. XXV, parts 1-4, pp. 229-41, Madras, 1962.

3. For a detailed Note on this manuscript see *Kaviraj Abhinandan Granth*, pp. 14-16, Lucknow, 1967.

I. 1.1.67-68 : *Pratyāmnāyapratiṣedhārthalopair aṅgānivṛttiḥ sāmānyād arthāt sāmarthyād iti|67|dharmaviniyoge'nāmnāte yathārtham mantrān saṁnamayet|68|* N reads *viniyoge* for *viniyoge*. It further seems the sūtras require to be punctuated differently as follows : *pratyāmnāyapratiṣedhārthalopair aṅgānivṛttiḥ |67| sāmānyād arthāt sāmarthyād iti dharma-viniyogaḥ |68| anāmnāte yathārtham mantrān saṁnamayet |69|*. "The subordinate rites should not be left out even by an opposite injunction, prescription or want of purpose. The application of character (of any rite) is effected by similarity, purpose and relevant injunction in the scripture. If there is no (suitable) mantra prescribed, one should modify the (relevant) mantra suitably (and employ it in connection with the rite concerned)."

I.1.2.4 : *Uttarābhyāṁ vai havirbhyāṁ aparayor anvavadhāya vratam upaiti |* In place of *anvavadhāya* N reads *anvādhāya* which is decidedly a better reading in view of *anvādadhāti* in the preceding sūtra.

I.1.2.15 : *yathādevatam āhutīm anumantrayate yathākarmasaṁyogam ārāt.|* In place of *anumantrayate*, N reads *anumantrayeta* which is an equally good reading.

I.1.3.5 : *ity auttaratantikān apy anumantrān adhīyeta.* Instead of *anumantrān* N reads *anumantraṇān*. The reading adopted by the editors is evidently an emendation; Their manuscript reads "*mantraṇana*" first hand, and "*mantrāṇāna*" second hand. cf. *grahaṇa* I.3.2.32; *staraṇa* I.3.3.11. Similar words denoting mantras to be employed in connexion with certain rites are met with in the Sūtra-literature; e.g. *āmantraṇa, pratisacana* etc.

I.1.3.6 : *aditer aham dava yajñyā pra prajayā paśubhir janiṣīya.* Instead of *paśubhir* N reads *pra paśubhir*. Since the *upasarga* is separated from the verb, another *pra* relating to paśubhir is essential. In the next verse *prajaniṣīya prajayā paśubhiḥ* is all right.

I.1.4.18 : *dṛdhikrāvṇo akāriṣam iti dadhnaḥ.* Instead of *akāriṣam* N reads *akārṣam*. This verse occurs in several Saṁhitās, and at all places the reading is *akāriṣam*. It occurs in MS-I.5.1; 5.6; III.13.1; IV 11.1 (*pratīka* only). Schroder's edition has *akārṣam*, but some of his Mss. read *akāriṣam*. Certain Mss. of the *Mānava Śrauta Sūtra* also have that reading. *Akārṣam* is a grammatically correct form while *akāriṣam* is a

chāndasa form. The tradition as recorded in the Mss. of the MS, MānŚS and VārŚS points to the reading *akāriṣam*. The reading *akāriṣam* as found in some Mss. of the MS may be regarded to have been originated from the tradition of the other Vedic recensions.

I.1.4.33,34 : *agne vratapate vratam akāriṣam. [33] sahasāḥ asi vratapā asi vratapatir asi vratam akāriṣam. [34]* In both these sūtras in place of *akāriṣam* N reads *akāryam* which may be regarded as a *chāndasa* form. Even though the printed texts of MS and MānŚS read *akāriṣam*, some of the Mss have got *akāryam*. It is worthy of note that the printed text of MānŚS elsewhere (VII.2.7.12) twice reads *akāryaḥ*.

I.1.5.4 : *odanau' dasaiya tvā saṃju-homi sāhu' ti |* N has similar text; but it would be better to take it as *tvā "saṃ-juhomi"*; "O cooked rice, I offer thee into the mouth of cooked rice."

I.2.1.20 : *sahasravalśā ity ātmānam pratyabhimṛśati.* Instead of *sahasravalśā* N reads *sahasravalśā*. The sūtra preceding this one cites the formula, *atas tvam barhiḥ (śatavalśaṃ viroha)*. The formula mentioned in the above-mentioned sūtra as also the one mentioned in the preceding sūtra are from MS I.1.2, and they are again quoted in the *Brāhmaṇa* portion (MS IV.1.2). At the two places Schroder has given the text respectively as *śatavalśam* and *sahasravalśā*. MānŚS I.1.39, 40 as printed in Knauer's and Geldner's editions, also read the words similarly. But the critical apparatus of both the MS and MānŚS shows that certain Mss. read *valśa* in place of *valśa*. N supports the reading of these Mss. From the uniform tradition maintained in certain Mss. of these three works, it may be said that *valśa* was the traditional reading of the *Maitrāyaṇī* recension and that the reading *valśa* as found in some Mss. was adopted under the influence of the the other Yajurveda recensions. The Aundh edition of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, which was prepared in consultation with the Vedic Pandits belonging to that recension, reads *valśa* at both the places.

I.2.2.2 : *prasavyaṃ śulbaṃ kṛtvā vatsajīlaṃ niveṣṭya vedāgre śulbaṃ nidhāya trir vedaśiraḥ saṁnahyaty uttaram-uttaraṃ pradakṣiṇam.* Instead of *nidhāya* N reads *pratinidhāya* cf. MānŚS I.1.3.1.

I.2.2.7 : . . . . *uttarato gārhapatyasya pātnībhyaḥ saṁstīrya*

dvandvam sāmnāyyapātrāṇi prayunakti. . . ./ Instead of *sāmnāyya-pātrāṇi* N reads *pātrāṇi*. The simple word *pātrāṇi* is sufficient in view of the recurrence of that word in the preceding part of the sūtra and also in I.2.2.10. cf. also MānŚS I.1.3.15.

I.2.3.17 : *ye cātra tvām anu tebhyaḥ svadhe'ty anujajet /* Instead of *tvām anu* N reads *tvā'nu*. cf. MānŚS I.1.2.19.

I.2.3.36 : *..itarāv agnāv anuprahared brāhmaṇo vā' ṇiyād apo vā gamayet /* Instead of *aṇiyāt* N reads *prāṇiyāt*. cf. *nadīya-mam piṇḍam patnī prāṇiyāt* in the same sūtra, and *na māṃsam prāṇiyāt* in I.1.2.9 cf. also MānŚS I.1.2.31.

I.2.4.2 : *..dvandvam pātrāṇi prayuṇakti..//* Instead of *prayuṇakti* N reads *prayunakti*. cf. MānŚS I.2.1.4. There is a tendency in the Maitrāyaṇī recension to utter the lingual nasal *ṇ* instead of dental nasal *n* at certain places. But that is not the case here.

I.2.4.19 : *paścād agniṣṭham śakatam yogyakṛtam chadiṃṣat saparipaṭam*. Instead of the last word, N has *saparināṭkam* which is the grammatically correct form. The *Satyāṣāḍha Sūtra* I.5.7 reads the word similarly. The *Vaidika-padānukramakośa* published at Hoshiarpur has rightly registered the word from the VārŚS as *saparipaṭkam* on the authority of the Sat-S.

I.2.4.22 : *dhūr asi'ti dhuram abhimṛśati /* Instead of *dhuram* N reads *dhurāv*. "With the formula *dhūr asi*, the Adhvaryu should touch each of the two yokes". MānŚS I.2.1.24 reads: *dhūr asi'ti dhuram abhimṛśaty uttaraṃ ca*.

I.2.4.38 : *..haviṣyaṃ prokṣaty..* Instead of *haviṣyaṃ* N reads *haviṣyan* which is avidently intended for *haviṣyān*. VārŚS I.2.4.27, 45, 53 has *haviṣyān*. cf. also MānŚS I.2.2.2.

I.2.4.43 : *anutsṛjan kṛṣṇājinaṃ ulūkhalam ādadhāti ..* Instead of *anutsṛjan* N reads *anabhisṛjan* which is found also in the "Press copy" and B. It has to be accepted also in view of *anabhisṛjan kapālam..* in VārŚS I.3.1.4.

I.2.4.46 : *bṛhadgrāvā'si'ti musalam ādāya ūrdhvasūr vānas-patya iti vā /* N omits the portion *ūrdhvasūr* etc. The editors have incorporated the portion on the authority of the second hand in the "Press Copy". The 'second hand' readings are probably from Āpastamba. Since the original VārŚS manuscripts omit the portion, it ought to be dropped.

I.3.1.3 : *ā'gne devayajanaṃ vaha..//* Instead of *ā'gne*

N reads *agne* which is supported by MS I.1.8 (Saṃhitā and Padapāṭha 1) and MānŚS I.2.3.3, and also B.

I.3.1.8 : *vasūnāṃ rudrāṇāṃ ity aṅgārān adhyūhya taptābhyaś carum adhiṣṭitya..* Instead of *adhyūhya* N reads *abhyuhya* which suits the style of the VārŚS Cf. *bhasmā' bhyūhati..aṅgārān abhyuhya* I.3.1.27, 23. In the earlier study (ALB. Vol. XXV parts 1-4, p. 238) I had preferred the reading *abhyūhya* following the reading in B. The older Śrauta Sūtras, following the Brāhmaṇas, no doubt retain the long 'ū' in the verb forms of the root ūh prefixed by an upasarga. But it is likely that the authors of the later Sūtra-texts like the Vārāha might have faithfully followed the Pāṇinian grammar (Pāṇ. 7, 4, 23). In another note on the same sūtra, I had referred to the unintelligible reading *taptābhyaś carum*, and had also mentioned the reading in B, namely, *taptādbhyaḥ*. This reading is found also in N. On its basis one would like to emend the reading as *taptādbhyaś cā'dhiṣṭitya:* "after having put over the fire (a vessel) for heating water". Cf. I.3. 1, 12: *taptā apo* etc.

I.3.1.25 :..*triḥ paryagni karoti..* N and B read *paryagnim* which seems to have been favoured by the Maitrāyaṇīyas. Cf. VārŚS I.5.2.20; MānŚS I.2.3.26; 5.2.20.

I.3.1.28 :..*aṅgārān abhūhya..* // N reads *abhyuhya* which is the correct form.

I.3.2.32 : *antarvedy ājyāni sruveṇa gṛhṇāti vedam antardhāya pavitre avadhāya dhāmnāsi'ti gṛhṇaṁś catur juhvāṁ gṛhṇāti..*// Instead of *gṛhṇaṁ* N reads *grahaṇa* which may be emended as *grahaṇam*, that is, the formula to be employed while taking out clarified butter into the ladles. cf. VārŚS I.3.3.11; *uru prathasve'ti staraṇam.* See I.1.3.5.

I.3.3.6 :..*Prastare pavitre visṛjya..* // N has a similar reading, but it is better to emend *visṛjya* as *apisṛjya* cf. BaudhŚS I.13 and other *Sūtra*-texts. MānŚS I.2.6.2 reads : *pavitre prastare visṛjati* where also the last word requires to be emended as *pisṛjati*. Geldner has translated the sūtra-portion as "He throws both strainers on the Prastara". It is better to translate the sūtra as, "he mixed the two strainers with the Prastara". The ritual presumes the root *api-sṛj*; cf. MS I.9.8; II, 3.7, 5.5.; III.9.4.

I.3.3.31..*hotṛṣadanam āstīrya..* // N has *hotṛṣadanāṁ*.

VārŚS I.6.4.18 has *hotṛsadanān āsīrya*. cf. MānŚS I. 3.5.26; ĀpŚS III.13.5.

I.3.4.25. .*upabhṛto'rdhaṁ juhvām ānīya*. .// Instead of *ānīya* N has *avanīya*. Cf. I.3.5.18.

I.3.4.26 : *pañca prayājān uttareṇā 'ghārasambhedam samānatra yajati* // Instead of *uttareṇa* N reads *apareṇa* which is the correct word. Cf. ĀpŚS II.17.1

I.3.5.18 : *ādāpabhṛtam juhvām ānīya*. . // Instead of *ānīya* N has *avanīya*. Cf. I.3.4.25 above.

I.3.7.1 : *Juhūṁ vedopayāmam adhvaryur ādāya pratyak krāmati*. . // Instead of *vedopayāmam* N has *vedopayāmān* which may be emended as *vedopayāmām*, to be taken as an adjective of *juhūm*.

I.3.7.20 : *ananūktam atyanūktam ca yajñe* // N reads *atyanūktam ananūktaṁ ca yajñe*. The sūtras belonging to the Taittirīya recension have only *atyanūktam*.

DIGAMBARĀNUCARA ALIAS DĀSOPANTA
(1551-1616 *A.C.*)

A Voluminous Bilingual Saint-Author from Mahārāṣṭra

Dr. Sadashiva L. *Katre*,

Kielhorn in his *C.P. MSS Catalogue*[1] records Mss. of five Sanskrit works or commentaries composed by Digambarānucara : *Jābālopaniṣadarthaprakāśa*, *Dattātreyamāhātmya*, *Puruṣasūktavyākhyā*, *Praṇavavyākhyā* and *Bodhaprakriyā*. Aufrecht records only these five compositions against this author's name in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*,[2] as noted in Kielhorn's said Catalogue. However, this Digambarānucara is the author of numerous other works also and commentaries, large as well as small, both in Sanskrit and in Marathi, and has an importance of his own. Sanskrit scholars outside Mahārāṣṭra are hardly aware that he is identical with Dāsopanta, the celebrated saint-poet from Mahārāṣṭra.

In Mahārāṣṭra itself this Digambarānucara alias Dāsopanta (=D) has suffered gross negligence for nearly three centuries. Indeed a very limited circle of stray saints, poets and poetical biographers has throughout shown some acquaintance with him and his literary productions and he has also been recognised as second in prominence among the traditional five saint-contemporaries headed by Ekanātha known as *Ekanātha-pañcaka*[3]. Still it is a fact that he remained almost unknown to average scholars and readers at least till 113 years back, as evidenced from his non-inclusion[4] in the original first

1. F. Kielhorn: *A Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. existing in the Central Provinces*, 1874. pp. 2, 16, 24, 124.

2. *CC, I*, 1891, pp. 216, 244, 252, 340, 348, 377. A Dāsa Gosvāmin, author of the *Harināmārthatattva*, recorded in *CC*, III. 1903, pp. 55-157, is quite different from our D and probably identical with Caitanyadāsa Gosvāmin who is a commentator on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*.

3. The five members of this *Ekanātha-pañcaka* are: 1. Ekanātha, 2. Dāsopanta, 3. Rāmī-janārdana, 4. Janī-janārdana, 5. Viṭhī-Renukānandana.

4. D. came to be included in the *Navanīta* only in its 1954 edition (pp. 74-77) by A. K. Priyolkar.

edition of the *Navanīta* (Selections from old Marathi Poets and Saints) published by the Bombay Government in 1854 from Poona under the editorship of Parashuramapanta Tatya Godbole. In 1902, the historian V. K. Rajwade published in his journal *Granthamālā* his detailed and investigating notice of D and his works. Since then D has received due attention also from other veteran scholars and historians like V. L. Bhave,[5] S. S. Deva,[6] L. R. Pangarkar,[7] J. Abbot,[8] etc.[9] These scholars and historians have traced out and noticed D's numerous compositions, brought to light his several biographical details from various sources and also discovered and published an actual old metrical biography, detailed though broken, of D by an anonymous author who refers to himself as Hanumadātmaja (son of Hanumat). Among discovered Marathi compositions of D, only a few comparatively smaller ones as also a few portions of some large ones have since been brought to print. However, this hitherto printed aggregate comprises hardly one-tenth of the entire bulk, the rest nine-tenth still remains to see the light of the day. Although a few scholars[10] and research institutions[11] of Aurangabad are at present engaged in editing some unpublished Chapters of D's two voluminous Marathi works, far quicker and more vigorous steps in the direction alone can save D's remaining works from falling into eternal oblivion, mainly because the almost single mss. of his works are now fast fading.

5. *Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata*, 4th edn. Śaka 1873, pp. 296—307, etc.

6. Preface to the *Granthanāja*, Poona, Śaka 1836. *Rāmadāsī Sampradāya*, Vol II, Dhulia, Śaka, 1860, etc.,

7. *Marāṭhī Vāṅmayācā Itihāsa*, Vol II, 1935, pp. 143—174, etc.

8. He was a foreign missionary in India and evinced much interest in Mahārāṣṭra saints. He wrote and published his English biographies of many of these saints, including D, and also brought out an edition of Hanumadātmaja's *Dāsopantacaritra* with an English version and Notes in 1927 as No. 4 of his series "The Poet-Saints of Maharashtra".

9. E. g., G. K. Chandorkar (*Santa-Kavi-Kāvya-Sāra*) Poona, Śaka-1837, and recently N. S. Pohnerkar, Vide also *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa*, Vol. 12, Poona, 1925, P. 893 *Madhyayuginā Caritra Kośa*, Poona, 1937, P. 453; *Sahitya Vivaraṇa*, Vol 3, Poona, 1950 P. 1182, etc.

10. N. S. Pohnerkar, etc.

11. Viz, the Marathi Research Department of the Marathwada University, and the Marathwada Sāhitya Pariṣad.

It is also an irony that some hitherto missing works of D, in Marathi as well as in Sanskrit, are still being spotted out.

D was born in Śaka 1473 (=1551 A. C.) in an aristocratic Deśastha Brāhmaṇa family belonging to Gālava Gotra and the Āpastamba Sūtra of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda at Nārāyaṇapeṭha[12] (or Nārāyaṇakheḍa) in the Bidar Kingdom. His father Digambarapanta Deśapāṇḍe was the hereditary Revenue Officer of the locality under the King of Bidar. In a year of acute famine, when D was about 17 or 18, Digambarapanta out of compassion freely distributed to the starving masses the entire stocked grain of the Government cess collection valued at two lakhs of rupees. This step of Digambarapanta indeed saved the lives of the dying thousands, who showered grateful blessings on their saviour. The same, however, infuriated the Muslim ruler, who forthwith summoned Digambarapanta along with D to Bidar and threatened to muslimise D, detained as hostage, if Digambarapanta failed to credit the entire revenue amount into the royal treasury within a month. It was physically impossible for Digambarapanta to arrange such a huge payment within the stipulated time-limit. Ardent prayers were offered by D, his parents and their sympathisers. On the last day, it is stated, God Dattātreya appeared in the royal Darbar in the form of a person named Dattāji Pāḍevāra, paid off the amount and disappeared. The king forthwith set free D and sent him back with all honours to his parents at Nārāyanapeṭha . However, D, realising that God was put to so much trouble on his account, got restless and gave himself up to constant meditation. Ultimately he secretly bade farewell to his ancestral home and roamed for years at several holy places abroad. For twelve years he practised austere penances at Mātāpura (Māhur), a Siddha-Kṣetra associated with Dattātreya on the Sahyādri mountain, and was finally granted mystic revelation (*sākṣātkāra*) by Dattātreya. Thereafter D settled permanently at Ambe-Jogāi (Mominābād in the erstwhile Nizam's Marathwada Dominions) and was later also joined there by his parents and wife. He

12. This Nārāyanapetha. is not yet identified with certainty, according to N. S. Pohnerkar. Vide his Editorial Introduction "Śrī Dāsopanta: Caritra āṇi Vāṅmaya" prefixed to his edition of *Dāsopantāñcī Pāsoḍī* (Hyderabad, 1955?) pp. 6-7

particularly abdicated his ancestral estates at Nārāyaṇa-peṭha on behalf not only of himself and his parents but also of his future generations. His own new spiritual disciples created a fresh home for him at Āmbe-jogāi with all amenities and affluence. Here he passed the rest, about thirty years, of his life, hailed and admired in all quarters as a Siddha Satpuruṣa with high spiritual attainments and constant mystic communion with Dattātreya. However, besides Dattātreya, a form of Śiva, viz. Kamalanayana Śrī Śaṅkara, too, was his special Deity of attachment (*upāsanā*). D died in Śaka 1537 (=1616 A. C.) in his 65th year, leaving behind his two sons and some spiritual disciples. The main descendants of D's two sons still flourish at Āmbe-jogāi, while some minor ones at various stages branched off and shifted to other places in Marathwada and Vidarbha regions like Paraṭi-Vaijanātha, Bāvgī, Chanda, Nagpur, etc. Luckily enough for us, these main and minor branches of D's family, later surnamed Gosāvī or Gosvāmī, as also some descendants of D's spiritual disciples, have to this day well preserved a good deal of the vast literary legacy, to be detailed presently, left behind by D.

Most of D's thirty years at Āmbe-jogāi witnessed his constant engrossment in writing his monumental works and commentaries, mostly in Marathi verse but in some cases, in Sanskrit prose. D's compositions concern mainly Advaita Vedānta, Bhagavad-Bhakti, Nīti and Sadācāra, and, above all, Purāṇa, Māhātmya, Darśana and Tantra pertaining to the Dattātreya cult, etc.

The Major Sanskrit compositions of D are:

1 *Gāyatrīmantra-Bhāṣya* : An elaborate commentary on the *Gāyatrī*. An undated Ms. of this Bhāṣya is in the Collection of Aṇṇājī Gosāvī, a present descendant of D, now residing at Nagpur.

2. *Puruṣasūktārthaprakāśa* : This is D's exhaustive commentary on the Ṛgvedic *Puruṣasūkta*. Aṇṇājī Gosāvī of Nagpur mentioned above published[13] the same in 1954, on the basis of its undated Ms. in his possession, with his own Marathi version thereof. Another Ms. of the same was also recorded by Kielhorn and by Aufrecht.

13. *Śrī-Dāsopanta-Gosāmi-viracita-Puruṣasūktārthaprakāśaḥ*, Nagpur, 1954.

3. *Upaniṣadarthaprakāśa* : This is D's commentary (Bhāṣya) on the major Upaniṣads. Mss. of the same on the ten principal Upaniṣads exist at Āmbe-jogāi, but hitherto commentaries on only the first three viz. *Īśa*, *Kena* and *Kaṭha* have been published[14] collectively from Poona in 1915. D must have commented on some additional Upaniṣads, too, as a Ms. of his commentary on the *Jābāla* is recorded by Kielhorn and by Aufrecht. D's commentary on the Upaniṣads, like that on the *Puruṣasūkta*, is very learned, elaborate and rich in quotations, mostly anonymous, and follows Advaita. Attempts to trace the Dattātreya cult and story in the Upaniṣads are also made at some places here.

4. *Praṇava-vyākhyā* : A Ms. of it was recorded by Kielhorn and by Aufrecht.

5. *Bodhaprakriyā* with the author's own Commentary : Mss. of this Vedāntic treatise with the Commentary were recorded by Kielhorn, by Oppert[15] and by Aufrecht. The same, however, are not traceable in the published lists of D' s compositions extant at Āmbe-jogāi. The Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore has a Ms.[16] of only the first chapter of this work, which begins:

पूर्णं ब्रह्म विशुद्धचिद्वयमजं सच्चिन्मुखैकात्मकं
साम्येनात्मगतात्मचिद्युतितया संप्राप्तवत्यौरुषम् ।
तं दत्तं गुरुमीश्वरं च जगतां नित्यं नमामो वय
यद्वाच्यामृतपानतो ह्यमृतता सुज्ञैर्जनैर्लभ्यते ॥

पूर्वं गुरुप्रसादादिधन्वेदु ब्रह्मप्रकृतिजीवेश्वरोपकमसंहारबन्धमोक्षरूपाणि विस्तरतोऽभिहितानि, विना यैर्न ब्रह्मात्मविज्ञाने निश्चय उपजायते, प्रीतिश्च, तथापि न बालप्रज्ञैः सम्यक्त्वेनावगन्तुं शक्यानि ॥.....

And ends:.....यथा कारणोपाधिविवर्तरूपस्तथा कार्योपाधयोऽपि, तस्मात्स औपाधिकोऽपि भेदो विवर्तरूप एव । ...तस्मात्तत्त्वं ब्रह्मसर्वाकारनिराकारं निर्गुणं निर्विकल्पं निजाकाराद् भ्रष्टं यथावदेवास्ति । अत एवोच्यते "नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन" इति ॥ (इति) बोधप्रक्रियायां जीवेश्वरविवरणं प्रथमम् ॥

The author's name is not found in this fragmentary Tanjore Ms.

14. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 76, edited by Śridhara-Śāstri Pāṭhaka.

15. Gustav Oppert : *Lists of Sanskrit Mss in Private Libraries of Southern India*, Vol II, Madras, 1883, No. 3285.

16. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Vol. XIII, 1931, No. 7697, p. 5824, f.

6. *Guruprasāda* : In the citation given under the previous work, it is stated that before composing the *Bodhaprakriyā*, he composed a work named *Guruprasāda*. No Ms., however, of the Sanskrit Vedāntic works of D including the *Guruprasāda* appears to be recorded so far.

7. *Dattātreyasahasranāma-Bhāṣya* : A Ms. of this commentary by D on the *Dattātreyasahasranāma-Stotra* from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* was recorded in the original lists of D's compositions by V. K. Rajwade etc., but the same is probably not traceable[17] now at Āmbe-jogāi. However, another Ms. of it is with Aṇṇājī Gosāvī at Nagpur. It is undated but old in appearance. D's present commentary is extensive and generally on the lines of Śaṅkarācārya's *Viṣṇusahasranāma-Bhāṣya*.

From the original Āmbe-Jogāi lists, D himself appears to have composed some minor nāma-stotras of Dattātreya, e. g. *Dattātreya Śatanāma Stotra*, °*Ṣoḍaśanāma*°, °*Dvādaśanāma*° °*Daśanāma*° etc. with his gloss at some places in each. Some further hymns etc., too, appear in the lists, e.g. *Siddhadattātreya-Stotra*, *Śiva-Stotra*, *Guru-Stotra*, *Upakāla-Stotra*, *Bhaktirāja-Kavaca*, etc.

8. *Dattātreyamāhātmya* with the author's own Commentary : This is a very extensive compendium in 52 chapters mainly in prose and abounding in citations from many Purāṇas etc.

Herein D establishes with profuse discussions the supreme character of the Dattātreya incarnation of God Viṣṇu in association with Śiva and Brahmā and the high merits of Dattātreya's *upāsanā* etc. in all its aspects and details. The mythical advent and career of the incarnations, too, are narrated side by side.

This *Dattātreyamāhātmya*, unlike D's other Sanskrit and Marathi works, appears to have enjoyed a tolerably wide circulation. Its Mss. exist not only at Āmbe-jogāi and with Aṇṇājī Gosāvī at Nagpur, but had reached even as far as Vārāṇasī. One of these Mss. in a worn-out condition was traced by me in 1964 in a private collection at Vārāṇasī, which has since been purchased and stocked by the Manuscripts Section of the Nagpur University Library. Another Ms. as

17. As gathered from N.S. Pohnerkar's Editorial Introduction mentioned in Footnote 12 above, P. 18.

existing in the Mss. Collection owned by the Bhosle Rājās of Nagpur is also recorded.[18] A further Ms., as I learn authentically, is owned by a Maṭha-Mahanta at Māhur.

Mss. of fragments from this compendium are also found at some places. A Ms. (Accession No. 4617) in the Manuscripts Section of the Nagpur University Library coming originally from Umarkhed (Vidarbha) has the title '*Dattajanmaprastāva*', but it is revealed to be only the opening Chapter of D's present *Dattātreyamāhātmya* in a slightly abridged form. The initial benediction etc. are as follows.

यस्यानुग्रहतः सर्वं जगद् ब्रह्मैव भासते ।
तस्मै सन्मात्रकपाय शिवाय गुरवे नमः ॥१॥
न गुरोस्तु परं दैवं न गुरोस्तु परं तपः ।
न गुरोस्तु परं तत्त्वं सत्यं नास्ति गुरोः परम् ॥२॥
संसारार्णवमग्नानां प्रायश्चित्तं विशेषतः ।
सेवनीयं प्रयत्नेन संसाराब्धितितीर्षुभिः ॥३॥
तं नत्वा परमानन्दं श्रीमदादिगुरुं विभुम् ।
वक्ष्ये सभासतस्तस्य माहात्म्यं परमं शिवम् ॥४॥

अथ कोऽसौ दत्तात्रेयः ? कथं स आदिगुरुः ? स एको भगवान्विष्णुरावित-स्वाम्नीया "दत्तो मयाहम्" इति वरदानेनात्रेः पुत्रत्वं प्राप्तः, स एव परमात्मा दत्तात्रेयः । वस्तु नान्यो गुरुः, स एव सर्वेषां गुरुणामादिरादिगुरुः । कोऽसौ ? यः "स ईक्षते सोऽकामयत" इत्यादिवाक्यवेद्यः, सर्वगतः आदिभूतो नारायणो निरञ्जनः सर्वेश्वर आनन्दमयः पुरुषः । स एवैकः परमात्मा यदात्रेः पुत्रत्वं प्राप्तो दत्तात्रेयः, तदा कथं नायमादिगुरुः । न विना शरीरादिसम्बन्धं गुरुत्वं संभवति, न च परमात्मनो वपुषः क्वचित् । तस्माच्छ्रीनारायणादिगुरुर्दत्तात्रेय इति सत्यम् ।

नन्वयमब्रह्मविदां वर आत्मकामः सर्वेषणानिरपेक्षः, कथं तस्य प्रजाकामः । तथा च ब्रह्मविद्वचनम्—"किं प्रजया करिष्यामो येषां नोऽयमात्मा" इति । तथा चोक्तम्—"न प्रजया न धनेन त्यागेनैके अमृतत्वमानशुः" इति । नायं प्राकृत इव प्रजाकामः, तेन च कामावेशकोऽपि पितुराज्ञा कर्तव्येति सर्वोपकाराय च प्रजननाय परमात्मानमाराधितवान् । कोऽसावुपकारः ? अनाद्यविद्याबद्धानां दुःखसागरे निमग्नानां ब्रह्मात्मज्ञानेनोद्धरणं सुगन्धकरस्य ब्रह्मणः प्राप्तमेवोप-

18. *Catalogue of Sanskrit & Prakrit Mss in the Central Provinces & Berar* by Hiralal, Nagpur, 1926, p. 199, No. 2142.

कारः । आराधितः स परमात्मा तस्मादात्मानं दत्तवान् ।

इदमेवोक्तं भागवते चतुर्थस्कन्धे, तदत्राभिधीयते ।

It is not unlikely that the various minor stotras etc. of Dattātreya by D in the Āmbe-jogāi lists were incorporated originally in D' s present *Dattātreyamāhātmya* and were subsequently drawn out therefrom as separate works.

9. *Siddharājāgama* with the author's Commentary entitled *Dattātreyasiddharājāgamapaddhati*: This is an encyclopaedic compendium dealing most exhaustively with the *upāsanā* etc. of Dattāreya on Vedic lines. It is the most voluminous among D's all hitherto known Sanskrit compositions and is extremely scarce. It is unknown to Aufrecht's *CC* and to the published post-Aufrecht Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. so far seen by me. It is also not recorded in the lists of D's compositions issued by V.K. Rajwade etc., and hence it is doubtful if its Mss. exist even in the Āmbe-jogāi collections. Its only hitherto traced Ms, so far as I can see, is with Aṇṇājī Gosāvī[19] at Nagpur. This Ms (in 2 parts) contains both the original compendium and the *svopajña* commentary and has over one thousand folios of the size 11 × 5 inches closely scribed on each side. It is undated but over two hundred years old in appearance.

It is divided into numerous chapters (Prakaraṇas) and is full of technical and logical discussions. D's treatment herein, especially in its Mantrārtha-Prakaraṇa, is indeed very learned and impressive. He preferentially advocates Laya-upāsanā, wherein the sādhaka, through the medium of Saguṇa-upāsanā, seeks internally his own complete merger into the Nirguṇa Para-Brahman.

To enable detailed and comprehensive study of D's vast sacred labours in the field of Tantra it is essential that the gigantic *Siddharājāgama* along with the *svopajña* Commentary be forthwith published by some University or Government-financed Research Institute under the editorship of a Tantra scholar conversant with the Cult of Dattātreya.

10. *Advaitaśrutisāra* : This is, as described by Gopinath Kaviraj, a supreme treatise by D in sixteen chapters containing an exquisite exposition of the Philosophy and Metaphysics

19. Vide his Marathi Preface to his edition of the *Puruṣārthaprakāśa* pp. 20-21

of the Dattātreya cult. For an admirable resumé of the philosophical and metaphysical doctrines (including cosmogony, etc.) underlying the Tāntric upāsanā of Dattātreya as in this *Advaitaśrutiśāra*, vide G. Kaviraj's paper "Dattātreya-Sampradāya Kā Dārśanika Matavāda" in the Hindi journal *Kalyāṇa*[20] of Gorakhpur.

An old Ms. of the work was produced by someone about 20 years ago at Vārāṇasī before G. Kaviraj, who forthwith utilised it in his Hindi paper published in 1950. However, the Ms. was subsequently returned by Kaviraj to its owner and, as revealed by the recent inquiries made by Aṇṇāji Gosāvī of Kaviraj, the present whereabouts of the Ms and its owner cannot be made out now !

11. *Gītārthabodha* : This is D's exhaustive Sanskrit commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. It was originally prefixed by D to his Marathi metrical commentary *Gītārthacandrikā* under each verse of the *Gītā*. D's present Sanskrit Bhāṣya, too, is very extensive and, in the light of the data furnished by two scholars[21] who have personally handled the original Mss. at Āmbe-jogāi, its extent is easily calculated at about twelve thousand granthas. Herein D, although mostly in line with Śaṅkarācārya, shows his originality in the treatment at several places and presents much that is his own.

The above are D's main Sanskrit compositions hitherto traced. However, D is primarily a Marathi poet. As such, his picture, even for non-Marathi readers, can hardly claim completeness without a notice of his major Marathi works.

In Marathi authorship, we first meet with his two monumental metrical commentaries on the *Bhagavadgītā*, viz. the *Gītārṇava* and the *Gītārthacandrikā* which extend respectively to a lakh and a quarter verses and about nine thousand verses of Ovī metre. The *Gītārṇava* is probably the largest of all the known old vernacular commentaries on the *Bhagavadgītā*. D is said to have written three further commentaries, metrical though much smaller, on the *Bhagavadgītā*. He set to write each

20. Vol 24, No. 9 (September, 1950), pp. 1371-1377.

21. V. L. Bhave (*Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata*, p. 297) states the approximate extent of the joint Ms containing both the Sanskrit *Gītārthabodha* and the Marathi *Gītārthacandrikā* to be twenty thousand (granthas). N. S. Pohnerkar (*Op. cit*, p. 27) states that the *Gītārthacandrikā* alone has 8889 Ovis. Hence the extent of the *Gītārthabodha* alone is about twelve thousand granthas.

latter commentary as he was afraid that the former one was beset with mistakes of commission and omission, and he wanted to impart to his readers the entire philosophy as he conceived it. In substance, quality and originality, too, the *Gītārṇava* and the *Gītārthacandrikā* are both of a high order. Herein his style has an amazing flow and, as stated by himself, he records his own free and inspired thoughts at each point, without minding what Śaṅkarīcārya and other celebrated predecessors in the field have said. Next comes his *Padārṇava* which is an ocean-like collection of his stray devotional *padas* or lyrical hymns. These *padas* are also said to number a lakh and a quarter, but at present only about thirty thousand are available and the rest are missing. As D' s other Marathi works are mainly concerned with Advaita Philosophy, his star place in the galaxy of classical Marathi poets chiefly rests on the high-rank poetry in the *Padārṇava*. The lyrical songs in the *Padārṇava* are still very popular and are regularly recited by the devotees in the Marathwada region. Then comes his *Granthārāja* consisting of eight chapters and a total of over 1200 Ovis. This contains discourses on *Nīti* (Ethics) and *Sadācāra* (Moral Conduct). A further importance of this *Granthārāja* lies in the fact that a century later it was studied by the celebrated Saint Rāmadāsa, to whom it verily served as a model in the composition of his monumental *Dāsabodha*. The *Pañcīkaraṇa*, D' s next work, is popularly known as *Dāsopantāñcī Pāsoḍī*. In about 1500 Ovis, it deals exhaustively with the well-known technical topic Pañcīkaraṇa of Vedānta. Its Ms. has a unique feature, inasmuch as it is scribed, not on paper, palm-leaf or birch-bark, but on a single special cloth-sheet (*pāsoḍī*) of the size 40 × 4 feet, most probably in D's own handwriting. Further Marathi titles of significance in the lists of D's work are: *Anugītā*, *Sthūlagītā*, *Anadhyātarāja*, *Prabodhodaya* (in two parts), *Vākyavṛtti* (two separate versions in prose and in verse), etc., besides some Marathi, stotras. While D' s entire compositions are reported to number over a hundred, his total Marathi productions alone are estimated to cover over four lakh granthas. Among these, only two, viz. the *Granthārāja*[22] and the *Pañcīkaraṇa-Pāsoḍī*,[23] have

22. Ed. by S. S. Deva of Dhulia and published in Śaka 1836 from Poona under the auspices of th Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśodhaka-Maṇḍala.

23. Published by the Marathwada Sāhitya Pariṣad, Hyderabad, prior to 1959 (exact year not traceable) Vide, f. n. 12 above.

been printed fully. Of the rest, only about four chapters (viz. Ch. 1, 2, 12, 13 incomplete) of the *Gītārṇava*,[24] Ch. 1 of the *Gītārthacandrikā*[25], and 1605 *padas* of the *Padārṇava*[26] have been printed so far, while one further chapter each from the *Gītārṇava* and the *Gītārthacandrikā* is promised to be published[27] shortly from Aurangabad. Recently in 1964, a hitherto unnoticed small Marathi treatise by D viz., the *Dattamāhātmya*, a lucid narration of Dattātreya's advent on earth in six chapters and about six hundred Ovis, was discovered[28] by myself at Nagpur and I have since prepared its critical edition on the basis of two old Mss.

D's command over Sanskrit and conversance with Sanskritic Śāstras at once elicit one's admiration, mainly as these, in this degree, are rare with our Marathi saint-poets. Whether in Marathi or in Sanskrit, he tackled Vedānta and Tantra, in a vivid and fascinating manner. D had also an admirable command over Kannada, Telugu and Hindi, as is evident from his many *padas* in those languages in the *Padārṇava*.

In the concluding or chapter-colophons to all his works and commentaries, D generally indicates himself as 'Digambarānucara', i. e. an attendant of God Dattātreya. Digambara is mainly a name of Dattātreya in Mahārāṣṭra. Vide—

"ॐ तत्सदिति श्रीमदादिगुरुदत्तात्रेयदिगम्बरानुचरविरचितः पीयूषनुक्तार्थप्रकाशः समाप्तः ॥"

"ॐ तत्सदिति श्रीमदादिगुरुदत्तात्रेयदिगम्बरानुचरविरचितः कठोपनिषदर्थप्रकाशः ॥",

"ॐ तत्सदिति श्रीदत्तार्पणमाहात्म्ये दिगम्बरानुचरविरचिते दत्तजन्म समाप्तम् ॥", etc.,

"दिगंबरानुचर म्हणे । पुढें रसिक आहे श्रोतेपणें ॥
श्रोता ! येथें चित्त देणें । भवबंधनें तुटतील ॥",

24. Published in V. L. Bhave's Mahārāṣṭra Kāvyagranthamālā.
25. Published by J. R. Ajgaokar etc, from Belgaum.
26. Published by K. V. Lele Sastri from Wai.
27. As stated by S. G. Tulpule in his Supplement (Puravaṇī) to the 5th edition of V. L. Bhave's *Mahārāṣṭra Sāraswat*.
28. The same was noticed cursorily by me in my Marathi article "Dāsopantkṛtcī Grantharacanā āṇi Dattopāsanā" published in a Sunday issue of the Nagpur daily *Taruṇa Bhārata* dated 13-12-1964.

"दिगंबरानुचर म्हणे । श्रीदिगंबराचेनि श्रवणें ॥
जोडों कांहीं मीनेपे । ब्रह्मज्ञानें आरति ॥",

(Marathi *Dattamāhātmya etc.*)

As noticed by Aufrecht and others, this is sometimes expanded as 'Digambaracaraṇānucara'. In the *padas* of the *Padārṇava*, D mentions himself simply with the name 'Digambara' or as a 'Kimkara' or 'Dāsa' of Digambara, or merely as 'Dāsa'. This very 'Dāsa' came to be developed in popular usage as 'Dāsopanta'.

DIVODĀSA

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Pradhan, in his 'Chronology of Ancient India' has conclusively proved that Divodāsa was a contemporary of Daśaratha. For the sake of completeness, I am gathering all the evidence that he has collected and even also the additional evidence which I have gathered about Divodāsa.

Divodāsa Atithigva is, very often, referred to in the *Rgveda*. He is referred to in the following sūktas :

I,	112,12	Author	Kutsa Āṅgirasa
I,	116, 18; 119,4	Author	Kakṣivān Dīrghatamas
I,	130, 7	"	Paruchchepa Daivodāsī
I,	131, 10	"	"
II,	19, 6	"	Gṛtsamada
IV,	26, 3; 30, 20	"	Vāmadeva Gautama
VI,	26, 5; 61, 1; 16, 19; 47, 22—3; 16, 5, 43,1	"	Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya
VI,	31, 4	"	Suhotra Bhāradvāja
VII,	18, 25	"	Vaśiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇa
IX,	61, 2	"	Amahayu Āṅgirasa

In these Sūktas, Divodāsa is often described as Atithigva. It is often said that Indra killed Śambara for Divodāsa, which really means that Divodāsa killed Śambara after praying to Indra. This battle with Śambara seems to have been terrible and prolonged. Ninety-nine cities of Śambara were crushed by Divodāsa and his allies. His own son Paruchchepa gives (I, 130-31) this number as ninety, and once (1, 130-31) it is given as 100 also.

This is the only exploit of Divodāsa recorded in the *Ṛ*V

and it seems to have impressed the sages of the age very much, as many sages refer to it.

Now Pradhan (CAI. pp. 7ff) has drawn our attention to a reference to this war with Śambara in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In II, 9 Manthara says to Kaikeyi (I am quoting from Baroda edition):

तव देवासुरे युद्धे सह राजर्षिभिः पतिः ।
अगच्छदमरावत्यां देवराजस्य साह्यकृत् ॥ ९
दिवमास्थाय कैकेयि दक्षिणां दण्डकान्प्रति ।
वैजयन्तमिति ख्यातं पुरं यत्र निमिध्वजः ॥ (v. l. निमि)
स शम्बर इति ख्यातः शतमायो महासुरः ।
ददौ शक्रस्य संग्रामं देवसंघैरनिर्जितः ॥ ११ ॥
तस्मिन्महति संग्रामे राजा दशरथस्तदा ।
अपवाह्य रथा देवि संग्रामान्नष्टचेतनः ॥ १२
तत्रापि विशतः शस्त्रैः पतिस्ते रक्षितस्त्वया
तुष्टेन तेन दत्तौ ते द्वौ वरौ शुभदर्शने ॥ १३

Pradhan has said that this was the famous battle of Śambara and that rājarṣibhiḥ in verse 9 refers to Divodāsa, because in the Purāṇas, Divodāsa is called rājarṣi. I take this verse differently. It means that Daśaratha along with other kings (rājarṣibhiḥ) went as an ally to Devarāja. I think that Devarāja refers to Divodāsa himself. Devarāja means Indra and later on in verse no. 11 it is said that Śambara fought with Śakra, i.e., Indra. I shall first show that Divodāsa was called Devarāja and then show that Divodāsa was Indra, at least for some time.

In *Pd.* II, 42 the following occurs :

अयोध्यायां महाराजः स आसीद्धर्मकोविदः ।
मनुपुत्रो महाभागः सर्वधर्मविंतत्परः ॥ २ ॥
इक्ष्वाकुनाम सर्वज्ञो देवब्राह्मणपूजकः ।
तस्य भार्या सदा पुण्या पतिव्रतपरायणा ॥ ३ ॥
तया सार्धं यजेद्यज्ञांस्तीर्थानि विविधानि च ।
देवराजस्य वीरस्य काशीशस्य महात्मनः ॥ ४ ॥
सुदेवा नाम वै कन्या सत्याचारपरायणा ।
उपयेमे महाराज इक्ष्वाकुस्तां महीपतिः ॥ ५ ॥

Here, it is said that Ikṣvāku married Sudevā, the daughter of the king of Kāśī (Kāśīśa) who is named Devarāja. I make bold to say that this Devarāja, the king of Kāśī is the same as Devarāja of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (verse no. 9 quoted above). At both the places, he is called Devarāja and here it is made clear that he was the king of Kāśī. Devarāja, the king of Kāśī was none else than Divodāsa.

Divodāsa was called Devarāja because he had been Indra i. e. the king of Devas. For,

(1) In the above verses quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa* Devarāja is treated as Indra, who was helped by rājarṣis and by Daśaratha.

(2) In *Suśruta Saṁhitā* (I, 1, 2) it is said:

अथ खलु भगवन्तममरवरमृषिगणपरिवृतमाश्रमस्थं काशिराजं दिवोदासं धन्वन्तरिमौपधेनवरौरभ्रपौष्कलावतकरवीर्यगोपुररक्षितसुश्रुतप्रभृतय ऊचुः ॥

Here, in clear terms it is said that Divodāsa was the same as Dhanvantari and the adjective 'amaravara' is used for Divodāsa. *Amaravara* is evidently Indra, the Devarāja. (Divodāsa is identified with Dhanvantari in *Bhāvaprakāśa* I, 1).

(3) In this connection, I should point out that *Caraka Saṁhitā* (I, 1) clearly says that Bharadvāja went to Indra to learn Āyurveda. I would suggest that this Indra to whom Bharadvāja went, was none else than Dhanvantari Divodāsa, who is described as 'devarāja' (*Rām.* II, 9, 9; *Pd.* II, 42, 4) 'Devasaṁkāśa' (*Rām.* 1, 12, 20, Cr. Ed.) and Amaravara (*Suśruta* S. I, 1, 2). We know that Bharadvāja was closely associated with Divodāsa. Bharadvāja acted as a priest of Divodāsa and had also gone to him for learning Āyurveda.

(4) *ṚV* says that Śambara was killed by Indra and also says that Divodāsa had killed him. This means that, in this case, Divodāsa and Indra are identical.

All this proves that Divodāsa was a contemporary of Daśaratha.

Even if it is not granted that Divodāsa had become Indra for some time, his contemporaneity with Daśaratha is proved beyond any doubt.

Other reasons for this contemporancity given by Pradhan are these :

(1) Divodāsa was a brother of Ahalyā, as the Purāṇas put clearly (*Vy.* 99, 200. *Hr.* 1. 32, 70, Vol. IV 19,16)

बभ्रुपश्वान्मिथुनं जज्ञे मेनकायामिति श्रुतिः ।
दिवोदासश्च राजर्षिरहल्या च यशस्विनी ॥

(2) According to *Śiva Purāṇa* (VI, 13) Māyāvatī, the sister of Maṇḍodarī was the wife of Śambara.

(3) Ahalyā's son Śatānanda was the Purohita of Sīradhvaja, the father of Sītā.

(4) Rāma, while returning from Laṅkā, had stayed at the āśrama of Bharadvāja, who was the priest of Divodāsa.

To these points I shall add some more :

(5) Rāma had stayed at Bharadvāja's āśrama, even while going on the exile. So had Bharata stayed at his āśrama, while going to Citrakūṭa.

(6) In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is described that when Daśaratha decided to perform Aśvamedha sacrifice, the following kings were invited—Janaka, Kāśīpati, Kekayarāja, Aṅgeśvara and Romapāda. About Kāśīpati it is said :

तथा काशीपतिं स्निग्धं सततं प्रियवादिनम् ।
सद्वृत्तं देवसंकाशं स्वयमेवानयस्व ह ॥

And when Rāma's coronation ceremony was over, he requested the following kings to take leave—Vaideha Mithilāpati, Kekaya Mātula, Yudhājit and Pratardana. About Pratardana it is said :

तं विसृज्य ततो रामो वयस्यमकुतोभयम् ।
प्रतर्दनं काशीपतिं परिष्वज्येदमब्रवीत् ॥VII. ३८ ॥
दर्शिता भवता प्रीतिर्दर्शितं सौहृदं परम् ।
उद्योगश्च त्वया राजन्भरतेन कृतः सह[1] ॥
तद्भवानद्य काशेव पुरी वाराणसी व्रज ॥

Now, Daśaratha invited one Kāśīpati, whose name is not given at the time of the birth of Rāma, and Rāma invited another Kāśīpati (whose name is given as Pratardana) at the time of

1. We do not know how Pratardana had helped Bharata.

his coronation. Now Rāma must have been 39 years old, when he was coronated. Therefore, the Kāśī king who was invited by Daśaratha, must have been Divodāsa, the father of Pratardana. Pratardana's father was Divodāsa, and if Pratardana was Rāma's contemporary, his father Divodasa would have been a contemporary of Daśaratha.

(7) Pradhan has already proved that the Ṛgvedic sage Bharadvāja was a purohita of Divodāsa. This Bharadvāja was a pupil of Vālmīki (*Rām.* : 1, 1, 1,).

(8) Again in *Rām.* (VII, 3, 3,) it is said :

ज्ञात्वा तस्य तु तद्वृत्तं भरद्वाजो महामुनिः ।
ददौ विश्रवसे भार्यां स्वसुतां देववर्णिनीम् ॥

This means that Bharadvāja had married his daughter to Viśravas, who was Rāvaṇa's father. In some Purāṇas this Devavarṇinī is said to be the daughter of Bṛhaspati. If so, Bṛhaspati, being Bharadvāja's father, she will be Bharadvāja's sister. But in any case Bharadvāja and, therefore, Divodāsa will be contemporaneous to Rāvaṇa and, therefore, of Daśaratha.

(9) Bharadvāja had helped Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta in getting a son, by performing a sacrifice (*Mt* 49, 29-30, *Hr* I, 32, 13-17). And Duṣyanta had submitted himself to Rāvaṇa (*Rām.* VII, 19, 5).

(10) According to *Sv* (*Śata*, 20) Añjanā, the mother of Hanumān was Ahalyā's daughter and Ahalyā was, as we have seen, Divodāsa's sister.

But it may be objected that Divodāsa Atithigva of the *Ṛgveda* and Divodāsa of the Purāṇas, *Mbh.* and *Rām.* are not the same persons. Pradhan (CAT pp. 1-8) has already proved that both the Divodāsas are identical. But I shall put the whole case here. I am doing so because this synchronism between Divodāsa (of the *ṚV* and Purāṇas) and Dāśaratha is of very great importance in settling our pre-*Mbh.* chronology.

In the Purāṇas, the name Divodāsa occurs in two genealogies—once in Kāśī i. e. Purūravas—Āyu—Kṣatravṛddha line and once in Pāñcāla i. e. Puru— Ajamīḍha—Nīla—Drupada line. In the first, his father is named as Bhīmaratha and in the second line his father is named as Mudgala. In *Mbh.*

(Udyoga, 117, 1—7 and Anu 30, 10—11) the father of Divodāsa is called Bhīmasena or Sudeva. Thus we get four names for the father of Divodāsa. Are all these Divodāsas separate or one ?

Now in *RV*, Bharadvāja in one of his sūktas, says (VI,61,1):

इयमदाद्रभसमृणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ।

This means that Sarasvatī gave Divodāsa as son to Vadhryaśva. This Vadhryaśva will be the name of Ṛgvedic Divodāsa's father. Now read with this the following from *Vy* (99, 200):

वध्र्यश्वाग्निमथुनं जज्ञे मैनकायामिति श्रुतिः ।
दिवोदासश्च राजर्षिरहल्या च यशस्विनी ॥

Thus the evidence of the *RV* tells us that Vadhryaśva was the name of the father of Divodāsa, who was the brother of Ahalyā. This gives us a fifth name for the father of Divodāsa.

The Pāñcāla line calls Divodāsa's father as Mudgala. Pradhan has reconstructed the line very ably and has shown that Mudgala was the name of Vadhryaśva's father. Thus the Purāṇas, at this place, either mean Mudgala or have left out to mention Vadhryaśva after Mudgala and before Divodāsa. Thus this genealogy does not come in conflict with the Ṛgvedic evidence.

Bhīmaratha and Bhīmasena are the same, as is shown by Pradhan. Such changes in the latter part of the name, are seen in the Purāṇas. Now, the question is—was there a Divodāsa, the son of Bhīmaratha or Bhīmasena ? *Vy* (61+30, 23) says that Bhīmaratha was another name of Divodāsa himself.

अथ केतुमतः पुत्रो विभो भीमरथो नृपः ।
दिवोदास इति ख्यातो वाराणस्याधिपोऽभवत् ॥

But the considerations that I have been making about the different Purāṇic genealogies, have amply shown that in the genealogical tables of the Purāṇas, the statement that a king was the son of so and so, has no value, unless it is corroborated by other independent evidence. All the Purāṇic genealogies, as shown below, are made up of collateral branches of, 2, 3, or 4 names and these collateral names have been made lineal.

Therefore we need not take the Purāṇas seriously, when they say that so and so was the son of so and so.

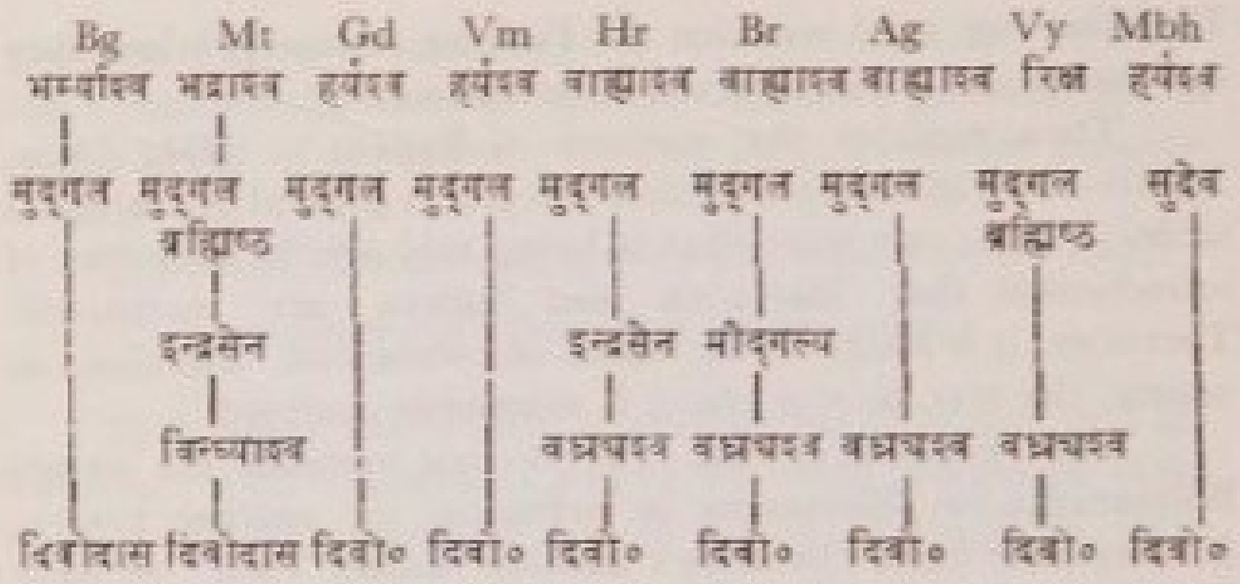
Then remains the question of Sudeva. *Mbh.* (Anu, 30, 10—11), at that place, does not give a general genealogical table. It is one story that is being told and it is by way of introduction that Haryaśva and Sudeva are mentioned. Therefore, it is likely to be based on some real tradition; of course, the text, at this place, is somewhat confused.

The position is this. I do not consider the names Bhīmaratha or Bhīmasena as referring to another person. It may have been Divodāsa's another name. Then we have got from *Mbh.* Haryaśva—Sudeva—Divodāsa. In the Pāñcāla line is given Bharmyaśva—Mudgala— Divodāsa. And from other Purāṇic and Vedic evidence combined, we know that the real succession was Mudgala-Vadhryaśva—Divodāsa. We put these together :

Mbh	*Pāñcāla*	*Ṛi—Purāṇas*
Haryaśva	Bharmyaśva	Mudgala
Sudeva	Mudgala	Vadhryaśva
Divodāsa	Divodāsa	Divodāsa

Now in the Pāñcāla line, Bharmyaśva is read differently by different Purāṇas thus : Bharmyaśva (*Bg*), Bhadrāśva (*Mt*), Haryaśva (*Gd* & *Vm*), Bāhyāśva (*Hr* & *Br*).

Here we find Haryaśva to be a variant and *Mbh.* has taken that name. So there is no conflict. I suggest that Sudeva of *Mbh.* was another name or epithet of Mudgala. If we take this way, there will be no conflict between the different lists. We find the position in different Purāṇas thus :



Pradhan has shown that Brahmiṣṭha in *Mt*, is an adjective of Mudgala and Indrasena in *Mt* and *Hr*, is really Indrasenā,* the wife of Mudgala. If, therefore, we take out these names, we get in *Mt*, *Vm*, *Hr*, *Br*, *Ag*, and *Vy* three steps:— Mudgala— Vadhryaśva (with variants)—Divodāsa. This only means that *Bg*, *Gd*, and *Mbh* have somehow omitted Vadhryaśva after Mudgala.

Thus we are able to reconcile between all the sources and are able to see that Divodāsa's father was Vadhryaśva and grand-father was Mudgala, according to all sources.

And, therefore, Vedic Divodāsa and Purāṇic Divodāsa are identical.

In *Vm* 63, 38 and 65, 168 it is said that Mudgala was a contemporary of one Damayantī, the daughter of Añjanā Guhyaka and Pramlocā. This Damayantī was married to Śakuni, the son of Ikṣvāku. Thus Mudgala was almost a contemporary of Ikṣvāku.

Now, we have to take note of three incidents in the life of Divodāsa.

(1) One incident is his family's feud with the Vītahavyas. It has been recorded in *Mbh.* (Anu,30,10—11) that Haryaśva and Sudeva i. e. grand and great grand-father of Divodāsa were defeated by the Haihayas. Vītahavya defeated even Divodāsa. And it was Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa, who gave them a crushing defeat. In this quarrel Vītahavya,Bhadra-

2. Pradhan has shown that this Mudgala married Indrasenā, the daughter of Nala and Damayantī.

śreṇya Durdama, on the one hand and Haryaśva, Sudeva, Divodāsa on the other hand, were engaged. This gives a good synchronism.

(2) There is a story (*Mbh.* Udyoga, 115 ff) about Gālava and Mādhavī in the *Mbh.* In order to pay gurudakṣiṇā to Viśvāmitra, his guru, Gālava had to give him 800 black-eared horses. He went to king Yayāti, who said he had no such horses, but he gave his daughter Mādhavī to Gālava, for the purpose. Gālava gave Mādhavī to Haryaśva, Divodāsa and Uśīnara in turn and they kept her till they had a son by her and then returned her to Gālava, along with 200 such horses. Then Gālava gave Mādhavī to Viśvāmitra, who had one son named Aṣṭaka by Mādhavī.

This gives a synchronism between Divodāsa—Haryaśva—Uśīnara, Viśvāmitra and Yayāti. Being a contemporary of Viśvāmitra, Divodāsa is at Rāma-Period.

(3) In the *Mbh.*, it is said that Agastya went for money to Śrutarvā, Bṛdhnāśva and Trasadasyu. Pradhan (CAI, P. 155) and Bhargava (India in the Vedic Age, P. 52) have said that Bradhnāśva should be read as Vadhryaśva, which is quite plausible. Here, we get synchronism between Vadhryaśva (the father of Divodāsa), Trasadasyu, Śrutarvā and Agastya. Thus being a contemporary of Agastya and Trasadasyu (whose sister was Viśvāmitra's mother) Divodāsa is at Rāma-Period.

Thus from various considerations, we come to the conclusion that (i) Vedic and Purāṇic Divodāsas are identical (ii) and this Divodāsa was a contemporary of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma.

JAGADĪŚA'S CLASSIFICATION OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

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Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra was a celebrated logician of late sixteenth century. He wrote several commentaries on various logical texts and a short manual of logic called *Tarkāmṛta*[1]. His sub-commentary on Raghunātha's *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* was the most important of all. This work is usually referred to by the scholars as *Jāgadīśī*.[2] It made Jagadīśa famous all over India. There were other commentators of Raghunātha's *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*, like Bhavānanda and Mathurānātha, who preceded Jagadīśa; but *Jāgadīśī* gradually outshone all previous commentaries. *Jagadīśa* wrote another important book, an original work called *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*,[3] where he dealt with what we call the semantics of the Sanskrit language. This book is also very popular among the traditional, orthodox scholars of India. In fact, the content of this book is of great interest to both the Naiyāyikas (the logicians) and the Vaiyākaraṇas (the grammarians). In traditional seminaries (*tols* or *pāṭhaśālās*) of India, this book is often included in the syllabuses of the degree in Nyāya and the degree in Vyākaraṇa. In what follows, I shall give a sketch of the subject-matter of this important book.[4]

In an Indian background, the close relationship between grammar and logic (Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya) needs hardly to be emphasized. Thus, a considerable portion of what is known as Navya-nyāya in India is concerned with what we may call the problems of 'logical grammar'. The task of

1. D.C. Bhattacharya is doubtful whether this book was originally written by Jagadīśa. See his *Bange Navya-nyāya-carcā*, Calcutta, 1952, p. 168.
2. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series 29, Benaras, 1906-1908.
3. Edited by Dhundhiraj Sastri with two commentaries, Kashi Sanskrit Series 109, Benares, 1934.
4. An annotated, systematic English translation of this book is under preparation by the present writer.

logical grammar is to classify the significant parts of sentences and to discover rules which determine the notion of 'meaningful sentence'. *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* is a book dealing with logical grammar in this sense. There may be some obvious limitations in our using logical grammar as a method in philosophy. There is the further limitation of this book since it is concerned only with the peculiarities of the Sanskrit language. But, for the Sanskritists, this book offers an alternative approach to Sanskrit grammar and semantics. Besides, it contains much material which deals with what may be called the 'universals' of language.

Jagadīśa begins this book by setting a strong defence of the Nyāya theory that *śābdabodha*[5] or our knowledge of the meaning of uttered sentences is derived from a separate source. It is derived from our knowledge of the syntactically connected words (*sākāṅkṣa-śabda*; *cf.* verse 3). Usually perception and inference are regarded as the two main sources of our knowledge (*cf.* the Vaiśeṣika system, the Diṅnāga school). Knowledge based upon authority can be reduced to some form of disguised inference. But the Navya-nyāya school contends that when we listen to the utterance of a sentence and immedidiately understand what is meant, we are not making any inference, nor are we perceiving what is expressed by the sentence. Our knowledge about the meaning of a sentence is qualificative or propositional in the sense that one entity appears here as qualified by another. The meanings of individual words or word-components are distinct and hence stand in an isolated glory. But in a sentence-meaning they are so modified as to appear as connected and organized in a definite pattern. Thus, Nyāya may be justified in being reluctant to accept the knowledge of this connected sentence-meaning as arising from the knowledge of some inferential mark (*liṅga*).

I am translating "*śābdabodha*" as 'knowledge of the sentence-meaning' in this context. *Śābdabodha* is sometimes called *anvayabodha*. This notion of *śābdabodha* is, in fact, an explication of the older term *śābda-jñāna*, which is sometimes translated as 'knowledge from *śabda*' or verbal knowledge.'

5. See my *The Navya-nyāya doctrine of Negation*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, pp. 146-147.

Navya-nyāya considers *śābdajñāna* to be a propositional or constructive knowledge[6] derived from a sentence-utterance. Thus 'knowledge of the sentence-meaning' seems to be an acceptable rendering of *śābdabodha* in this context.

Since our knowledge of the sentence-meaning is derived from what Nyāya calls meaningful words or significant word-components , Jagadīśa tries to define the concept of 'significant word' (*sārthaka-śabda*). A word is to be considered significant if it can generate the cognition of its meaning *only* in collaboration with another syntactically related word (see verse 6). Jagadīśa's problem here is to distinguish the concept of 'significant word ' from the concept of 'significant sentence'. A significant sentence is, according to Nyāya, a cluster of syntactically connected words that have a combined meaning.[7] Thus, even an expression like "*ghaṭam* (*to the pot)" is considered to be a sentence (*vākya*) because it may generate cognition of its meaning without the help of any further words or word-components. But the stem "*ghaṭa*—(*pot)"[8] is a *word* because it cannot generate cognition of its meaning without being in collaboration with some inflection like-"—*am*" (the accusative, comparable to English "to"). Although the meaning of a sentence like "*ghaṭam* (to the pot)" is not aesthetically complete, it can be said, from the Nyāya point of view, to be logically complete. Logically a propositional cognition needs only a qualifier to qualify a qualificand. The said sentence, even when it is unaided by other words, may generate a cognition of the form '*karmatvaṁ ghaṭīyam*' (the accusative function belongs to the pot). In other words, the generated cognition will construe the pot (meaning of the stem) as the qualifier of the accusative relation (meaning of the inflection). And thus, we will have an 'atomic' but logically complete propositional cognition. Jagadīśa further contends that even

6. I have explained the notion of qualificative cognition in *The Navya-nyāya doctrine of Negation*, pp. 13-15. I call the same notion here 'constructive knowledge'.

7. On the notion of *vākya*, see my "Indian theorists on the nature of the sentence (*vākya*), "*Foundations of Language*, Dordrecht-Holland, 1966, pp. 377-393.

8. Since the English equivalent of a Sanskrit word-base will be indistinguishable from that of Sanskrit inflected word, I shall mark the English equivalents of Sanskrit word bases with asterisks.

an incompatible compound-word like "*śaśa-viṣāṇa*-(*rabbit-horn)" is a significant word inasmuch as it can generate a false cognition of the horns' being related to some rabbit. Since only with the help of some inflection will such a compound be usable in language, we cannot however call this compound-base a sentence.

Jagadīśa classifies the significant word-components into three types : the inflectable word-base[9] or the lexical items (*prakṛti*), inflections (*pratyaya*), and the invariant words (*nipāta*). The *prakṛti* or the inflectable word-bases like "*ghaṭa* (*pot)" and "*cal*—(*move)" enjoy some sort of primacy over the inflections (*pratyaya*) like "-as" (the nominative) and "-ti" (the present singular indicative) in the sense that in order to merge the 'meaning' of a word-base (viz., the object 'pot' or the action moving) into the sentence-meaning we need to have a certain knowledge (*nišcaya*)of the actual word-base itself ("*ghaṭa*-" or "*cal*-") as being associated with some inflection. A word-base contributes its meaning to the sentencemeaning in a somewhat independent way while an inflection word contributes its meaning in a somewhat dependent way. An invariant word like "*ca* (and)" or "*vā* (or)" also enjoys some independence in this sense. But there is another syntactic feature which distinguishes an invariant word from a word-base.

Word-bases are of two types : nominal base or stem (*nāma*) and verbal base or root (*dhātu*). It is contended that a nominal base like "*ghaṭa*— (*pot)" or a verbal base like "*cal*—(*move)" can have an identity of reference with another word-base like "*nīla*— (*blue)" or "*mṛdu*— (*slow)". But an invariant word lacks this privilege. It is said that an invariant word cannot relate its meaning by identity-relation to the meaning of any other word-component in the sentence.

A nominal base is also called *prātipadika*. Jagadīśa resorts to some complicated device in order to mark off the difference between the concept of nominal base and that of verbal base. A nominal base needs the assistance of the nominative terminal inflection in order to generate a cognitive meaning with its own meaning as the chief qualificand (*mukhya-viśeṣya*).[10] A

9. To note one terminological quirk: a word-base is, in fact, a kind of word or *Śāstraka-śabda*.

10. See *The Navya-nyāya doctrine of Negation*, p. 15.

verbal base needs the assistance of an 'agent' inflection "*—tṛc*" (resembling the English-"-er") in order to generate a cognitive meaning with its own meaning as the qualifier (see verse 56).

Nominal bases are divided into four groups from the point of view of their semantic function. One is called *rūḍha*, viz., the class of words that express only conventional meaning in a sentence. Word-bases like "*gau—*(*cow)" in the sentence "*gauṛ asti* (there is a cow)"-fall under this-class. The second group is called *lakṣaka*. Words of this class convey metaphorical or secondary meaning in a sentence. Nominal bases like "*gaṅgā—* (* Ganges)" in the sentence "*gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ* (the herdsman lives at the Ganges)" fall in this class because "*gaṅgā*" conventionally means a particular river while in this sentence the same word has to be interpreted as meaning the river-side. The third group is called *yogarūḍha*. Words of this class agree with the derivative sense,-i. e., with the combined meaning of the sub-components, but at the same time express, by convention, only a special object which happens to answer the derivative sense. A word like "*paṅkaja—* (*born-in-mud)" should have expressed anything that is born in mud, but conventionally its meaning is so fixed that it expresses only the lotus which happens to be born in mud. The reason for such narrowing down of the scope of reference may be found in the forgotten history of the language development. The fourth group is called *yaugika*. Words of this class retain their derivative sense, i. e., agree fully with the combined meaning of their sub-components. Thus, "*pāṭhaka—*(*reader)" means anybody who reads. It may be noted that the composite word-base "*pāṭhaka—* (*reader)" is not to be regarded as a sentence, but when an inflection, viz., a case-termination, is added it becomes a sentence in the Nyāya sense of the term.

A word of the first group , i. e. a conventionally meaningful nominal base (*rūḍha-nāma*) is also called a *saṁjñā*. These nominal bases have denotative power (*śakti*) in the primary sense. They can refer to the individuals through some attributes or universals. The grammarians like Patañjali classified these words into four types. There are some that

signify class-characters or generic properties (*jāti*) as attributes. The word "*gau-* (*cow)," for example, refers to cow-individuals through the generic property cow-ness (*gotva*). The grammarians say that "*gau-*(*cow)" is *gotva-vācaka*, i. e., it expresses cow-ness. There are other words which signify *dravya* i. e. (material) substance. For example, the word "*ādhya*—(*wealthy)" signifies wealth or money, which is a substance. The third class of words signify qualities, e. g., "*nīla-* (*blue)" which signifies blue colour. The fourth class of words signify action (*kriyā*), e. g. "*cala*—(*moving)" which signifies motion. To put it in another way, we may say that "*gau*— (*cow)" *describes* an individual which has cow-ness (a *jāti*) while "*ādhya* (*wealthy) describes an individual which possesses wealth or money (a *dravya* or substance) and "*nīla-* (*blue)" describes an individual which has blue colour (a quality) and "*cala*— (*moving)" describes an individual which possesses movement (*kriyā*). Jagadīśa points out that this fourfold classification was also endorsed by Daṇḍin, the Ālaṅkārika.

This fourfold classification of the grammarians is rejected by Jagadīśa because, he says, it fails to make room for such words as "*mūka* (*dumb)," which signifies neither a generic character, nor a quality, nor an action, nor a substance. This word describes an individual which is characterized by absence of speech. Thus, we may say that it signifies an absence as the distinguishing attribute. It may be noted here that the Nyāya school regards absence of anything as an attribute much in the same sense the so-called positive attributes such as cow-ness and blue colour are attributes.

Jagadīśa instead favours a threefold classification from the point of view of a different principle of division : 1. *naimittiki saṃjñā*, i. e., words or nominal bases which describe objects by attributing to them some generic character or other; 2. *pāribhāṣiki saṃjñā*, i. e. words which describe objects by attributing some singular property to them; 3 *aupādhiki saṃjñā*, i.e., words which describe objects by attributing some imposed condition or property (*upādhi*). Since Nyāya believes that some universals like cow-ness constitute *real* generic properties apart from the individuals where they are instantiated, words like "*gau*—(*cow)" are said to attribute cow-ness etc. to the

individuals they describe. A singular name like "*gagana*— (*the sky)" belongs to the second group because it attributes a singular property to the individual. Other common names like "*dūta*— (*messenger)" belong to the third group because individuals denoted by them are grouped together by some imposed condition as the property of carrying message. Incidentally, this shows that Navya-nyāya does not regard all class-characters as *real* universals.

Under *yaugika* words, Jagadīśa discusses elaborately various types of compounds (*samāsa*) and derivative words (*kṛdanta* and *taddhitānta*). He also observes that there is another way of dividing the nominal bases (*nāma*). From the point of view of grammatical gender, we may divide them into three : the masculine, the feminine and the neuter. Here he refers to the interesting grammatical theory that gender-suffixes form an integral part of the nominal bases.

Turning to verbal base, Jagadīśa classifies them into three : 1. *gaṇokta* or lexical roots, i. e. those that are enumerated in the list of roots given by the grammarians[11]; 2. derivative roots, i. e., those that are formed from atomic roots and inflections; 3. the "*sautra*" roots or those that are either mentioned in the grammatical rules of Pāṇini or current in language as roots but not listed. This third group evidently accounts for those original roots which are new roots (like "*hindol*—" and "*āndola*—") added to the lexicon as the language grows. Incidentally, Jagadīśa seems to be indifferent to the fact that even a verbal base can have a contextual meaning, i. e., metaphorical or secondary meaning depending upon the context or linguistic environment, which is not the same as its primary meaning. Probably he accepts the maxim that any root can have a multitude of meanings (*cf. anekārthā hi dhātavaḥ*), one or the other of which becomes relevant to the context. Or, perhaps, he thinks that it is more suitable to talk about the contextual meaning of the nominal bases formed from roots rather than talking about the contextual meaning of roots themselves.

Inflections (*pratyaya*) are of four types: *vibhakti* (terminal

11 *Cf. Dhātupāṭha*; see O. Bohtlingk, *Pāṇini's Grammatik*, Leipzig, pp. 61-84.

inflection or ending), *dhātvaṁśa* (inflection that forms derivative roots from atomic roots, such as "*-san-*" or the desiderative suffix), *taddhita* (inflections forming new nominal bases from atomic nominal bases), and *kṛt* (inflections forming word-bases from atomic roots). The meaning of inflections are, in general, related to the meaning of the word-bases, to which they are added, by the subject-predicate (*uddeśya-vidheya*) relation. In other words, the meaning of the word-base (such as a pot) qualifies the meaning of the terminal inflection (such as the accusative relation). A *vibhakti* or terminal inflection can be either a *sup* (that which is added to a nominal base) or a *tiṅ* (that which is added to a verbal base). In this connection, Jagadīśa defines and describes in detail different case-relations as well as the semantic significance of each tensesuffix and mood-suffix. Jagadīśa's discussion may very well be compared with that of Bhartṛhari in the *Third Kāṇḍa* of his *Vākyapadīya*.

Jagadīśa deals with almost all the important grammatical categories and their semantic functions. We also find discussions of some important problems of philosophical semantics in many places of this book. Thus, in a particular section, Jagadīśa deals with the well-known problem of universals as meanings of names. He expounds the views of Kumārila, Maṇḍana-miśra and Prābhākara Mīmāṁsaka in this connection and criticizes each of them.

At some points Jagadīśa suggests some improvement of the Nyāya theories. For example, he is critical of Gaṅgeśa's definition of *Lakṣaṇā* (metaphorical meaning function)[12] and gives his own improved version of it.[13] As a Naiyāyika, he frequently criticizes the Prābhākara views. He refers to Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, as an authority in some places, although he rejects Patañjali's fourfold classification of the conventionally meaningful nominal bases. He often quotes from Bhartṛhari. But there is one particular verse, which he quotes and ascribes to Bhartṛhari, but which is, in fact, of doubtful authenticity.[14] It may be that Jagadīśa

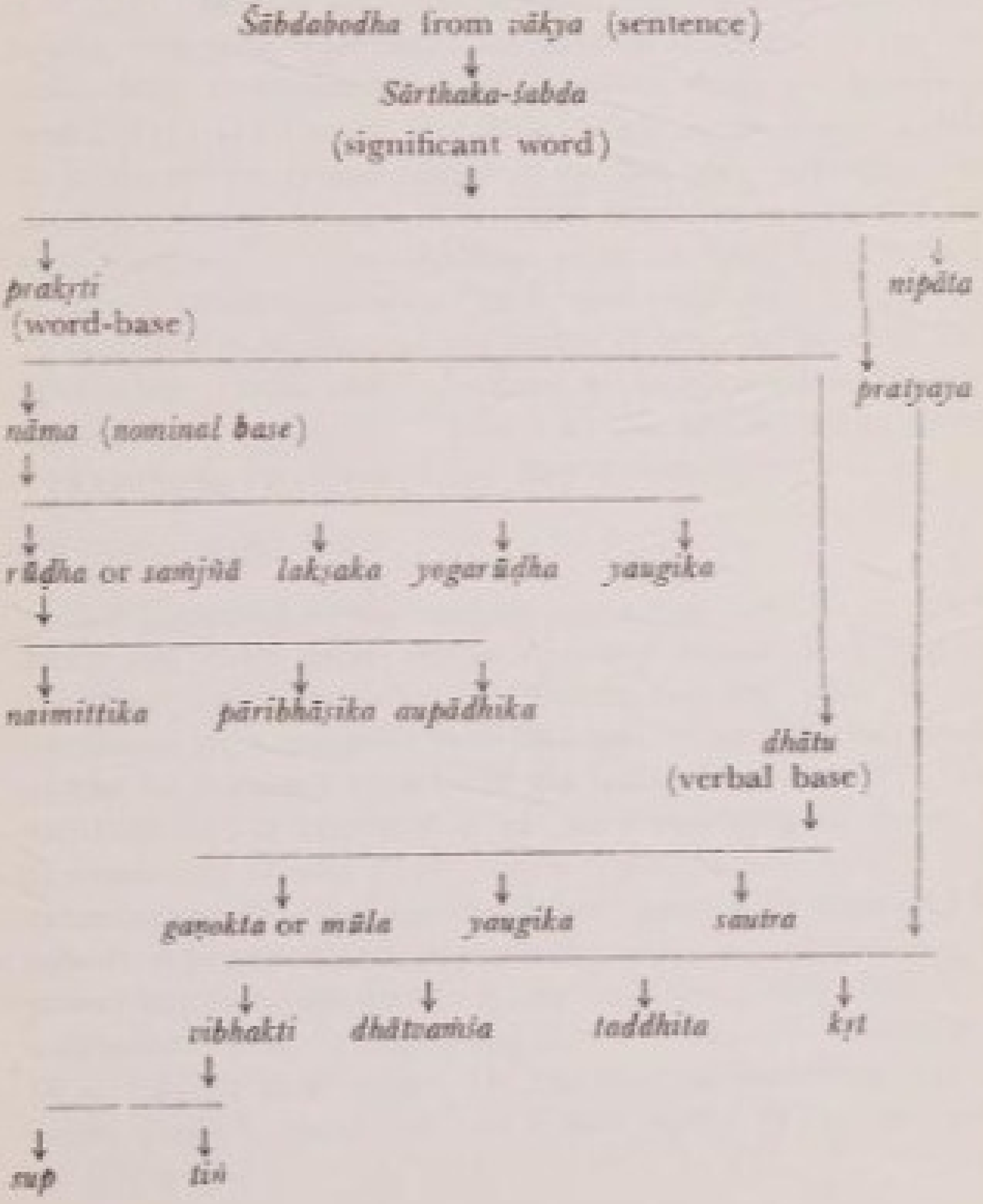
12. See *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Edited by Pt Kamakhyanath Tarkavagisa, Calcutta, 1884-1901, vol. IV, pp. 660ff.

13. See *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*, pp. 136-139.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

did not have direct acquaintance with the complete work of Bhartṛhari.

But the merit of this book can hardly be overestimated. Jagadīśa's classification is very systematic and sometimes quite helpful for the description of the Sanskrit language. He carefully avoids cross division or wrong classification. He tries to define scrupulously each concept so that each sub-class will be distinct and well-defined. Since he tries to define logically the basic categories which we generally grasp through intuitive notion, his definitions tend to be highly complicated. But this does not detract from the merit of his book. I like to conclude by representing Jagadīśa's taxonomy of grammatical categories by the following tree :



THE ĀGAMIC CONCEPTION OF TATTVAS

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A. TATTVAS

I

A Psychological approach

Introduction :

The Āgamas and Tantras describe the evolution of this world from their material cause māyā or matrix. They consider this explanation which describes thirty-six tattvas or stages of evolution better than the Sāṅkhya theory which explains in terms of twenty-four stages or emanations. Whether it is an improvement or not, it is clear that it is indebted to this Sāṅkhya theory. The Āgamas speak of thirty-six tattvas or emergent emanations with their own respective worlds, etc. In this essay these theories are looked at from the point of view of a poetic vision, and therefore all intellectual and logical discussions are avoided. This is an attempt at understanding and enjoying the vision of this mystic philosophy.

Awakening from sleep :

It occurred to me that for explaining the conception of Mind, the whole theory of this evolution should be understood. What is meant by Mind in Western thought with its unconscious, sub-conscious, conscious and super-conscious levels cannot be explained in terms of the Indian word manas. The thirty-six tattvas appeared to me as a psychological theory of perception at various levels, if one may use that term in that extended sense. Perhaps the theory starts with what may be called super-conscious perception, but for the purpose of proceeding from the known to the unknown, one may try to understand what is happening when a man is awakening himself slowly from sleep. He has been withdrawing himself within himself; sleep may be looked upon, as laya as such, an absorption.

Śiva and Śakti :

When he wakes up, there is a kind of a general awareness of something outside him; there is jñāna or knowing, but still in the laya-stage. He is not still active in the real sense of the term; he brushes away his sleep and he is now an active man of the waking stage. But he is still in the laya-stage because perhaps he is still lying on the bed. The objective world seems to have been evolved one stage further because things there are clearer to him. Thus he has passed from the Śiva-tattva stage to the Śakti-tattva stage; or to put it the other way about, the quiescent matrix seems to have been set into vibration by the penetrating sight of awareness of the seer. The first emanation is the world of general awareness or Śiva-tattva and a clearer active knowledge of the object is Śakti-tattva. In what follows we will confine our attention to the seer, because it is easy for us to explain how the object reveals or undergoes further detailed evolution in terms of the everexpanding perception of the seer.

Sadāśiva, Īśvara & Śuddha Vidyā :

Next follows pure enjoyment of this perception wherein knowledge and activity seem to be beautifully equipoised, that harmony itself being a definition of bhoga. This stage is called the sādākhya tattva or sadāśiva-tattva. It is the perfect union of the Mother and the Father as the mystics explain it in their own erotic poetry. But this is an enjoyment of freedom and joy. Whereas the ordinary enjoyments of the world fetter man, or the seer, the seer is, here, the Lord and not the slave of his perception. He enjoys adhikāra; adhikāra is activity and control. Therefore the conative aspect, the kriyā-śakti has the upper hand. This stage is the māheśvara-tattva. But this gives rise to a clearer vision, to a much more penetrating insight. Naturally at this stage cognition has the upper hand. This is the śuddhavidyā tattva. These are not really five different stages. These are five states or aspects of one indivisible whole. Here there is no time; these stages are beyond time; Śiva is the substrate. For understanding all these one may conveniently bring to mind Croce's aesthetic experience where no question of time arises, where there is no question of entangle-

ment but freedom and joy of pure enjoyment, where the perception and expression become fully equipoised, though from one aspect the one may predominate and from another aspect the other may predominate. Perhaps the Āgamas are here trying to give us an idea of the super-conscious.

The Five Cloaks :

When one descends down into the world, he experiences a succession of perceptions and events. Thus arises the conception of Time when he experiences the further stage called the kāla-tattva, etc. Thereafter he looks deeply into the objective world and experiences a uniformity of Nature, the law of cause and effect. This is his experience of the next stage—the niyati-tattva. Slowly more and more is revealed and he learns more and more about the details; what was unknown or unnoticed becomes clear. Thus he experiences the succeeding stage of kalā-tattva, the gradual removal of ignorance about this world. This kind of experience increases his knowledge and he comes to know more and more about the details. This increase in the knowledge of the world with the thirst for knowing more and more of it is the experience of vidyā-tattva which is the next stage. He experiences a new attraction to this objective world. His affective energy is kindled and he experiences attractive features which make him hanker after them. This is his experience of the further stage called rāga-tattva.

Mental set-up :

This may be looked at from the point of view of our mental set-up. But when one descends from pure experience to arrive at a detailed perception of the world as it is, one has to think of it in terms of time, therefore one has to experience time and also come within its fortress. Here starts the fetters, restrictions and the limited range of human perception. Therefore time or kāla-tattva is the first emanation here in this aśuddha-māyā as distinguished from the śuddha-māyā of the super-conscious. The framework of time makes our perception a series of successions. This succession is a chain of causation—the law of the universe—the uniformity of Nature so very

essential to human thinking though one may not give valid reasons for believing in this uniformity of Nature so essential for induction. It is in the very nature of existence in the aśuddha-māyā. This is niyati-tattva. Again on account of this, there is the possibility of learning by degrees, within this frame of time and causation by repeated trials and errors, when slowly errors disappear and our knowledge and command over Nature slowly widen. This possibility is also something intrinsic. This is called kalā-tattva, the gradual but partial removal of the veil of ignorance about the world. If man has to experience this world, instead of turning upward to the super-conscious, there must be the potentiality of knowing this world— the cognition of objects of the aśuddha-māyā. Man comes to cognise and function, because of the kalā-tattva. Pure intelligence of the soul goes to the super-conscious and buddhi to be described later on is itself an object. Therefore the capacity to cognise within the aśuddha-māyā is necessary in this framework of experience of the world. This is the vidyā-tattva. The affective energy or icchā-śakti has to be posited within this framework of mundane experience so that one can hanker after the worldly things. This fettering emanation is the rāga-tattva. The soul is now ready for worldly perception, wearing, as it were, this five-coloured spectacle of kāla, niyati, kalā, vidyā and rāga. This seems to explain the frame of our mental outlook, a frame which limits and directs our perception.

Puruṣa and Prakṛti :

The soul of the seer descends further down to become a mortal man equipped with his body and mind. The soul now experiences the world as an ordinary man does, partly ignorant, partly egoistic, sometimes greedy, sometimes hankering after things and sometimes over-powered by anger when he meets opposition. This is the experience of the puruṣa-tattva. Here he could distinguish himself from the world and his body as whole, i. e., in its causal stage and this experience is that of mūla-prakṛti. Hereafterwards the seer or the soul experiences the world in terms of sattva or equilibrium, rajas or activity or tamas or inertia which as it were emanate from mūla-prakṛti.

The experience of sattva bespeaks intellectual firmness, mental resoluteness, happiness in the face of great loss, cleanliness, good efforts, self-control, sympathy and mercy. This is the experience of sattva or peace and happiness. There is thereafter a burst of activity and he experiences the great attractions of the world, where he cannot but speak in terms of I and Mine. This is the experience of rajas. When even this subsides he experiences a lack of intelligence, contentment, enthusiasm; his laziness and sleep overpower him. This is the experience of tamas.

Mind :

Man is caught in the meshes of ignorance, but he experiences some knowledge, naturally, not the right kind of knowledge. When the sāttvic equilibrium is there he experiences the kindly light of buddhi. He understands things according to his own bent of mind, i. e., his own previous experience or karma, in terms of pleasure, pain and delusion. Then comes the experience of ahaṅkāra, the 'I' and the 'Mine' predominate where one individual feels separated from the other, and where the external object is seized. Here arises further the experience of the mind which as it were divides itself into two kinds of experiences. There is the perception of the presentation of the object. This is citta. Next follows an experience of indecision or doubt in this perception. This is called the experience of manas as distinguished from citta.

Sense organs :

Man descends and opens his ears and eyes and all the the sense organs. He experiences the soul, the moving wind, the light, the taste and the smell and also the sense organs. There is the experience of activities of the various organs of activity and finally there is the experience of the cause of the gross elements and of the gross elements themselves.

Sāṅkhya :

From puruṣa-tattva downwards, except for some differences the theory of the Āgama is more or less that of Sāṅkhya where

puruṣa turning towards matter deludes itself as being part of the latter. It will be clearer to go up the scale in the description of this part of evolution. The world is there appearing as a combination of gross elements, themselves arising from their subtle cause, the tanmātras. The former are sensed through their respective sense organs and motor organs and there is the experience of the sensations.

Perception and knowledge :

When perception starts, manas first seizes the sensations in its citta aspect and waves in doubt; ahaṁkāra, with its mood of self-assertion and egotism, resolves to obtain knowledge. Finally buddhi decides. The resulting feelings of pleasure, pain and delusion are governed by the previous stage of experience or rather by karma and in accordance with the predominance of sattva, tamas, rajas as the result of the karma. These three guṇas are from mūla-prakṛti with which puruṣa remains entwined.

Mind is matter :

Mind is part of the inert matter and the conflict between body and mind does not arise in Indian philosophy. Mind is the general name for citta, ahaṁkāra and buddhi. The reflection of cit-śakti falls on manas. Like the water in the lake passing through the sluices or channels to the fields and taking the form of the field, manas with the reflected light also passes through the sense organs to the object and takes the form of the objects. That is how one has perception. But mind used in the sense of consciousness can be explained only in terms of this Āgamic theory of evolution. Here we have attempted to explain it in the terms of psychology. How far this approach is successful it is for others to judge.

The details :

The logical justification for the postulation of these thirty-six tattvas has already been examined at length in English by others like Dr. V. A. Devasenapathy, for instance, in his

monumental work on Śaiva Siddhānta where in the chapter on pāśa or bond (from pages 138 to 166) he examines the pros and cons for the postulation of each one of the thirty-six tattvas with the help of Civañānacittiyār and its six commentaries. Therefore this is not repeated in this paper.

II

The ascent and the descent

Involution :

Really speaking this evolution of matter is involution from the point of view of the soul vis-a-vis-matter. Even as the ethereal gas becomes gradually solidified, the spirit or soul getting itself involved more and more in the matter, gradually thus becomes materialised. It is the ascent of the soul back to its real essence where it escapes from the natural or artificial contact with matter, that will be its evolution.

Māṇikkavācakar speaks of his own development from matter through various births as stone, plant, serpent, bird, good spirit, evil-spirit and finally as man. It would appear that he speaks of the stage of stone as the stage in the evolution of the matter where it enshrouds the spirit completely. In plants, this enshrouding is less, though there is nothing but vegetative activity. In this way Aurobindo speaks of the divine descent into matter. According to him the atoms of matter are eternal somnambulists and thus, according to him, each material object contains the antaryāmin. The plant is in a state of sleep full of nervous dreams always on the point of waking but never waking. There is the response to stimulus which according to Sri Jagadis Chandra Bose is the characteristic feature of life. The animals show mental awareness and subtler and greater activities. Man, however, passes from the vital mind to the reflecting and thinking mind. In the higher men there is a development inwards and outwards, towards a higher principle. The seers get beyond the mind handing over to the super-mind or śuddha māyā, the integral transformation. But Aurobindo's explanation will be easily understood in terms

of Kashmir Śaivism where māyā is the wonderful power of the cit-śakti, not a mere external parigraha-śakti or instrument of the Absolute as thought of in Śaiva Siddhānta. But it is possible to apply his explanation with certain modifications to Śaiva Siddhānta of Cittiyār. Śaiva Siddhāntins speak of various worlds in the tattvas or in the stages of evolution. They must be taken to mean the various developments achieved by the soul. Rāmalinga Swāmigal, the great Siddha saint of the Tamil Nad, where he is remembered and honoured as a great world saint, speaks of a number of worlds in commenting on a song of Cekkilār, which speaks of all the worlds"ulakellām". It will not be possible to go through his long list in this paper. But the names of the worlds given there, clearly suggest that they are spiritual stages. Sri Aurobindo speaks of the descent of spirit into matter through intervening stages of mind and life. He speaks of various worlds of pure mind unhampered by life and of worlds of pure life unhampered by matter inhabited by appropriate beings. His explanation may help us to understand the bhuvanas mentioned in Śaiva Siddhānta.

The Descent and the Ascent :

When man through Sādhana tries to achieve perfection, real evolution begins when slowly the material contact looses its hold so that man passes from gross mūla-prakṛti from aśuddha māyā to śuddha māya and the Absolute. Śaiva Siddhānta lays emphasis on the śaktinipāta, the showering or the descent of the grace of the Lord. It is then only it is possible for the soul to get higher and higher. Man gets beyond the warping mind, and takes refuge in the super-mind when he leaves everything to that great force. Thereafter all his actions seem really the actions, so to say, of the Lord. The following passage in Aurobindo's "Life Divine" is important:

"The Divine descends from pure existence through the play of Consciousness, force and Bliss and the creative medium of super-mind into cosmic being : we ascend from matter through a developing life, soul and mind and the illuminating medium of super-mind towards the divine being. The knot of the two, the higher and the lower hemisphere, is where mind

and super-mind meet with a veil between them. The rending of the veil is the condition of the divine life in humanity; for, by that rending, by the illuminating descent of the higher into the nature of the lower being and the forceful ascent of the the lower being into the nature of the higher, mind can recover its divine light in the all-comprehending super-mind, the soul realises its divine self in the all-possessing, all-blissful Ānanda, Life reposes its divine power in the play of omniscent Consciousness – force and matter open to its divine liberty as a form of the Divine Existence".

Kashmiri Śaivism :

(i) *Śuddha māyā or universal experience* :

For purpose of comparison and contrast and to a certain extent, for a better understanding of the Śaiva Siddhānta theory of creation, the theory of creation as explained by the Kashmir School of Śaivism may be studied. The Śuddhamāyā-tattvas are the tattvas of universal experience. The absolute Śiva is the ultimate reality. It has the transcendental aspect and the creative aspect.

(i) *a. Śivatattva* :—

This creative aspect is the Śiva-tattva where begin the initial creative movements. There is the 'I' the prakāśa-aspect and also its awareness of itself which is called the vimarśa-aspect. In Śiva-tattva 'This' or the awareness of itself is withdrawn through Śakti. Therefore the prakāśa or the 'I' alone remains without any objective content.

(i) *b. Śakti-tattva*

If the universe were to evolve, this unitary experience must become the experience of "I" and 'This'. In the Śakti-tattva the "I" and the "This" are distinguished but not yet separated, for Śakti is not separate from Śiva being His Kinetic aspect. A comparison may clarify the position. In the mind of the artist, his art-creation slowly becomes distinguishable though not yet separated from him before the art takes an

outward form and shape. "This" also is not separated from the 'I' in the Śakti-tattva. This illustration of the artist, will also explain why the Ānanda of the creative Joy is predominant in the Śakti-tattva. This illustration may be had in mind in following the further evolution of the world process.

(i) *c. Sādākya tattva* :—

The next tattva the Sādākyatattva where there is an assertion of the Sat or Being. The experience there may be roughly spoken of as one of "I am". This Being implies the vimarśa aspect or "This". But the "This" is merely implied but is not yet clear. The eye is not yet open if we may say so. This is experienced still as "I" as something in the depth of consciousness like the picture of a painter remaining as yet a mere idea. Consciousness is still the subject and the object. The icchā śakti, i.e. the will affirms that the "This" is there.

(i) *d. Īśvara-tattva* :—

In the next stage of the Īśvara-tattva the "This" becomes clearer. Hence the jñāna-śakti is said to be predominant here. The hazy idea becomes clearer with the artist. The experience in the sādākya tattva may be compared to that of "I am (This)", whilst the experience of the Īśvara-tattva may be compared to "this and I".

(i) *e. Śuddha-vidyā* :—

Śuddha-vidyātattva follows. Both the "I" and the "This" are here equally predominant. Both these aspects are still identical though distinguishable in thought. The two are equally balanced; it is said that kriyāśakti is predominant as contrasted with the predominance of jñāna-śakti in the Īśvara-tattva. All experience till this stage is ideal and that is why all the five stages are called śuddha stages.

(ii) *Real māyā (miśra)—limited individual experience* :

Then begins the evolution of the tattvas of the limited

individual experience. Some of the Śaiva Siddhāntins will call this Śuddhāśuddha or Miśra. It is here according to the Kashmir Śaivisms that real māyā tattva begins. The real nature of the Divine becomes hidden. Māyā according to them is something which limits and cuts into two the "This" and the "I". Now begins differentiation and individualisation. Māyā produces five coverings viz., kalā, vidyā, rāga, kāla and niyati. Kalā reduces Omnipotence; vidyā reduces Omnicience; rāga reduces self-completeness and induces desires; kāla reduces eternity into the past, present and future, and niyati reduces freedom and all-pervasiveness. When the spirit stands clothed thus puruṣa or any sentient being results.

(iii) *Puruṣa or Prakṛti (śuddha māyā)*

With this begin the tattvas of the limited individual differentiating the subject and the object. The subjective manifestation at this stage takes the form of the puruṣa whilst the prakṛiti is the objective manifestation. Therefore prakṛti, is the objective effect of kalā. The triguṇas are in a stage of equilibrium. Sattva, rajas, tamas are the sthūla forms of jñāna, icchā and kriyā śaktis. Then follow the tattvas in mental operation, the antaḥkaraṇas. There is first the buddhi, the intelligence which decides and determines. Ahaṅkāra is its product, it is the power of self-appropriation. From this result manas, building up perceptions, images and concepts. Next come the tattvas of sensible experience. The jñānendriyas, karmendriyas, and the five tanmātras, which are the primary elements of perception. Last come the material tattvas, the five bhūtas which are the products of the five tanmātras.

Kashmir Śaivism and the Śaiva Siddhānta :

The only difference is that in Kashmir Śaivism it is the creative aspect of the absolute that undergoes this kind of involution whereas in the Śaiva Siddhānta it is the Jīvas as distinct from Brahman that undergo this involution because of the inherent āṇava which can be removed only through the experiences made possible by such an involution into māyā or matter, which is again distinct from Śiva and Jīva, though

these two jīva and māyā are dependent realities as distinct from the independent reality Śiva.

An illustration :

The Śaiva Siddhāntins illustrate this dependent all-pervasiveness and independent all-pervasiveness in the following way. The all-pervasive space wherein the sea-water is found is compared to the independent all-pervasive Śiva. The all-pervasive sea-water is compared to the dependent all-pervasive Jiva. The salt which is all-pervasive in the sea-water is compared to the dependent all-pervasiveness of matter or mala. Thus this illustration brings out the Śaiva Siddhānta truth that the simultaneous extension of the three infinites is possible.

Meaning of Advaita :

The question is raised : "How can three categories be posited whilst the Vedas speak of only one Sat?" The commentary of Civañāna cittiyār on Civañānapotam explains thus. "All the Vedas state that there is only one category of reality. If so how is it that (Śaiva Siddhānta) asserts that He stands as one, amidst the souls, somehow affirming a plurality. The answer is that the Vedas speak of the God of Universe, as one. (They do not assert that the Jīvātman and the Paramātman are one). But there is still unity because there is no discord. Śiva stands united with them all, making a complete whole. This is the sound which is found in all the sounds of the language (which are manifest only after opening the mouth for articulating *a*). This is the conception of Advaita according to Śaiva Siddhānta." According to them Advaita does not mean that there is only one Reality. It only means that the three categories of Śaiva Siddhānta viz., pati, paśu, and pāśam form a unity without discord.

The Simile of 'a' :

This illustration of '*a*' in the other sounds is given in Tirukkural, which is considered as the Tamil Bible. Tamil Saints

whose hymns form the basis of the Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy like Tirujñānacampantar and Sundarar speak of God's primacy as comparable to the primacy of sound 'a' in sounds. Civañāna-potam also gives the example of the fruit and its sweetness and also of the sound and the music. These latter illustrations remind us of the Śvetāśvatara. "As oil is found in lin seeds, butter in curd, water in riverbeds, so he who seeks the self with truth and austerities finds it in himself." It is also pointed out by Civañānapotam that the Upaniṣad does not stop with saying that Brahman is ekam or one, but adds the word *advitīyam* not to deny the plurality but to assert that this plurality establishes only a richer unity in diversity.

Two interpretations of the Simile :

(i) *Maraijñāna : Union*

There are two ways in which this has been interpreted. maraijñāna tesikar looks upon this unity as making a complete whole. He interprets the sounds other than *a* as referring to the consonants and probably interprets *a* as representing the vowels. The vowel does not become the consonant; so also the consonant cannot become the vowel. Even as a consonant cannot, according to the Tamil Grammarians like Pavaṇanti, have any manifestation or articulation without the vowel, so also the souls cannot move of their own accord. Śiva pervades through all of them and make this dynamic world of matter and spirit possible. If God's creation has the aim of redemption of souls through the experiences which they undergo in this great school of the world, this kind of unity is necessary. The universe thus represents a democracy of Loving God and the Serving souls where the one cannot exist or have meaning without the other. The Śvetāśvatara speaks of the Brahman and jīvan as the two inseparable friendly birds clinging to the same tree. This gives a philosophical basis for the truth experienced by the mystics like Tirumalisaiyālvār who in ecstacy exclaims: "You cannot exist without me nor I without You". It is because of this Jñānasampandar speaks of his own speech as the speech of Śiva (enaturai tanaturai āka).

(ii) *Other commentators : immanence*

The other commentators take this illustration of the vowel 'a' as explaining the all-pervasiveness of the independent infinity of God, in and through the equally pervasive but dependent infinity of the souls. All become one through the all-pervasiveness, though distinct in substance. For the production of sound the vocal organ has to be opened and this itself implies the articulation of the natural sound 'a' according to Indian Grammarians. Therefore in every sound this 'a' is implicit and all other sounds are merely various manifestations of the natural a. Even so, God is all-pervasive. In this way God becomes the life of all lives.

Significance

It will be thus seen, it is this all-pervasiveness that makes the creative activity, the movement of this universe and the action of the souls, significant and meaningful. He is the Lord in everything else, since all His possession is under His control and guidance. As already stated there is no contradiction according to Śaiva Siddhāntins when they speak of three infinities. What a modern writer says may be kept in mind to understand this position of the indispensability of the plurality of infinitives. "The infinitude of knowledge and of love has nothing in common with the endlessness of space. To know or to love anything or anyone genuinely or intensely is to be 'infinite' in regard to that person or thing. The mind of Peter Bell was limited and imperfect not because it was other than the primrose, but because it failed to appreciate the primrose; the poet was free from that limitation, not because the primrose was, in any sense, part of him, but because he could appreciate its beauty and experience the joy of such appropriation. And, so likewise, in regard to the world, God may be 'infinite', not because He is the world, not because the world is part of Him; but because in and through Him, the world has meaning and significance; because His knowledge of it is complete and His solicitude for it is perfect. To me, at all events, it seems simply a misuse of language to call an individual finite or limited, merely because there are other individuals distinct from

himself. If there were no other individuals, then, his being would, indeed, be impoverished and sphere of influence confined".

Significance of evolution :

This value and significance of this evolution of matter consists, as made clear by Civajñāna Cittiyār, in removing the effects of Karma, in removing the warping effect of the āṇava and in making the soul perfect. This arises out of the creative lilā of the Lord.

Matter as Śakti—parigraha-śakti :

Though this theory of evolution speaks of the soul and the universe and though following Darwin's theory of Evolution one can speak of a warfare between these two categories, one has to realise the importance of speaking of this universal māyā as a parigraha-śakti. The term śakti reminds us of the Mother and śakti, because of the Lord, for the salvation of the souls to the extent it makes the soul according to Karma go through various spiritual experiences leading to its perfection. Dr. Radhakrishanan states, "Love belongs to the very core of God's being. Utter and complete self-giving is the nature of divine activity, though the power to benefit by it depends on the capacity of the recipients." From this point of view, the dynamic Unity illustrated by the example of the eye and the light (of the light of the sun) making possible any sight emphasises God's Love making possible by His pervasiveness the ultimate perfection of Man. Viewed thus the jagat or the world is a great possession of the Lord and Tirunavukkarasar through his experiences has seen that Lord has no possession except this jagat.

Value of body :

Therefore the contradiction between body and soul should not be overemphasised. One does not identify oneself with the body; nor should one forget it altogether. Apart from the physical body Śaiva Siddhānta speaks of the sūkṣma

śarīra, consisting of the buddhi, ahaṅkāra, manas, the pañca tanmātrās which eight make up what is called puriaṣṭaka. The impressions of Karma are here stored, and the effect is that the personality of the individual gradually changes till he escapes from the causal wheel to attain perfection and salvation. It will be seen that here mind also is material and is part of this inner body. This body or cloak has its subtler and subtler forms as explained in terms of the various tattvas.

Tattvas and harmony of religions—More comprehensive

This conception of tattvas as various stages of spiritual development, as realised when there is the ascent towards God, is important. The Śaiva Siddhāntins, (like others) look upon the various religions not as mere theories but expressing spiritual experiences undergone by the followers of other religions till they reach the final goal of Śaiva Siddhānta. These graded experiences are according to the Śaiva Siddhāntins the graded tattvas. The Śaiva Siddhāntin alone admits 36 tattvas whilst others admit never so many. Those who admit more principles than others, to that extent are claimed to react a more comprehensive stage than others who had failed to note these others. In view of the all-comprehensive nature the other religions recognising lesser number of tattvas are not rejected but accepted to be true within their respective grades, their acts and practices being valid to that extent. These are sublated and transcended by Śaiva Siddhānta. In this way Śaiva Siddhānta claims to harmonise all religions and faiths.

Not a superior air :

Sometimes this view may appear like an intolerance. It has to be realised that these statements are made not for criticising others in a debate, but for helping the spiritual aspirants of Śaiva Siddhānta to understand the various statements of other religions in terms of their own experiences. It is very difficult to equate these of one religion with the other. Therefore unless the Guru can explain to the aspiring śiṣyas in terms of their experiences, one could not understand them completely. For instance, the unqualified monistic experience is sometimes

equated with the experience of the buddhi tattva. But sometimes the same as described by Nirāmayānanda is equated with the experience of the Sakti tattva by Velliyampala t-tampirān.

Significance of parapakṣam in Cittiyar :

The importance of parapakṣa (the views of other faiths, for instance, in Civajñāna cittiyar has to be emphasised from this point of view. For Nanāvaraṇa vilakkam which is in essence an expansion of Civajñāna Cittiyār, there is a commentary by Velliyampalattampiran which still further explains this point of view. Civajñāna Cittiyār itself in the invocatory verse worshipping Śiva states that God Śiva Himself is the reality or the Ultimate Truth, explaining the experience of the various philosophers differing according to the status reached by the various aspirants. Civajñāna Cittiyār (verse 162) further states that the different religions, attain the respective tattvas according to their religious development. Vilakkam explains this at length from verses 630 to 640 in its fourth part.

In Pratyabijñā :

Sūtra 8 of Pratyabijñāhṛdaya is also relevent here.

"tadbhūmikāḥ sarvadarśana-sthitayaḥ" "The stands taken by all the systems of philosophy are merely the varied roles of that consciousness of Self". The ultimate reality of the Cārvākas is the experience of body. The followers of Nyāya experience the buddhi. So do Mīmāṁsakas. The Pāñcarātras identify the self as prakṛti and so on and so forth.

Harmony—a realised experience :

But the harmonisation of all these is only possible for persons like Ramakrishna Paramahaṁsa or Autobindo. Ramakrishna experienced not only the tāntric truth, thanks to the Yoginī, his Guru; but also he realised the advaita experience with the help of the Vedantin Totatri. Paramahaṁsa thus realised the relative consciousness and the absolute consciousness. He also underwent the Christian, Muslim and mystic sādhanas and in the end he tells us that all these paths

lead only to one Great God experience. We have again the experiences of Aurobindo. Before he attained the infinite calm settling in his mind, he had the glimpse of the vacant infinite enveloping and absorbing everything whilst at Kashmir. Aurobindo surrendered his whole sâdhana to the inner Lord to obtain Him in every direction. Then there was the experience of a complete calm; but reality was not a void. It was then that within the four walls of the Alipur jail, he went beyond this negative experience and enjoyed the positive experience of the ceaseless and the permanent immanence of Krishna in everything. Ultimately he succeeded in bringing down the supermental to the level of ordinary consciousness which is destined to raise the earth-consciousness and transform everything here. In all these, his experience may remind us of the Âgamic tattvas.

Science of mystic experience :

But this is not the place for explaining the science of the mystic experience. It is attempted only to emphasise here that Śaiva Siddhānta like other Indian darśanas starts with the mystic experiences of our saints, not with dogmas or mere hypotheses. Thus Dr. Radhakrishnan says, 'Philosophy of religion rejects the high *a priori* road of speculative theology and the apologetic method of dogmatic theology and adopts a scientific view of religious experience and examines with detachment and impartiality the spiritual history of man, has in it the promise of a spiritual idealism which is opposed to the disintegrating forces of scientific naturalism on the one hand and religious dogmatism on the other''.

Debates :

It is within the possibility of the science of mystic experience, that the evolution of matter had been explained. But as already stated, there is a condemnation of the principles of other religions because the experience of others are equated with lower kinds of experience. Verse No. 16 in Civajñāna Cittiyār, even speaks of religions which are mixed with untruth. The reference is to the philosophical explanations rather

than to the truth of experience. We have already remarked that unqualified monism is equated according to the way in which the experience is recognised as that of the puruṣa tattva or of the Śakti tattva.

The experience :

Therefore this debated conclusion is not the conclusion reached through this experience by Rāmakrishṇa Paramahaṁsa or by Rāmaliṅga of the Samarasa Sanmārga fame in Tamil Land; for, the real mystic experience is the same, whatever be the religion which prescribes the sādhana. As already stated, the introductory invocation to Śiva in Civajñāna Cittiyār emphasises the truth that Śiva is the ultimate reality of all the religions. Again this idea is stated in a different way in verse No. 115 though here also there is an attack on the deities worshipped. Jñānāvaraṇa Vilakkam in the aḷaviyal (verse No. 109) which is a verse taken from Śivappirakāśam, asserts that religion is that where the conflicts and contradictions are resolved; it also states that the Book to be really so-called is that which resolves in a similar way the conflicts and contradictions of all the philosophies. Therefore it is this harmony which has been realised by the mystics, that will lead to the science of mystic experience.

VI

Importance of the evolution of Tattvas in Śaiva Siddhānta

Cittiyār :

Often this theory of spiritual evolution has been neglected. Śivajñānapotam, because of its brevity has not much opportunity to elaborate this. But Civajñāna Cittiyār sufficiently elaborates this theory by explaining the various stages or tattvas. In the first sūtra he described the evolution of the śuddhamāyā and the vāk from verses 38 to verse 45. In the second sūtra the further evolutions are taken up and described from verses 142 to 168. Umāpatiśivam, even in his summary treatment, assigns an important place to

the description of the tattvas. Civāgra yogikal is one of the commentators on Civajñāna Cittiyar but he has also written a popular book in verse on Śaiva Siddhānta and therein he not only explains this theory in detail, but also expounds the underlying principles of Śaiva Siddhānta from the point of view of this theory. It is thus seen that this theory occupies an important place in Śaiva Siddhānta. From the historical angle, if not from any other angle, the writings of Aurobindo certainly makes it necessary that one should understand the implication of the theory of 36 tattvas.

MOUNT NAḌODA— OLD NAME OF RĀMAGIRI

M. A. Mehendale, Poona

Rāmagiri, as the name of a mountain, occurs in the first verse of the *Meghadūta*. We are told there that a certain Yakṣa, when cursed by his master, had to live in separation from his wife for one year, and during this period he lived in the hermitages on the mountain Rāmagiri (*kaścit....yakṣaś cakre..... vasatiṁ Rāmagiryāśrameṣu*). The identity of Rāmagiri has been very much in dispute. Mm. Prof. V. V. Mirashi holds the view that Rāmagiri is to be identified with the hill Rāmaṭek situated about 27 miles north of Nāgpur. Shri W. K. Paranjape holds a different view. According to him Rāmagiri is to be identified with the hill Rāmagarh situated to the east of Amarakaṇṭak, the place of origin of the river Narmadā. Shri Paranjape has argued out his case at great length in his book in Marathi—*Meghadūtāvar navā prakāś* (मेघदूतावर नवा प्रकाश) published from Poona in July 1958. This found a quick rejoinder from Prof. Mirashi in his Marathi book—*Meghadūtātīl Rāmagiri arthāt Rāmaṭek* (मेघदूतातील रामगिरि अर्थात् रामटेक) published from Nagpur in December 1958. Prof. Mirashi's subsequent papers written in Marathi in reply to his critics have found place in the fourth volume of the *Saṁśodhanamuktāvali* published from Nagpur in 1961.

It is not intended here to go into the details of the arguments put forward by Prof. Mirashi and Shri Paranjape in support of their respective views. It may, however, be stated that in the light of the available evidence, Prof. Mirashi's view has better claim for acceptance. While describing the route of the cloud-messenger the Yakṣa clearly directs him to go to the north even before he has reached the river Narmadā on his way. The first reference to this northward journey occurs in verse 14 where the cloud-messenger is asked to stand facing the *north* while moving up in the sky in order to proceed on his journey (*utpatodaṅmukhaḥ khaṁ*). Then

again in verse 16, the messenger, after he has ascended the Māla plateau, is asked to turn a little to the *west* and then again proceed to the *north* (*kiñcit paścād vraja laghugatir bhūya evottareṇa*). In this northward journey the cloud will be able to rest for a while on the mountain Āmrakūṭa and later see the river Revā. This clearly shows that the identity of Rāmagiri is to be sought in a place situated south of Narmadā and not in any other direction.

The main point of this paper, however, is different. It is intended to point out that the mountain Rāmagiri had *probably* a different name in the centuries preceding the commencement of the Christian era.

In verse 14 of the *Meghadūta*, already referred to above, when the Yakṣa asks the cloud to start on its journey he describes the mountain Rāmagiri as having juicy *nicula* plants on it (*sthānād asmāt sarasaniculāt.*). The Yakṣa, on such an occasion, could not have chosen this as a random description of the mountain. There must have been indeed many *nicula* plants around the Yakṣa on Rāmagiri and hence it must have struck him as a very special characteristic of the mountain.

Now a mountain Naḍoda is referred to about five times in the Bhārhut inscriptions. These inscriptions are numbered B. 70, B. 73, B. 74, 75 and B. 76, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II, Part II (pp. 166-173) edited by Lüders. The text and translation of these inscriptions as given by Lüders are as follows:

B. 70 *Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode.*
'The banyan tree Bahuhathika (*Bahuhastika*; of many elephants) on (Mount) Naḍoda'.

B. 73 *Veḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate.*
'Veḍuka milks the tattered garment on Mount Naḍoda.'

B. 74 *Jabū Naḍode pavate.*
'The rose-apple tree on Mount Naḍoda.'

B. 75 *Dusito giri dadati Na..*
'Dusita presents the mountain Na (ḍoda?)'.

B. 76 *Naḍoḍāpīḍe dhenachako*
'The dhenachaka (?) at the foot of (Mount) Naḍoda.'

From the above inscriptions, Lüders rightly concludes that certain legends, in which figured miraculous objects like a food-giving tree or a tattered cloth that could be milked, had gathered round the mount Naḍoda. On the basis of another inscription, numbered B. 81 which reads as *bahu-hathika ḍiana bhagavato Mahādevasa* 'The seat Bahuhathika ('where there are many elephants') of the holy Mahādeva'. Lüders further concludes that the person of the Buddha must have played a role in these legends connected with mount Naḍoda. This would suggest that in the 2nd century B. C., which is roughly the date of the Bhārhut inscriptions, mount Naḍoda was a Buddhist sacred place.

As regards the explanation of the word *naḍoda*, Lüders observes that it is to be derived from Sk. *naḍavat*, transferred to the —*a* declension in Prakrit.[1] Thus **Naḍavata* can regularly give rise to *Naḍoda*. In that case, as the name of a mountain, the word *naḍoda* would mean 'the one which abounds in reeds (*naḍa*).' This immediately reminds us of the characteristic description of Rāmagiri, referred to above, as the one on which juicy *nicula* are to be found (*sarasa-nicula*).' If we assume that *naḍa* and *nicula* are generally, if not strictly the same,[2] it would be tempting to suggest that Naḍoda is probably the ancient name of Rāmagiri. The old name *Naḍoda* of the mountain was probably changed to Rāmagiri during the period of the revival of Brahmanism.

Another mountain Aboda also figures in the Bhārhut inscriptions. The inscription, numbered B 69, reads as *Aboda*

1. *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, CII. II, 2 p. 166, f. n. 2. On p. 169, f. n. 3, Lüders rightly dismisses Barua-Sinha's identification of Naḍoda, with Nārada as absolutely unfounded.

2. *Naḍa* is a species of reed, while *nicula*, *Calamus rotang*, is a variety of cane. G. Watt in his *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* Vol. II, p. 98 (canes) observes that reeds and small bamboos are sometimes, but incorrectly, spoken of as canes. Actually the habitat of *nicula* in this dictionary (p. 22) is given as Bengal, Assam, South India, Burma and the hotter parts of Ceylon. It is therefore very likely that what has been mentioned by Kālidāsa as *nicula* on Rāmagiri was actually some kind of reed.

cētiyaṁ[3] 'The Caitya on the A(m) boda the mango-mountain)'[4] Hoernle thought that the name *Aboda* is to be derived from *Arbuda*. But Lüders has ingeniously observed that *Aboda*, which can stand for *Aṁboda*, contains the word *āmra* 'mango', Accordingly he derives the word *Aboda* or *Aṁboda* from **Āmravata*.[5] This is supported by the fact that the relief on which the inscription is engraved bears a tree which is very likely a mango tree. From the above inscription we learn about the presence of a caitya on Aṁboda which indicates that like Naḍoda, this mountain was also a place sacred to Buddhism. From the *Meghadūta* we learn that the cloud, after it had left Rāmagiri and had gone beyond the Māla plateau, was to reach the mountain Āmrakūṭa. Since Naḍoda and Aṁboda both occur in the Bhārhut inscriptions they were probably not very far from each other and hence it is likely that the Āmrakūṭa of the *Meghadūta* is the same as the Aṁboda of the Bhārhut inscriptions.

From the description in the *Meghadūta*, Āmrakūṭa must have been to the north, a little to the west, of Rāmagiri. If Rāmagiri is to be identified with Rāmaṭek, as suggested by Prof. Mirashi, Āmrakūṭa will have to be in the Mahādeo hills. That there are mango trees on these hills can be easily verified. It is likely that some part of this mountain range was once called Aṁboda or Āmrakūṭa. Rāmaṭek on its part, if identical with Rāmagiri, should have many *nicula* plants on it. But the mount Rāmaṭek is not known for this. Prof. Mirashi tries to explain this away by saying that it is futile to seek today the same kind of vegetation on Rāmaṭek which existed there in the days of Kālidāsa nearly a thousand and five hundred years ago. This is true. But it would have been better if Prof. Mirashi had told us that the situation on Rāmaṭek was favourable to the growth of *nicula*. It may be pointed out that if the identification of Naḍoda with Rāmagiri, as suggested in this, is correct, reeds were present on the mountain for quite a long time from the 2nd century B. C. (the date of the Bhārhut inscriptions) to the 4th century A. D. (the date of Kālidāsa).

3. To be read as *cētiyaṁ*
4. *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, p. 165
5. *Op. cit* p. 166, f. n. 2.

If mount Naḍoda and mount Aṁboda appear in Bhārhut inscriptions and if the legends connected with mount Naḍoda find sculptural representation in Bhārhut, it may be surmised that these two mounts were not far off from Bhārhut. R. P. Chanda identified Naḍoda with a chain of hills called Naro, six miles to the north of Bhārhut (Mem. Arch. Surv. India No. 30,p. 6). About this identification Lüders observes: "The identification is attractive, even if phonetically it is not completely free from doubt, for then we should expect to get at least Nalo".[6] We have, on the other hand, sought to identify Naḍoda and Aṁboda with Rāmagiri and Āmrakūṭa respectively. Prof. Mirashī has sought to identify Rāmgiri with Rāmaṭek. The village Bhārhut is situated exactly 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad, and rather more than half-way towards Jabalpur.'[7] The location of Rāmaṭek is thus not far from Bhārhut and no difficulty is likely to occur on this account in the identification of Rāmagiri with Rāmaṭek.

An inscription, [*Va*] *ḍodapīde dhenachako* numbered B. 76 was referred to above. The inscription is supposed to have occurred on a pillar. The original has been lost, and the inscription has been read from an eye-copy made by Cunningham. The interpretation of the inscription has remained doubtful. Some conjectures have been put forward. Barua-Sinha identify *dhenachako* with Pāli *dhonasākho* and translate it as 'trim-boughed'. The meaning of Pāli *dhonasākho* is obscure. Lüders feels that the original Pāli was probably *poṇasākho*-Skt. *pravaṇaśākhaḥ* 'with sloping branches'. Lüders finds Barua-Sinha's identification of *chako* with Pāli *sākha*—, Skt. *śākhā*—phonetically impossible. He proceeds to say : "As known[8] from the inscriptions Nos. B. 73 and 74 several things producing miracles such as a jambū tree granting food and a tattered cloth that could be milked, existed on Mount Naḍoda, and one might be tempted to take *dhenachhako* as a misreading for *dhenuchhako*, which may represent *dhenūtsakaḥ* the 'cow-well'. i., e. a well which yielded milk like a cow; but in the absence of the sculpture all conjectures are practically futile."[9]

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 169 under B. 73
7. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. 1.
8. Cf. *Bhārhut inscriptions*, List of corrections viii d, under p. 173.
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 173

What Lüders has said about the above conjectures is quite correct. But since a few have already been put forward, I venture to add one more. Prof. Mirashi has published an inscription of the Yādava king Rāmacandra found in one of the temples at Rāmaṭek.[10] This inscription mentions the names of various temples, rivers and *tirthas* situated on and around Rāmaṭek. This list includes two *tirthas*, *cakratirtha* and *dhanustirtha*, which have been identified with places about a mile to the south of Rāmaṭek. Lüders already feels that the inscription has been written wrongly. Since the original has been lost, there is no way of checking Cunningham's eye-copy.[11] To the correction suggested by Lüders, we may add one more and read the inscription as *dhanucako*. Then it may be taken to refer to the region marked by the two tīrthas *dhanus* and *cakra* at the foot of Rāmaṭek. Perhaps the pillar on which the inscription has been found was a gift of some person coming from this region.

10. G. S. *Sardesai Memorial Volume* (in Marathi), pp. 115-134; also his Marathi book on the *Meghadūta* referred to above, pp. 86—103.

11. Hultzsch describes these eye-copies as 'unreliable' ZDMG, 40, p. 59.

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF KĀLAPRIYANĀTHA

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. *Mirashi*

It is wellknown that all the plays of the great Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti were staged at the fairs of the god Kālapriyanātha. Several Sanskrit commentators and almost all editors of Bhavabhūti's plays identify this god with Mahākāla of Ujjayinī. Thus, Tripurāri, an old commentator of the *Mālatimādhava*, says, कालप्रियनाथस्य महाकालास्पदस्य शम्भोः । "Kālapriyanātha is god Śiva at the temple of Mahākāla." Some other Commentators like Vīrarāghava, though they have not made such an explicit statement as this, still identify the god Kālapriyanātha with Śiva. Vīrarāghava, for instance, who first adopts the reading *Kālapriyānātha*, says:

कालप्रियानाथस्य कालप्रियानामिकाम्बिकायाः ।

"Kālapriyānātha means Śiva, the husband of Kālapriyā, i. e. Ambikā." He shows further that even with the reading *Kālapriyanātha*, the same meaning is intended. Dr. Belvalkar,[1] Dr. Kane,[2] Prof. Todar Mall[3] and Prof. Karmarkar[4] also have accepted the view that Kālapriyanātha was a name of Śiva. But while Dr. Belvalkar and Dr. Kane identify him with Mahākāla of Ujjayinī[5], Prof. Karmarkar thinks that he is identical with Survarṇabindu of Padmāvatī, mentioned by Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatīmādhava*. M. V. Lele, who located the temple of Kālapriyanātha at Kālpī, also thought that the god was none other than Śiva.[6]

From references in the Purāṇas and inscriptions I showed several years ago that Kālapriyanātha was a name of the Sun and that there was a famous temple of that god at Kālpi on the

1. See his translation of the *Uttararāmacarita* (Harvard Oriental Series), p. 15, n. 1.
2. See his edition of the *Uttararāmacarita*, Notes, p. 3
3. See his edition of the *Mahāvīracarita*, Introd. p. xxiv.
4. *Bhavabhūti*, p. 6.
5. Belvalkar would, however, like to keep this question open, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.
6. *Loc. cit.*

bank of the Yamunā. There is still an artificial mound Kālpi, known as *Kālapadeva kā ṭīlā* (the mound of Kālapadeva) which probably marks the site of the temple of Kālapriyanātha. Dr. Kane raised some objections against this identification in his recent edition of the *Uttararāmacarita*. They have been critically examined and shown to have no weight in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV, pp. 72 ff. In the present note I intend to draw the attention of scholars to some new evidence which has recently come to my notice.

I have recently been engaged in bringing out a new edition of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* critically edited by Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar. While reading the proofs of the new edition, I noticed an important extract from an old manuscript of the work given in a foot-note by Dr. Bhandarkar. It has a bearing on the present question.

In the *Prastāvanā* of the *Mālatīmādhava* the Sūtradhāra, after giving information about the ancestors of Bhavabhūti and about his learning, says:[7]—

अतो यदस्माकमर्पितं प्रियसुहृदा तत्रभवता काश्यपेन भवभूतिनाम्ना ब्राह्मणेन स्वकृतं मालतीमाधवं नाम तदेव भगवतः कालप्रियनाथस्य सकलजगदेकचक्षुषो विश्वात्मनः सूर्यस्य पुरतो यथाविधोपेण प्रस्थापयितुमहमुद्यतः।

Though all the plays of Bhavabhūti state that they were first staged at the fairs of Kālapriyanātha, they give no description of that god. So almost all commentators and editors of the plays have identified Kālapriyanātha with Śiva. The passage from a manuscript of the *Mālatīmādhava* cited above clearly shows, however, that Kālapriya was a name of the Sun-god; for he is described therein as 'the soul of the world' and the 'sole eye of the entire universe'. This description suits no god except the Sun. So at the time of this manuscript of the *Mālatīmādhava* at least, Kālapriyanātha was regarded as a name of the Sun.

Dr. Bhandarkar had collected manuscripts from all parts of India for his critical edition of the *Mālatīmādhava*. The manuscript from which the above extract has been taken was in the collection of Dr. Bhau Daji, a well-known researcher of Bombay. From Dr. Bhandarkar's remarks it seems to have

7. *Mālatīmādhava*, ed. by R. G. Bhandarkar, (second ed.) p. 17, notes pp. 50-52.

been deposited in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and may still be there. It bears the date संवत् १७६५. नभस्यामावास्यायाम् "the new-moon day of Bhādrapada in the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1765" and so it is more than 250 years old. So the extract given above is not likely to have been recently interpolated in the manuscript.

The extract in question is also not likely to have been inserted in the manuscript in the year cited therein; because for several hundred years past, people have forgotten that Kālapriyanātha was a name of the Sun-god. From some passages in the *Varāha* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas* I have shown that there was in ancient times a famous temple of the Sun at Kālapriya (modern Kālpī) on the bank of the Yamunā, where the Sun was believed to be present at mid-day[8]. These purāṇas are at least a thousand years old. Again, Kālapriyanātha is mentioned in the plays of Bhavabhūti, who flourished in the first quarter of the eighth century A. D. We next get a reference to the temple of Kālapriya in the Cambay plates in the description of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III's invasion of Kanauj, which probably occurred in A. D. 918.[9]. From the description we learn that the temple of Kālapriya had an extensive courtyard. which could accommodate the entire army of Indra III. The next reference to Kālapriya occurs in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, from which we learn that it was situated to the south of Kanauj.[10] Rājaśekhara flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.D. We have not come across any references to Kālapriyanātha in later works. So none is likely to have inserted the afore-cited description of Kālapriyanātha in the manuscript of the *Mālatīmādhava* after the eleventh century A. D.

It is not unlikely that the afore-cited passage about Kālapriyanātha being the soul of the world and the sole eye of the entire universe is from the pen of Bhavabhūti himself. In the Introduction to his edition of the *Mālatīmadhava* Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked,[11] "Looking to the fact that the groups (of manuscripts) give reading which are intelligible

8. See my *Studies in Indology*, Vol I (second ed., 1968), pp. 37 f.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VII, pp. 36 f.
10. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (Gaikwad's Or. Series), p. 94.
11. *Mālatīmādhava* (second ed.), Preface, p. vi.

enough and often equally good, though, a shade of difference can be discovered, which renders one preferable to the other, the conviction forced itself upon me that these changes were made by the poet himself at different times and some Mss. have preserved the earlier form and others the later." This was also the opinion of Todar Mall, who has critically edited the *Mahāvīracarita*. After referring to the afore-cited remarks of Dr. Bhandarkar, he says,[12] "I am inclined to think that the same remark applied to the Mss. of the *Mahāvīracarita*. It is likely that before completing this drama Bhavabhūti had his Mss. circulated among his contemporary poets or critics, who however, did not show much appreciation of it. This threw the poet into a rage, to which he gave open utterance in his *Mal.* I. 8. The incomplete text (ending with V. 46) is, I hold, preserved in the Mss. of the Southern Group. Some time afterwards, Bhavabhūti not only completed the text to the end of Act V, but also went through the original. This revised text travelled to the North, where it now appears in the Mss. of the Northern Group."

It seems likely, therefore, that the description of Kālapriyanātha as the Sun-god noticed in the afore-mentioned old Mss. of the *Mālatimādhava* was inserted by Bhavabhūti himself. In any case it leaves no doubt now that Kālapriyanātha was the name of the Sun-god and not that of Śiva at Ujjayinī or any other place.[13]

12. *Mahāvīracarita*, Introd., p. viii.

13. Since this article was typed, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Director, Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, informs me in response to my inquiry that there is another manuscript (No. 437 of 1887-91) in the Manuscripts Library of the Institute, which also has the passage cited above from the MS. of Bhau Daji. This has corroborated the conclusion in this article.

A STUDY OF NORTH-EASTERN SCHOOL OF PAINTING

K. K. *Mishra*

The kaleidoscopic view of life in North-Eastern India as revealed in contemporary literature affords an interesting study of various arts. But scholars differ whether there was any form of art in this part (Mithila), which was the citadel of Brahmanical culture.

On this problem, one of the scholars has rightly pointed out that artistic sensitiveness coupled with intellectual subtlety has continued in Mithila for ages. It is true that the most subtle forms of logical analysis that the world has known originated here but artistic achievement too flowed from times immemorial.

Of course, painting did not occupy the same position as that of music which developed conspicuously as an independent school in Mithila. Locana's *Rāgtaraṅgiṇi* is a monumental work on the Mithila school of music, but on the other hand, painting had its independent status if we agree with Blake, who puts it thus: 'Shall painting be confined to the sordid drudgery of facsimile representations of merely moral and perishing substances and not be as poetry and music are, elevated into its own proper sphere of invention and visionary conception ?'

The Mithila school of painting (a part of North-Eastern school) developed on solid grounds, not as the mere hobby of sensitive individuals but as an activity of the community at large, full of traditions and life.

Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākur's *Varṇaratnākara* (14th Cent.) a prose-work dealing with the various things in the world gives ample evidences of artistes, their work and materials. It goes without saying that the material for artiste's environment was available in plenty in this part. The extreme North-Eastern side of Bihar known as "the forest of honey and the region with its mango-grove, fertile rice-lands, fields of sugarcane and lotus-ponds, provided, a suitable background for the emotions of artistes."

The subject-matter of beautiful Kangra, Garhwal and Ramnagar (Punjab Hills) painting kept in Victoria Albert Museum, London bear analogy with the ideas expressed by Vidyāpati, the famous Nightingale of Mithila in his poems. In a Kangra School painting (C. 1800), Rādhā is depicted in her fever of love for Lord Krishna. The national poet paints the same idea in verses, as W. G. Archer has shown it his latest work, 'The Love Songs of Vidyapati'.

If Garhwal, Rajasthan and the Punjab Hills can claim paintings in various forms of distortions and intensity, Vidyāpati could also repeat the same in various lyrics, such as First Rapture, The Demon Moon, Honey in life and so on. To some students of literature, it may come as a surprise that living long before, in the Middle Ages, Indian poets also should have shown so deep an understanding of modern love and could paint it so vividly.

The importance of the Mithila school of painting can be judged by studying the various types of sensibility which they express. A systematic study of the place of painting in society, the function it serves and the circumstances in which it is produced can alone give an idea about the development of this independent style.

Its form and process :

Paintings discovered mainly on the walls of a house evoke and project the art of this school. On paper and canvas too, it is available but their number is not large, Fans, pottery, *sikki* goods and dishes bear drawings which have some significance. Floral drawings known as *Aripans* are available in plenty.

These wall-paintings, will appear to a scholar to be of a temporary character and can be in no way regarded as true art. Such a state of affairs developed in this area as there was no class and painting existed as a necessity. The future was not the concern of the painters. The act of painting was carried on as part of the culture and so long as the culture persisted there was no need for particular paintings to remain. Mithila painting, therefore, was natural.

A suitable wall surface, necessary paints and a few brushes were the only requirements for the painters of this school. The paints were prepared on indigenous lines. Goat's milk for instance, was mixed with pink, green, blue and red powders. Black could be had by burning straw and powdered rice served the purpose of white. Painting was done by a group of skilled persons (mostly women) assisted by young ones. There was hardly ever any preliminary sketching and the outlines were done in a single glow of the brush. Of course, this was done with skill and filling up process followed. The style was maintained. A series of ancestral idioms were, therefore, repeated by these old people. If there was any deviation, it was only unconsciously done as there was no intention to modify the style. The authors of this school were, by training and temperament, very conservative and as such they would not allow a change in the painting. Moreover, the painting formed an act of ritual, the complement of certain rites. A set pattern, therefore, had to be followed. The painters had also a check in other ways. Their circulation in the area provided an opportunity to carry the same style to farthest corner.

The Subject-matter :

This school of painting had two objectives; firstly, to paint a series of heavenly form along with marriage-scenes; secondly, animal-forms; scenes from jungle formed interesting subject-matter. Painting at times became necessary as well as optional. Marriage ceremonies provided an occasion where these paintings were of vital interest.

A few palm leaf manuscripts of *Tantra* have Durgā-Kālī figures together with some *Maṇḍalas*. These are painted for creating an auspicious scene and invoking blessings.

Similarly, the entire *Gaurī-vrata Kathā* (known as *Hari Pūjā*) painting derives its subject-matter from *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*. The entire story of the Brahmin's and milkman's daughter is figured in as many as fourteen component parts.

In other places, the sun, the moon, bamboo tree, a circle of lotuses, parrots, fish, etc. from symbolical representations of fertility. Such expressions are often very thought-provoking.

The Influences :

The *Epics*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantras* have considerable influence over these paintings. The *Aripan* group of paintings carry tremendous influence of *Tantra* in the form of *Bindu*, *Rekhā* and *Koṇa*. Some scholars have traced its origin to Vedic times.

The *Swastik* (*Sarvatobhadra*) painting is to be seen in Vedic *Yajña-maṇḍapas*. The *Gopi-Cirharaṇ Līlā* (known in other ways as *Kadamba Līlā-Citra*) have their subject matter based on *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

The peculiarity of these paintings is that the figures do not attempt to transpose a literal scene or create a photographic representation of an ordinary situation. They appear at times to be unrelated too. For instance, fishes soar above the the head of Goddess Durgā. Durgā's arms bear a serpant and a peacock. It appears that these paintings aim at a general radiance. A single plane with flat discs has the basis of these figures. The effect is produced by developing linear sensibility of forms through colours. In certain cases rhythm too has been created by depicting a series of neatly regulated panels. The lines are firm, vigorous and precise too. The vitality of each image is seen and sequences develop nicely.

It is fortunate that this school is still flourishing even today and the form and subject-matter remain in tact as that of older times. The reasons are many; the authors of this school were mostly women who had no political pressure from kings as in the case of other schools. The paintings had, besides, high philosophical and Tāntric subject-matter which never allowed any change. Moreover, it was confined to walls and floors which conveyed apparently a form of decoration only and not subject of serious study. The style of these arts appeared difficult for the foreign invaders to the land. That is why we find this school still vibrating with the same old ideas and emotions as centuries earlier. Another most convincing fact was that it was a necessity of a ritual and hence the conventions were very rigid and preserved in tact.

Mithila school of painting carries a softness and delicacy that stirs deepest feelings. It transmits an inescapable element of strangeness, the sense of a novel wonder, a mystery burning at the heart of life.

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THE ADVAITIC CONCEPT OF ĀBHĀSA

Dr. Satya Deva *Misra*

Identifications of the Individual soul with the Universal self constitutes the very corner-stone of Advaita metaphysics. Śaṅkara's approach to this central doctrine through three different standpoints[1] has led to the emergence of trinity of theories in the post-Śaṅkara literature, namely Avaccheda (limitation), Pratibimba (reflection) and Ābhāsa (appearance), each of which has specific standpoints and outstanding peculiarities of its own. The first two are associated respectively with the *Bhāmati* and the Vivaraṇa schools and the third with the Vārttika. The theory of appearance, having been indicated, by the great Ācārya Śaṅkara himself, was systematised by Sureśvarācārya and expanded by a majority of subsequent Advaitins; it has determined the exposition of the Advaita topics pertaining particularly to the nature of jīva and Īśvara, causality and the bewildering mass of phenomena. But it is a matter of great concern that in spite of the guide-lines set by Sarvajñātman and other Advaitins[2] to distinguish between the Ābhāsa and the Prati-

1. (a) "पर एवात्मा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध्युपाधिभिः परिच्छिद्यमानो बालैः शारीर इत्युपचर्यते । यथा घटकरकाद्युपाधिवशादपरिच्छिन्नमपि नभः परिच्छिन्नवदवभासते तद्वत् । (*Vedānta Bhāṣya*. 1.2.6. Also vide 1.2.20 and 1.2.22; *Taittirīya Bhāṣya* 2.7.

(b) "सर्वदेशकालवृत्त्युपाधिवस्त्वमेकमेव ज्ञानं नामरूपाद्यनेकोपाधिभेदात् सवितादिजलादिप्रतिबिम्बवदनेकधाऽवभासत इति ।" (*Praśna Bhā.* 6.2.). Also Cf. *Ait. Bhā.* 3.1., *Vedā. Bhā.* 3.2.20, *Vivekacūdāmaṇi* 500, *Muṇḍ. Bhā* 2.7. 4.9; *Prat. Bhā.* 4.9 and *Sarva-vedāntasiddhānta-sāra-saṁgraha* 804

(c) "आभास एवं चैष जीवः परस्यात्मनो जलसूर्यकादिवत् प्रतिपत्तव्यः" *Veda. Bhāṣ.* 2.3.50 Cf. also "जीवो हि नाम देवताया आभासमात्रम्" (*Chā. Bhā.* 6.3.2.; *Laghu Vākyavṛtti* 2 and and *Bṛh.* 2.4.2.

These three different conceptions serve as the kernels of the above noted post-Śaṅkara theories.

2. " उपाधिमौपाधिकमान्तरं चिदाभासं चित्प्रतिबिम्बकं च । चिद्बिम्ब-

bimba scholars[3] sometimes confuse between the two and wrongly assign some of the supporters of Ābhāsa to the different camp. This misunderstanding arises generally from a tendency to equate both the terms 'Ābhāsa' and 'Pratibimba' with each other and translate them by a common term 'Reflection' which is adequate to the latter but not to the former. This is due to inability to grasp precisely the technical sense of Ābhāsa. The Ābhāsa, on account of his misunderstanding, has remained mixed up for long with Pratibimba. Its outstanding contributions to Advaita Vedānta have been sought to be brought out only recently in some works centered in the study of Vedānta with special reference to the thinkers of Ābhāsavāda.[4] The purpose of this paper is to highlight the implications of Ābhāsa at the hands of Śaṅkara, Sureśvara and their followers on the one hand and, vivify its importance and streamline the distinctions between the Ābhāsa and the Pratibimba as two parallel and separate schools of interpretation, on the other.

The word 'ābhāsa' and its synonyms have been frequently

मेव चतुरः पदार्थान् विविच्य आनीहि तदर्थमात्रः। (*Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka* 3.275. Also ibid. 3.276-81; तस्य च प्रतिबिम्बस्य सत्यत्वमेवेति प्रतिबिम्बवादिनः निरवयवमवेत्याभासवादिनः) (*Siddhānta-bindu* p. 16, G.O.S). Cf. also the Comm. on the *Siddhānta-bindu* by M.M. Sastri Abhyankar, p. 25.

3. E.g. Vidyāraṇya and Ānandagiri, both are the staunchest supporters of Ābhāsa. But Mm.Vasu-deva'astri Abhyankar in his introduction to the *Siddhantabindu* (Cf. p. 18) asserts that Vidyāraṇya has totally accepted the Pratibimbavāda. Similarly, Dr. V. K. Sengupta, the author of 'A Critique on the Vivaraṇa School' also mistakes Ānandagiri as one of the supporters of Vivaraṇa school.

4. The works under reference are: (1) The Philosophy of Advaita with special reference to Bhāratitīrtha Vidyāraṇya (2) Lights on Vedānta and (3) A Critical and Comprehensive study of the different Sub-schools of Abhāsavāda in Śaṅkara-advaitism. The first two are respectively from the pens of Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan and Dr. V.P. Upadhyāya, and the third is my own unpublished research work.

used in Upaniṣads[5], *Gītā*[6] and *Brahmasūtra*[7] and its threefold divisions viz. the jātyābhāsa, the chalābhāsa and the vastvābhāsa have been elaborated in the *Gauḍapāda-Kārikā*. The full implication and philosophical significance of the term have been adumbrated by Śaṅkarācārya and by other prominent preceptors in the successive centuries.

The ābhāsa or appearance, according to Śaṅkara is a semblance of ultimate Reality in the mind. Indeed, this semblance or appearance is neither the Brahman itself nor the mind but a third entity arising from a contact of the two principles and galvanizing the latter constantly through its presence therein. This may be compared to an image, which comes into being at the time one looks at the mirror. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* explaining its nature says that it is always acintya or inexplicable.[9] The term acintya expresses that it is neither real nor unreal nor both real and unreal. Indiscreetly it is apt to be discarded as a self-discrepant notion, but it is not so. Just as the appearance of the face is differnt from the face carrying the influence of the mirror, similarly the appearance of the self in the mind is different from the self being the imitator of its locus, the mind.[10] Though different from the self, it is decidedly false,[11] yet it appears as real as the Ātman or self like the mirror-face as real face[12]. Avastu (unreal)[13], anātma (non-self)[14] and cicchāya (shadow of consc-

5. *Bṛh. up.* 1.4.7., 2.1.8., 2.1.9.; 2.1.12; 2.5.19., 3.9.14, 3.9.15., *Chā. up.* 6.3.2. *Śvet. up.* 2.14., 3.17., *Prai. up.* 3.3; *Kaṭha up.* 2.10., 2.12; and *Nṛ. up.* 9.

6. Cf. 6.31; 7.7; 13.14 and 15.15.

7. Cf. 2.3.47., 2.3.50, 3.2.15., 3.2.18-21.

8. Cf. 4.45 to 52.

9. 'अचिन्त्यास्ते यत: सदैव :' (*Māṇḍ. Bhā;* 3.4.)

10. Cf. *Up. Sāh.* 18.32 "मुखादन्यो मुखाभासो यथादर्शानुकारत:।"

11. Ibid. (मुखाभासो यथादर्शे, आभासश्चोदिता मृषा (18.87); also 18.14.

12. (मुकुरस्थं मुखं यद्वन्मुखवत्प्रथते मृषा। बुद्धिस्थाभासकस्तद्वद् आत्मवत्प्रथते मृषा।' (*Advaitānubhūti* verse 63).

13. Cf. अवस्तुत्वाच्चिदाभासो..... (*Svātma-prakāśikā.* 37) and आभासस्याप्यवस्तुत: (*Up. Sāhasrī* 18.44)

14. *Up Sāh.* 18.108, *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi,* 165 and 220-22.

iousness)[15], according to Śaṅkara are other epithets of the appearance which reveal its character of falsity or illusoriness.

Śaṅkara discusses it at length in his *Upadeśasāhasri* to affirm his above standpoint on the appearance and criticises other views in this regard. There are four alternate views about the nature of the appearance which may be elucidated on the simile of face-appearance. (a) It is a dharma or property either of the face or of the mirror or (b) It is a property of the face or (c). It is a property of both the face and the mirror or (d) It is something real being other than the two. Saṅkaracāryā does not agree with these alternatives and criticises one by one as follows. The first alternative is not acceptable, as the appearance of the face, perceptible in the mirror, is a property neither of the face nor of the mirror. If it were the property of either of the two, it would continue even if the face were not in the contact of the mirror or the mirror were not in front of the face.[16] The second alternative, that the appearance of the face is a property of the face because it is called after it i. e., Mukhābhāsa, is also not tenable, for, it imitates the mirror and is certainly not perceptible when the face is present but the mirror is removed.[17] The third alternative suggesting it to be a property of both the mirror and the face like the Sandhyārāga being so of both the sun and the cloud is utterly groundless, as its existence is impossible even when the face and the mirror are present but placed improperly.[18] If this imperceptibility is explained otherwise on the analogy of the black pigment of the eye, this too will not help the situation, because no such proximity can be ascribed to it when the appearance is maintained to be the dharma of both the face and the mirror. The conditions of proximity etc. can in no case be upheld to be subsisting between the Dharma and the Dharmin.[19] Again if this non-

15. *Up. Sāh.* 12.6.

16. "मुखाभासो य आदर्शे धर्मो नान्यतरस्य: स: । द्वयोरेकस्य चेद्धर्मो वियुक्तेऽन्यतरे भवेत् । (*Up. Sā.*18.37)

17. "मुखेन व्यपदेशात् स मुखस्यैवेति चेन्मतम् । नादर्शानुविधानाच्च मुखे सत्वविभावत: ॥" (Ibid. 18.38)

18. "द्वयोरेवेति चेत्तन्न द्वयोरेवाप्यदर्शनात् ।" (Ibid. 18.39)

19. "अक्षिसामीप्याच्चक्षुर्गताञ्जनादेरिव तदनुपलब्धि: स्यादिति चेन्मैवमाभासस्योभयधर्मत्वाभ्युपगमाद् धर्मस्य च धर्मिणस्सामीप्यादिविशेषाभावात् । *The commentary on Up. Sā.* 18.39)

perception of the appearance is due to proximity, it ought not to have appeared even previously because of the said condition operating even then. So the appearance cannot be regarded as the property of both.[20] The last alternative that the appearance of the face is something real but perceptible only when the mirror is placed before it in a particular position, like Rāhu who is real but visible only during the eclipses, is similarly unacceptable because the existence and the reality of Rāhu are supported by the scriptures irrespective of its prior or posterior perceptibility in the sun or the moon, but there is no such unquestionable evidence to prove the existence of appearance before or after the contact of face with the mirror. Moreover there are others, who hold that Rāhu too, is a shadow of the earth and as such unreal. Again the argument adduced to refute the first alternative will apply here and will establish the unreality of appearance on account of the unreality of Rāhu. The argument of prohibition[21] regarding the crossing of shadows of the venerable teachers and parents etc., will not save the situation, as it cannot prove the reality of the shadow or appearance. A sentence exhausted after expressing one meaning becomes incapable of expressing another. The prohibitory sentence is effective and authoritative in respect of prohibition but not so with regard to establishing the reality of appearance.[22] To come to the main point, since the self, its appearance and the mind are comparable to the face, its appearance and the mirror hence it may be safely concluded that the appearance of the self is as unreal as the mirror-face. And this unreality of the appearance is also confirmed by the scriptures and reasonings.[23]

In some places Śaṅkara decribes this appearance as the light of Pure Consciousness or self (Bodhātmajyotis or Ātmajyotis) because of its capacity to illuminate the mind and other objects.

20. "यदि सामीप्यादनुपलब्धिः पूर्वमपि मुकुरसामीप्यस्य विद्यमानत्वादनुपलब्धिः स्यात्तस्मान्नोभयधर्मः ।" (*Ibid*)

21. "नाक्रमेत्कामतश्छायां गुर्वादेः and देवर्त्विक्स्नातकाचार्यराज्ञां छायां परस्त्रियः । नाक्रमेत् ..... ॥"

22. Cf. *Up. Sā.* 18140-41 and "योऽयं निषेधः स लोकतः प्राप्तायाः छायाया लङ्घनप्रतिषेधपरो न छायाया वस्तुत्वसाधकः । *commentary of* Bodhanidhi on *Up. Sā.* 18.40.

23. *Ibid.* 18.43 with the commentary of Bodhanidhi

The mind illuminated by this light of self masquerades itself as consciousness.[24] The modifications of mind too, appear to be endowed with the perceptive power, provided that they too are pervaded by the light of the self.[25] Those, who think that the illumination of Bauddha Pratyaya is possible owing to the proximity of the Sākṣi caitanya itself, and it is needless to accept the appearance as an extra category in this repect, are certainly mistaken, because the changeless Ātman is of no utility in illuminating the mind or its modifications and if we admit the above contention everything including inert objects such as wood and lump of clay etc. will have mental modification due to the proximity of all-pervading self.[26] In order to avoid this, it is necessary to accept the existence of appearance between the self and the mind in pursuance of the scriptural statements such as, "The individual soul and God—both are the products of appearance[27] and "The Supreme Being appeared into each form."[28]

Such valuable discussions in the writings of Śaṅkara clearly disprove the contentions of those who hold that Saṅkara's own theory was Avacchedavāda and Ekajīvavāda,[29] and lend strong support to the view of Prof. A.C. Mookerjee that there is nothing central in Śaṅkara's philosophy than the theory of appearance.[30]

Sureśvarācārya, the auother of the *Vārttika* formulates, amplifies and establishes the ābhāsa-thinkings of his divine teacher, Śaṅkara in his *Vārttika* and *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* He asserts in his *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*[31] that the Advaita Vedānta

24. Cf. *Up. Sā*, 'बोधात्मज्योतिषा दीप्ता बोद्धमात्मनि मन्यते । बुद्धिः (16.60)

25. *Ibid.* 18.71.

26. *Up. Sā.* नाप्यक्षेज्नुपकारित्वादन्यत्रापि प्रसङ्गतः। (18.75).)

27. *Nṛsimha Up.* 6.

28. *Bṛh. Up.* 2.5.19. रूपं रूपं प्रतिरूपो बभूव

29. Samvid, 1965; *Notes on Siddhāntabindu* by Sri-Chandra Shekhara Diwan, p. 94 and also, *Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti*" by Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya *D.H.Q.* 1931 vol. VII, p. 302.

30. Cf. *The Status of Appearance in Śaṅkara's Philosophy*, p. 91 1931-32, Vol. VII, p. 217.

31. Cf. "इह च पदार्थद्वयं निर्धारितमात्मानात्मा च । " (Chapter 3, p. 104).

knows no third category of being except the two—Ātman and Ānātman. Thus the whole world of phenomenal objects of names and forms visible or invisible from Māyā to the tiniest thing falls into the category of Anātman. And Anātman, in the words of Sureśvarācārya, is nothing but an appearance of one absolute reality, the Brahman.[32] The appearance is neither real nor unreal and neither identical nor non-identical with the Brahman[33] and is therefore often defined by Sureśvara as one which appears to be real and established fact until the Reality is not realised. It cannot brook any kind of empirical enquiry, reasoning or proof, being naturally opposed to all evidences and is therefore avicārita-saṁsiddha like Ajñāna.[34] Though illusory in nature, it is pratyak-citnya-rūpin[35] or an incarnate form of pure consciousness Brahman and distinct from the Ajñāna. According to the *Vārttika* it is one of the essential factors of the causality of universe. Sureśvara boldly advocates that the Brahman appears in the forms of Īśvara, jīva and so on, seated on the plank on Its various appearances located in Its Ajñāna and its various modifications.[36] It also attributes agency, enjoyment and other limitations to Ātman, which are in fact the characteristics of mind. The Ājñāna and its projected objects ever pervaded[37] by this appearance go under the nomination of Ābhāsa[38]. The relation between the Ajñāna and the Ābhāsa is of container and contained; therefore the latter is sublated when the former along with its products like mind

32. Cf. *Bṛ. Vā.* 2.3. 191. 'तदन्यद्यत्तदाभासम् ।"
33. *Ibid.* "वास्तवोऽवास्तवो वा न व्यतिरेको न चान्वयः (2.3.21)
34. *Ibid.* 1.4.329.
35. *Ibid.* 4.3.174.
36. *Ibid.* स्वाभासफलकारूढस्तदज्ञानवपुर्भिषु । तस्थोऽपि तदसम्बद्ध ईश्वराद्यात्मतां गतः ।" (1.3.53.)
37. *Ibid.* "अपि प्रत्यक्कमो नित्यं भास्वर्ध्वंतन्यबिम्बितम् । बुद्धितद्वृत्तयश्चैव तप्तायोविस्फुलिङ्गवत् ॥ (1.4.834). Cf. also 3.4.15, 4.3.355, 4.3.99.
38. Cf. *Bṛ Vā.* 'चिदाभासं तमो ज्ञेयं नाज्ञासिसमितीक्षणात् ।" (1.4.341); अज्ञानादित्रयं प्रत्यगाभासं..... (3.3.41) कूटस्थात्मचिदाभेऽस्य प्रत्यग्ध्वान्तेहितफलैः। विषयान्तैर्भवेत्भ्रान्तिः सामानाधिकरण्यतः ।" (4.3.392)

etc. is dissipated by the knowledge of the Reality as the appearance of the sun is annihilated when the water contained in pitcher etc. is poured out or removed.[39]

Sarvajñātman, who is said to be the disciple of Sureśvarācārya, has tried to bridge the gulf between the two currents of thought flowing from the *Vārttika* and the *Pañcapādikā* bringing the ābhāsa and the pratibimba nearer to each other and arguing the need of them in explaining the nature of Īśvara, jīva and the whole universe. He opines that four concepts constitute the primary (Vācya) and the secondary (lakṣya) meanings of Īśvara and jīva expressed respectively as 'That' and 'Thou' in the Mahāvākya 'That Thou Art' (Tattvamasi). The four concepts or padārthas are (i) the upādhi or adjunct, (ii) the aūpādhika i. e. the appearance of consciousness (iii) the reflection of consciousness or Citpratibimba and (iv) the consciousness or the prototype (cidbimba).

What Sarvajñātman means by Aupādhika-cidābhāsa is explained by Nṛsiṁhāśrama as follows—

औपाधिकम् उपाधिजन्यम् उपाध्यन्तर्गत चिदाभासनं चैतन्यस्योपाधिसन्निधिवशादुपाधिस्थत्व नाम धर्मो जायते स एव चिदाभासो नाम ।[40]

Thus the cidābhāsa or appearance is a characteristic, projectedness or locatedness of pure consciousness in the limiting adjunct, Ajñāna etc. owing to its proximity with the said adjunct. It is aūpādhika being produced by the adjunct and āntara i. e. innermost, being immanent completely in the adjunct. Like the adjunct this aūpādhika also is false and subject to gradual sublation in the process of Akhaṇḍa-vākyārtha-bodha.

The Ajñāna, the cidābhāsa, the citpratibimba and the prototype-cit are the constituents of Īśvara while the mind, the cidābhāsa, the citpratibimba and the prototype Cit are so of jīva.[41] The view has been elucidated through a simile.

39. *Ibid.* वृद्धपादिकार्यसंहारे प्रत्यक्चैतन्यरूपिण : । चिद्बिम्बस्यापि संहारो जलार्कप्रविलापवत् । (4.3.174.)

40. Cf. *Saṁkṣepa Śārīraka* with *Tattvabodhini* 3.275. p.977.

41 उपाधिमौपाधिकमान्तर चिदाभासन चित्प्रतिबिम्बक च ।
चिद्बिम्बमेव चतुर: पदार्थान्विविच्य जानीहि तदर्थभाज: ॥
तथा त्वमर्थेऽपि चतुष्टय तद्विवेचनीय निपुणेन भूत्वा ।
मतिश्चिदाभासनमेवमस्यां बिम्ब तदीय प्रतिबिम्बक च ॥
(*Saṁkṣepa Śārīraka* 3.275-76)

Just as, in the worldly reflection, a platter full of water is the receptacle, the apprehended locatedness of the reflection in the said platter is the appearance, the sun reflected in the platter and associated with the appearance is the reflection and completely unattached to the receptacle and the appearance is the prototype[42]. So also in the case of Īśvara or jīva, the Nescience or the mind is the receptacle, locatedness in the Nescience or the mind is the appearance, the Consciousness appearing reflected in the Nescience or the mind and associated with these is the reflection and the pure Consciousness unrelated to the above receptacle or appearance is the prototype or Bimba.[43]

A close analysis of Sarvajñātman's standpoint makes it clear that both the ābhāsa and the pratibimba are needed to explain the existence of Īśvara, jīva etc. The former is accepted for the substantiation of their so-called characteristics known as Godness (Īśvaratva) and Individualness (jīvatva) etc. and the latter for the accomplishment of their beings. The appearance, according to the author of *Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka* is therefore a medium linking the terms Īśvara, jīva and other worldly objects to their respective significances.

Ānandagiri, who flourished in the 13th century A. D. has supported strongly the ābhāsa-view of Sureśvarācārya in his commentaries of almost all the works of Śaṅkara, Sureśvara, Sarvajñātman and Ānandānubhava and also in some independent works of his. He is one of the chief exponents of the ābhāsa school. He has devoted his special attention to present comprehensively and clearly the philosophical and doctrinal implications of ābhāsa on the lines adopted by Sureśvarācārya. He has defined ābhāsa in several ways. In the commentary on the *Chāndogya-bhāṣya*, he defines it as 'आभिमुख्येनाहमित्यापरोक्ष्येण भासत इत्याभासः'[44]. In the context of other preceding and succeed-

42. *Ibid.* अप्पात्रमप्यात्रगतत्वमेवमप्यात्रगोऽप्यात्रगताब्दहिश्च ।
दिवाकरो दिव्यतिष्ठमानो न शक्यतेऽपोहितुमिद्धतेजाः ॥ (3.280)

43. *Ibid.* उपाधिरज्ञानमनादिसिद्धमस्मिंश्चिदाभासनमीइवरत्वम् ।
तदन्विता चित्प्रविम्बकं स्यादुदीर्यते शुद्धचिदेव बिम्बम् ॥
उपाधिरन्तःकरणं त्वमत्र जीवत्वमाभासनमत्र तद्वत् ।
तदन्विता चित्प्रतिबिम्बमेवमनन्विता तामिह बिम्बमाहुः ॥
(3.277-78)

44. Cf. 6.3.2, p. 297.

ing lines the definition may be put as, अहमित्याकारकस्वच्छप्रतीति-रूपेण भासमानत्वमेव चैतन्याभासत्वम्" Thus, according to this definition, the direct apprehension of I-ness in Ajñāna and its products is called the appearance of Consciousness. The second defintion is given in his *Śāstra-dīpikā* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārttika*, as "प्रत्यक्चितोऽवसतो भासो वाभाषः"[45]

The definition literally means that ābhāsa is that semblance of pure Consciousness which is depreciated. In order to bring out the full implication of this definition we refer to a similar line from the *Bhāmati* adduced in explaining the ādhyāsa-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara. The line runs as अवसन्नोऽवसतो वा भासोऽवभासः[46]. The author of the *Kalpataru* Amlānanda Sarasvatī, explains the word 'avasāda' as uccheda and avamāna as yauktika-tiraskāra.[47] Since these words and their meanings are totally applicable to the word 'avamata', explaining the term 'ābhāsa' or 'avabhāsa,' the definition recorded in the *Śāstra-prakāśikā* will mean that ābhāsa is that semblance or false cognition of pure Consciousness which is the subject of sublation and logical discardment. According to another definition of the *Śāstraprakāśikā* it is the mahimā or glory of Brahman.[48] Explaining its nature in another way, Ānandagiri says in his commentary on the *Vākyasudhā* that it is a shadow of indeterminate, all-illuminating and all-Conscious, Brahman.[49] Generally it appears as the attribute of adjunct but really it is neither the property or attribute of adjunct, nor of Consciousness nor of both; nor is it an independent entity.[50] In his commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya-bhāṣya*, he contends that ābhāsa is ideal and false because of the intelligibility of its cause and effect and inscrutability of its nature[51].

45. Cf. *Śāstra-prākāśikā* on 2.1.216.
46. Cf. *Bhāmati*, p. 11.
47. Cf. *Kalpataru*. p. 18.
48. Cf. 'स्वस्य प्रतीचो महिमा तदाभास :' (*Ś.P.* 4.3.52)
49. Cf. 'चित्' निर्विकल्पक सर्वावभासक, ज्ञान प्रत्यगात्मस्वरूप तस्य 'च्छाया' आभास :' (Commentary on Verse 6.)
50. *Ibid.* 'आभासश्च न बिम्बधर्मो नाऽप्युपाधिधर्मो नापि स्वतन्त्र इत्यत्र प्रतिपादितम्' (Commentary on V. 16)
51. Cf. आभासानां.....कार्यकारणतायां दुर्वचनत्वादाभासा: सर्वदैव

A question generally levelled against the nature of ābhāsa has been referred to and criticised by Bodhanidhi in his commentary on the *Upadeśasāhasrī*. The question is whether appearance is real or unreal. Is it real being other than Brahman or being identical with Brahman ? If it is real, being different from Brahman, there is certainly a conflict with the scriptural texts which decisively declare that 'Brahman is one and secondless' (*Chā. up.* 6.2.1). If ābhāsa is regarded as identical with Supreme Brahman, both appearance and Brahman would be synonyms of each other. Seeing that the reality of appearance in any way is impossible, if the Advaitins contend that it is unreal, again they have to answer whether it is nescience or its product. As the appearance in Advaita system is not acceptable either as Avidyā or its product, it cannot be taken as unreal too. Thus both the possible alternatives being untenable in establishing the existence of appearance, there can be no other reason in accepting it. Answering the opponent's objection, Bodhanidhi says that in the light of the above alternatives of reality or unreality being unacceptable, the existence of appearance cannot be denied. Just as inexplicable Avidyā has been admitted on a permanent footing empirically as the cause of all inanimate objects of this universe in accordance with the scriptural passages and their implications, so also one has to admit the inscrutable and eternal ābhāsa of the self, figured as a transfiguration of Consciousness.[52] The characterisation of appearance as the transfiguration or vivarta of Brahman does not militate against the Vedāntic truth, which asserts only one Brahman without any second entity, because the superimposed has no status apart from its substratum. The appearance of the self is certainly not different from the self whether it is present or absent, just as the snake is not different from the rope in both the alternative states of appearance or disappearance[53]. Though falsity constitutes

निरूपयितुमशक्यत्वान्मायामया: सन्तो मिथ्यैव भवन्तीत्यर्थ: । (4.51-52).

52. यथा श्रुतितदर्थापत्तिन्यायसिद्धाऽनिर्वचनीया जडविवर्तहेतुत्वेनानादिरभ्युपगम्यते तथानिरूपितरूप आत्माभासोऽनादिश्चिद्विवर्तरूपत्वेनाभ्युपगन्तव्य: (Bodhanidhi, *Up. Sā. Vyākhyā* 18.31.)

53. Cf. *Śāstraprakāśikā* कल्पितसर्वस्य रज्ज्वतिरिक्तसत्त्वासत्त्वादृष्टेरित्यर्थ: ।

its very nature, yet in the secondary meaning of reality, appearance is certainly real and in this sense its reality is unquestionable, according to Ānandagiri in his commentary on the *Chāndogyabhāṣya*.[54]

Vidyāraṇya, who is believed to have succeeded Ānandagiri[55], also pins his faith on the notion of appearance in his *Pañcadaśī*, *Anubhūti-prakāśa* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārttikasāra*. In the *Pañcadaśī*, he defines ābhāsa as a very partial manifestation of its prototype (Bimba). Though it has no characteristic of its prototype, yet is appears somewhat like it.[56] Its devoidness of the nature of the prototype, as explained by Vidyāraṇya himself, is its relatedness to the worldly objects and undergoing changes. And the resemblance to the prototype is its capacity of rendering objects manifest.[57] This definition of Vidyāraṇya, as suggested by his disciple, Rāmakṛṣṇa, may be compared with the definition of Hetvābhāsa or defective probans. The ābhāsa is a delusion or Bhrama which appears before us, combining in itself activity etc., the characteristics of mind as well as luminosity, the characteristics of Ātman.[58] With a view to explain the illusory nature of cidābhāsa Vidyāraṇya often resorts to the example of Crystal-China-rose and maintains that as the redness of the japākusuma or China-rose is only a fabrication in the crystal or sphaṭika, so the appearance is a superimposition on Consciousness.[59]

54. Cf. मिथ्यात्वेऽपि तल्लक्षणस्य सन्मात्रस्य सत्यत्वमिति व्यवस्थेत्यर्थः । (*Chā. Ṭikā* 6.3.2. p. 298)

55. Cf. T.M. Tripathi : Introduction on Tarka-saṅgraha, p. *XV*.

56. Cf. ईषद्भासनमाभासः प्रतिबिम्बस्तथाविधः । बिम्बलक्षणहीनः सन् बिम्बवद्भासते स हि । (8.32)

57. *Ibid.* सदसद्भिन्नत्वविकाराभ्यां बिम्बलक्षणहीनता । स्फूर्तिरूपत्वमेतस्य बिम्बवद्भासन विदुः । (8.33)

58. *Ibid.* "कर्तृत्वादीन्बुद्धिधर्मान्स्फूर्त्याश्रित्य चात्मरूपताम् । दधद्विभाति पुरत आभासोऽतो भ्रमो भवेत् । " (8.52)

59. Cf. *Anubhūti-prakāśa*—जपाकुसुमरक्तत्वं स्फटिके कल्प्यते यथा । चिदाभासप्रवेशोऽयं चित्यध्यारोप्यते यथा ॥ (13.9.) and 13.20, *Bṛ. Vārttika-sāra*-1.4.437, 2.1.54 and 2.1.103.

Citing a number of verses from the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and vārttikas from the *Bṛhadāraṇya-vārttika* he illuminates the readers of the *Pañcadaśī* that the above false nature of appearance is totally in conformity with the views expressed by Śaṅkara and Sureśvara.[60] To sum up, 'according to the theory propounded in the *Pañcadaśī*, the ābhāsa is wholly illusory'.[61]

Śaṅkarānanda in his commentary on the *Śaṭpadī-stava* of Śaṅkara defines ābhāsa as तच्छबलरहितत्वे सति तद्वदाभासमानत्वमेव तदाभासत्वम्[62]. This definition has been referred to in the Vedānta-saṅjñāprakaraṇa with a slight change as 'चिद्वदवभासमानत्वे सति चिल्लक्षणरहितत्वाच्चिदाभास इति च व्यपदिश्यते'।[63] According to these definitions that semblance of consciousness is called ābhāsa which appears to be consciousness though devoid of the characterisitics of consciouness.

Brahmānanda in his commentary on the *Advaita-Siddhi* explains ābhāsa as one, which cannot be cognised without consciousness conditioned by it.[64]

Keeping the drift of all the definitions mentioned and explained hitherto in mind, it may be said that ābhāsa is a depreciated semblance of the supreme self, appearing as real, intelligent and luminous till it is viewed through the valid means of knowledge or the cognitive process and exterminated by the true knowledge of Ātman.

The appearance of the Self has been divided into two forms by its chief exponents, Sureśvara and Ānandagiri—(A) Kāraṇa-ābhāsa and (B) Kārya-ābhāsā.[65]

60. Cf. 'इति वार्तिककारेण चित्सादृश्यं विवक्षितम्। ब्रह्मचित्फलयोर्भेदः साहस्रचां विश्रुतो यतः।" (8.12). Also see 8.11, 6.87-89 and 7.280.

61. Dr. Mahadevan, *The Philosophy of Advaita with special reference to Bhārati-tīrtha-Vidyāraṇya*, Ch. vii, p. 225.

62. Cf. *Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume* I, Booklet No. 22, p. 25.

63. *Ibid.*; Booklet No. 14, p. 25.

64. Cf. चिदाभासत्वं स्वावच्छिन्नचितं विनाऽनुपलभ्यमानत्वम् p. 325.

65. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārttika* 'आत्माभासोऽपि योऽज्ञाने तत्कार्ये चावभासते। कार्यकरणतारूपस्तमप्येषोऽतिवर्तते (4.3.1330 with the Commentary *Śāstra-prakāśikā*).

(A) The appearance or ābhāsa immured in Ajñāna is called Kāraṇa-ābhāsa. Supreme Self is its prime cause and therefore, it is said to be the product of only transcendental self[66] or pure consciousness.[67] Nescience has no part to play in the figuration of this animating and manifesting appearance of Ātman except to serve as its receptacle for the sake of its own capability of creating the series of animate and inanimate objects of this beginningless universe.[68] Although this involved sense of the word 'only' is a fact, yet the main standpoint of the Advaita system cannot be set aside that it is only the Illusion about Supreme Reality, through which appearance comes into existence and claims to be real, luminous and intelligent. This primordial appearance being eternally present in Ajñāna[69] rightly describes the name of Kāraṇa-ābhāsa. "It is the perennial or inexhaustible medium of all other manifold appearances answering to the multiple modifications or possible projections of Ajñāna."[70] In one of his Vāratikas Sureśvara designates this Kāraṇa-ābhāsa as intelligent appearance or cetanābhāsa and attributes to it the characteritics of Ātman[71]. But it must be noted here that the characterisation of Kāraṇa-ābhāsa as Ātman lies in its capability to manifest and illuminate the Ajñāna and other phenomenal objects appearing in uncountable names and forms and not in the sense that it is the Supreme Ātman, which is certainly one and does not undergo modification of any nature whatsoever. In some of the Vārttikas, it has been viewed as the 'product of Illusion or

66. Cf. *Bṛ. Vā*, कूटस्थात्मैकहेतुत्वचिद्बिम्बो मोहगस्तु यः । स्वोपादानानुरोधित्वात्तेनचिन्नास्य सङ्गतिः ॥ (4.3.415)

67. *Ibid.* 'प्रत्यक्प्रज्ञोत्थिताभाससम्बन्धात्..... , (2.4.390)

68. Cf. 'न चाऽऽभास व्याप्त्या विना अविद्या कार्यप्तिति (Ānandagiri, Commentary on *Pañca-prakriyā*).

69. Cf. *Bṛ. Vārttika*. 'अपि अत्यक्मो नित्यं भास्वच्चैतन्यबिम्बितम् । बुद्धितद्वृत्तयश्चैतं तप्तायोविस्फुलिङ्गवत् ॥' (1.4.834) 'घटाद्याभासवन्तस्मान्मोहादेरभ्युपेयताम् । चिदाभासोऽपि सर्वत्र न वेन्तीत्यनुभूतितः ।' (4.3.99.) Also 4.3.355 and 3.4.5.

70. *Light on Vedānta* by Dr. V.P. Upadhyaya, p. 41.

71. Cf. *Bṛ. Vā.* चेतनाचेतनाभास आत्मानात्मत्वलक्षणः । कार्यकारणरूपेण मिथोऽपेक्षाश्रयं तमः ॥ (2.4.424)

Mohottha."[72] This view seems clearly in contradiction to the previous one stating it as the 'product of the pure Intelligent'. In fact, there is no clash between the two view points. To explain, Cit or Intelligent and Ajñāna are respectively the Pratiyogin or the counter-correlate and the Anuyogin or adjunct of ābhāsa. The former is the cause of ābhāsa being counterpart and the latter having associated itself with it (ābhāsa). Thus there is nothing wrong in delineating it as the product of both the Pratiyogi Brahman and the Anuyogi Ajñāna.

(B) The appearances underlying and pervading the multiple modifications of Ajñāna are known as Kārya-ābhāsas.[73] According to the *Naiskarmya-Siddhi*, the whole universe consisting of the cogniser, the cognised and the cognition is Kārya-ābhāsa. It is not related even slightly to the absolute reality being resultant from Ajñāna.[74] It is the modification of Ajñāna[75] which is its material cause. All visible and invisible objects, say from the biggest mountain to the finest insect, are manifestable by this Kārya-ābhāsa. As an object pervaded by the appearance, Ānandagiri emphasises, has no separate existence from appearance,[76] the whole universal set-up would naturally go after its name. Non-conscious appearance or acetana-ābhāsa is its another name endowed with the nature of non-Self.[77] But this non-selfness is meant to distinguish it from the Supreme Self and, therefore, it would be certainly a mistake if we equate it with inert objects which not only owe their existence to it but also depend on it for their manifestation.

A comparative study of these two kinds of appearances makes its clear that the Kāraṇa-ābhāsa is a primordial and inseparable appearance connected invariably with the ultimate world-cause, whereas the Kārya-ābhāsa is a subsequent display of Avidyā diversified into multiple forms by intervening adjuncts

72. *Ibid.* 'न तु मोहोत्थचिद्विम्बहेतुत्वव्यपेक्षया ।"

73. *Ibid.* 4.3.1320.

74. Cf. न चायं क्रियाकारकफलात्मक आभास ईक्षदपि परमार्थवस्तु स्पृशति तस्य मोहमात्रोपादानत्वात् । (p. 76).

75. Cf. *Bṛ. Vā.* (परिणामो हि मोहादेश्चिदाभासः सदेष्यते । (4.3.394)

76. Cf. *Śāstra-prakāśikā*—"न चाऽऽभासस्याभासिनोऽन्यत्व सत्त्वम्" (1.4.508)

77. Cf. *Bṛ. Vā.* 2.4.424.

innumerably and incessantly arising from Avidyā filled with various forms of the primordial appearance. The former's receptacle is Avidyā while the latter's, universal objects projected out of Avidyā. The Kāraṇa-ābhāsa is the life and blood of Ajñāna and the Kārya-ābhāsa, of its entire ephemeral and non-ephemeral effects. The pure Intelligent has been considered to be the material cause of the former and the Illusion of the latter. Both, therfore, resemble their respective causes and appear respectively like the Self and the non-Self. The selfness of the Kāraṇa-ābhāsa is rendering of life and energy to Ajñāna whereas the non-selfness of the Kārya-ābhāsa is the creating of the distinctions of pleasure, pain and delusicon in worldly objects in respect of relative experiencess. These appearances, Ānandagiri says, are the two idealistic states or 'Mayāmayī vṛttis' of transcendental self, appearing in both Ajñāna , the material cause of entire dualities, and its effects on ether, air etc.[78] In fact, like the Self, its appearance is also one but seems to be divided, diversified and designated as Kāraṇa and Kārya indiscriminately identified with the cause and the effect of universe.

Having discussed the nature and forms of ābhāsa, it becomes necessary to answer a question, which naturally arises now that if the Brahman and the Ajñāna are enough to explain and establish all the doctrines of Advaita Vedānta, what impels the Advaitins to admit this additional principle as Ābhāsa. The real answer to this question will bring to light the main functions assigned to Ābhāsa by its exponents.

1. The first and foremost function of Cidābhāsa is involved in the world-causality. The causality of the universe that consists of not only the inert and inanimate objects but also the macrocosmic and the microcosmic beings is neither to be attributed to Brahman, declared as secondless and deviod of cause and effect nor to Ajñāna equated with delusion.[79] Despite

78. Cf. *Sā. Pra.* "कृत्स्नस्य द्वैतस्य मूलकारणमज्ञानं तस्य कार्यं वियदादि। तत्रोभयत्र वृत्तिराभासस्तद्रूपोपाध्यवष्टम्भादसङ्गस्यापि मायामयी द्वयी वृत्ति : ॥ (1.4.636).

79. Cf. *Br. Vā.* ध्वान्तादिविषयान्तायों जडत्वान्नात्मसिद्धिकृत् (4.3.59) and न च जाड्यातिरेकेण ह्यविद्या काचिदिष्यते।" (1.4.256)

this fact, the Brahman associated with Ajñāna has been held as the prime cause of the universe in the Advaita system.[80] But when the immutable nature of Brahman and the non-conscious character of Ajñāna are dead against this association, the Advaita doctrine of causality would surrender to the Sāṁkhya-doctrine, if a third factor, viz. Cidābhāsa were not accepted as a link which not only unites these cosmic principles but also remains as an assisting factor in the creative process of universe. Emphasising its importance in the causality, Sureśvarācārya says that not only Brahman and Ajñāna but the triad Brahman, Ajñāna and Ābhāsa united together are the cause, the witness and the controller of universe.[81] To illustrate this, as the all-pervading ether associated with the jar etc., comes to be of diverse forms, so the Suprema Self on account of its Ābhāsa linked with its own Ajñāna and mind etc. seems to have splintered into innumerable animate and inanimate appearances of world-plurality.[82]

2. The second important function of the appearance of the self is the impartation of existence and intelligence to non-intelligent Avidyā and its products. Ajñāna, according to Sureśvarācārya is neither accidental, nor self-established nor established by some other factor. It is only appearance which substantiates and establishes it. The experience 'I knew nothing' is a glaring evidence supporting the establishment of Ajñāna through appearance.[83] Both Ajñāna and its products derive their vitality from, owe their respective functions to and depend on this active, perennial and enlivening factor. Considering the view-points shown in the above, Ānandagiri explains that Ajñāna is established, enlivened and energised by the two principles, the pure consciousness and

80. *Ibid.* अस्य द्वैतेन्द्रजालस्य यदुपादानकारणम् । अज्ञानं समुपाश्रित्य ब्रह्म कारणमुच्यते ।" (1.4.371) and सर्वोपनिषदस्त्येवं कारणं नान्यदात्मनः । श्रुतेश्च परात्मैव जगतः कारणं परम् ।" (2.1.395)

81. *Ibid.* कूटस्थदृष्टितन्मौढ्यौ दृष्ट्याभासश्च तत्त्रयम् । कारणं जगतः साक्षी नियन्तेति च भण्यते ।" (3.4.06) and (चिदाभासं स्वमज्ञानं संनिपत्य तदक्षरम् । कारणं सत्स्वकार्येषु नियन्तृत्वं प्रपद्यते । (3.9.3.)

82. Cf. *Br. Vā.* 'स्वाभासवर्त्मनैवैतत्स्वात्मज्ञानजभूमिषु । इतो बहुत्वमेकं सद्विषयद्वद्घटादिषु ।" (1.2.127)

the appearance of consciousness or cidābhāsa, whilst the products of Ajñāna, say, pramātā etc. are substantiated and vitalised by the triad, the pure Consciousness, the appearance and Nescience or Ajñāna.[84] In other words, it is because of manifold appearances that Supreme Consciousness is able to account for the existence of Ajñāna or its modifications, as an eternal substrate on which these are pitched like the snake on garland. The appearance of Consciousness is the main contributor for it imparts life to lifeless Avidyā and its effects by making them appear existent, real and manifest. The contribution of Ājñāna to the existence of Pramātā etc., is involved in the power of producing their respective adjuncts like mind and so on, in conformity with its own nature without which the ābhāsa would remain only in a primordial form and never appear in the forms of pramātā and other worldly objects.

3. Its another importance lies in illumination of objects. It is known from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad*[85] that the Self-luminous Ātman is their illuminator. But illumination is certainly a kind of activity and cannot be attributed to Brahman, declared by the Scriptures to be without any activity or attribute.[86] In order to reconcile these contradictory statements of Śrutis, Śaṅkara, Sureśvara and other exponents of Ābhāsa-vāda recognise the appearance as an eternal light through which the Supreme Self illumines not only the mind, the sense-organs and their objects but the whole universe consisting of causes and effects.[87]

83. *Ibid.* 'आगन्तु चेदिहाज्ञानमनिर्मोक्षः प्रसज्यते।' (1.4.361), (वस्तुवृत्तमपेक्ष्यैतन्न स्वतः परतस्तमः। (1.4.340) and चिदाभास तमो ज्ञेय नाज्ञानिषमितीक्षणात्। (1.4.341) with *Sā. Pra.* 'अज्ञानस्य द्विधाऽप्यसिद्धिरेव न हि विद्यान्तरेण तत्सिद्धि.....इत्याशङ्क्याऽऽहुः चिदाभासमिति। .....आभासवशात्तमःसिद्धिरित्यत्र, अनुभव प्रमाणयति नेति।

84. *Ibid.* चिदाभासैकमात्रेणतमःसिद्धिर्न मातृतः। संविन्मोह चिद्विम्बैः प्रत्यक्षत्वं कलंकयेत्: (3.4.105) and with *S. P.* (चैतन्यतदाभासाभ्यामज्ञानसिद्धिमुक्त्वा मातृसिद्धिप्रकारमाह-संविदिति। .....चैतन्यतदाभासज्ञानैरपरोक्ष्यं मातुरित्यर्थः।

85. Cf. *Br. Up.* 4.3.6 'किं ज्योतिरेवायं पुरुषः इत्यात्मैवास्य-ज्योतिर्भवतीत्यात्मनैवायं ज्योतिष्टाऽऽस्ते पल्ययते कर्म कुरुते विपल्येतीति।

86. *Ibid.* 3.8.1; 3.8.8 and *Gītā* 13.31.

87. Cf. *Up. Sā.* 16.60, 18.71; *Br. Bhāṣya*, 4.3.30; *Br.*

4. The refutation of the Buddhistic doctrine, which forbids the existence of Sākṣī or witness maintaining that the modifications of mind are themselves perceivers as well as perceived, dispensing thus with the need of their illumination by a witness different, is also impossible unless we accept appearance. Criticising the Buddhistic doctrine, some Vedāntins contend that though a persistent knower or Anvayī-grāhaka must be admitted apart from the modifications of mind revealing their presence and absence, it is not essential to admit the appearance of the Self for illumination of these modifications. But this contention, Śaṅkara says in his *Upadeśa-sāhasrī*, is also no better than the modifications themselves, for, the said cognizer, different from the modifications, will be equally non-intelligent (because if it is itself cognizer or agent of cognition it will fall into the category of non-self). The argument of other Vedāntins, that the presence and the absence of the modifications will be cognised on account of the proximity of the permanent cognizer even in the absence of Ābhāsa, is also illogical, because if it is taken for granted that not only the mind but other objects also, like the piece of wood and the stone etc., will have mental modifications, lying similarly in proximity with the all-pervading Knower. The refutation of the Buddhistic view is possible only if the appearance is admitted in and between Ajñāna and its products on the one hand and self on the other, not only to cause the mental modifications but also to cognise their absence and presence.[88]

5. The line of distinction, too, between variable products of Ajñāna has been drawn by this appearance. In the course of perception, we come across daily two types of objects, one animate and the other inanimate. If all objects are the modifications of one and the same Ajñāna, why are some endowed with intelligence and others with non-intelligence? The convincing answer to this question has been given by the Ābhāsa-vādins who opine that such distinction between the

Vā. 4.3.86., 4.3.89; 4.3.36; *Śāstra-prakāśikā* on 4.3.86. *Bṛ. Vārttika-sāra* 4.3.86—ज्योतिष्ट्व भासकत्व स्याच्चिदाभासमुखेन तत् । उपपन्नमचङ्क्रम्यमान्वादिवदनुग्रहात् ॥ and *Anubhūti-prakāśa*. 18.38.

88. Cf. 18.72-75.

worldly objects totally depends upon the appearance pervading these objects and not on the Brahman or Ajñāna.[89] The best receptacles such as Ajñāna, the mind etc., with appearances of Consciousness transparently and directly enshrined therein, turn into intelligent objects while the worst receptacles, such as earth, stone etc., with appearances of consciousness murkily and indirectly engrossed therein remain non-intelligent entities of the universe.

6. The last important role of ābhāsa unanimously pleaded by the Ābhāsa-vādins lies in establishing the Advaita doctrine of bondage and liberation in a more intelligible manner. If the appearance were not admitted, the upaniṣadic teaching 'That Thou Art', says Śaṅkara would become meaningless in the absence of a medium.[90] The teaching is useful only when it is meant for a listener. The 'Aśrotā Brahman' or non-intelligent mind cannot be the subject of listening. As the authoritative statement of Śrutis cannot be without a purpose, one listener different from the Brahman and the mind has to be admitted. This listener, according to Śaṅkara and the Ābhāsavādins is the appearance of Supreme self in the mind[91]. This very appearance is called Jiva or the individual soul and has been recognised as the Knower or pramātā, the enjoyer or Bhoktā and the doer or Kartā in relation to the triple functions of the mind. Though the pure consciousness, the mind and the appearance are totally different from one other, yet on account of non-dis-

89. Cf. *Pañcadaśī* 'चेतनाचेतनमिदा कूटस्थात्मकृता न हि । किन्तु बुद्धिकृता ऽऽभासकृतैक्यवगम्यताम् ।' *Ātmabodha*, 16; *Bṛ Vārttika*— नगःप्रधानःक्षेत्राणां चित्प्रधानश्चिदात्मनाम् । परः कारणतामेति भावनाज्ञा-नकर्मभिः ॥ (1.4.342)

90. Cf. *Up. Sā.* 'तत्त्वमित्युपदेशोऽपि द्वाराभावादनर्थकः ।(18.110)

91. *Ibid.* 18.87; 18.89-90, Also *Bṛ. Vā* "अकार्यकारणोऽप्यात्मा बुद्धिप्राणादिहेतुगः । अविद्यया चिदाभासः संसारीवावभासते ॥ (4.3.406) and 1.4.560.; *Sūtra-prakāśikā*—

" आत्मा वस्तुतोऽद्वयोऽपि स्वाविद्यया बुद्ध्यादौ संसारहेतौ स्थितः स्वाभासद्वारा संसारित्वाभासमनुभवति" (4.3.406); *Chāndogya-bhāṣya-ṭīkā* रूपेण विशिष्टरूपेण मिथ्यात्वेऽपि स्वरूपेण सत्यत्वाज्जीवस्य ब्रह्मास्मीति ज्ञानात् मुक्तिः। समाधत्ते नैष दोष इति" (6.4.3. p. 298), *Advaita Brahmasiddhi*, p. 303 and *Siddhāntabindu*, pp. 218-20.

crimination, the Soul identifies itself with the mind and becomes the subject of bondage. On the other hand, when the truth of the above upaniṣadic statement is realised due to discrimination or dawning discernment between the aforesaid triad, the Soul attains its own nature, ever free from bondage.

It is now fairly certain that in the interpretation of all the doctrines of Advaita Vedānta, be it the unimaginable relation of Brahman to Māya, or the complicated causality of universe or the inexplicability of Māyā and its effects or the non-difference between the individual and the supreme Self, the contribution of Ābhāsa is always there as a sound, original and fair doctrine.

In the last, the following differences between the ābhāsa and the pratibimba are pointed out to dispel a general confusion prevailing about their nature.

1. The appearance, as we have seen, is a depreciated semblance of pure consciousness, but the pratibimba or reflection, as Sadānanda says in his *Advaita Brahmasiddhi*, is an outer true image of the prototype appearing in the adjunct and being totally free from the limitation of the adjunct.[92] Though pure Consciousness is undoubtedly the prototype of both the ābhāsa and the pratibimba, yet the distinction between the two becomes markedly prominent in as much as the former is distinct from and the latter is identical with pure Consciousness.

2. The reflection, in the words of Padmapādācārya, is not essentially distinct from the prototype; it is nothing but that,[93] while the appearance is not so and cannot be deemed to be either different from or identical with the prototype.

3. The pratibimba identified with the prototype is always real and its distinct appearance is due to Avidyā. But the ābhāsa, partaking of some common characteristics of Avidyā, is totally unreal and its reality is recognised only in the secondary sense. It is therefore that the Pratibimbavādins accept the

92. Cf. प्रतिबिम्बत्वं तु उपाध्यन्तर्गतप्रतीयमानत्वं सति औपाधिकपरिच्छेदशून्यत्वे च सति बहिः स्थितस्वरूपत्वम् (p. 202)

93. Cf. (बिम्बादिव प्रतिबिम्बं न ब्रह्मणो वस्त्वन्तरम्; किन्तु तदेव तत्. (Prathama Varṇaka, p. 104) Also *Advaita-dīpikā* by Nṛsiṁhāśrama, pp. 162 to 193 and the commentary *Tattvabodhini* on *Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka* 2.207 by Nṛsiṁhāśrama.

principle of opposition resulting in oneness, "Abhede sāmānādhikaraṇyam"[94], and the Ābhāsavādins, that of sublation resulting in oneness, "Bādhāyām sāmānādhikaraṇyam."[95]

4. The ābhāsa, being different from the pure consciousness, gets divided into two worldly forms, the cause and the effect, but the reflection, remaining ever non-different from Reality, is indivisible actually by the adjuncts. According to the Ābhāsa-vāda, the Brahman, transcends both these appearances[96] but in the Pratibimba school, it cannot transcend the reflection, which is essentially nothing but itself.

5. The Ābhāsavādins accepting the uniformity between the appearance and the adjuncts advocate the non-existence of adjuncts in the absence of appearance and hold that all adjuncts including Ajnāna are appearances[97]; but the Pratibimbavādins who admit the pratibimba to be totally identical, would never propound their adjuncts as reflections.

6. The last point of difference as pointed out by M m. Vasudeva Sastri is that in the Ābhāsa school the adjunct covers the Upādheya totally and in the Pratibimba school, it does so only partly.[98] In other words, according to the former, the relation between the ābhāsa and the prototype as based on non-discrimination is apparent while the same in the Pratibimba school is

94. Cf. The Commentary *Pravela-parisodhini* on *Pañca-pādikā*, p. 108.

95. Cf. *Śā. Pra.* 1.4.383; *Chāndogya-bhāṣya-ṭikā* by Ānandagiri on 6.4.3., p. 298, *Kena-vākya-vivaraṇa-Vyākhyā* 3.14.1., p. 31 and *Advaitasiddhi*, pp. 203-3.

96. Cf. *Br. Vā.* आत्माभासोऽपि योऽज्ञाने तत्कार्ये चावभासते । कार्यकारणतारूपस्तमप्येषोऽतिवर्तते ॥ (4.3.1320)

97. *Ibid.* 'चिदाभास तमो ज्ञेयं नाज्ञानिषमितोऽशगात् । (1.4.34). अज्ञानादित्रयं प्रत्यगाभासम्' (3.3.41) Cf. also. *Śā. pr.* (प्रत्यगाभासं यदखण्डं तेज: on 1.4.501.

98. 'तथा चाभास उपाधि: स्वमूलेन समवमुपादेयं व्याप्नोतीति प्रतिबिम्बने तु उपाधिर्मलिनाच्छादितो भवति" Introduction to *Siddhāntabindu*. p. 18.

an identity-cum-difference, the former being essential and the latter only apparent.

The Ābhāsavadins, who resort to this inscrutable appearance for interpreting faithfully the Advaita doctrine of absolute Monism expounded by Ācārya Śaṅkara, give a lead to its basic doctrine known as Anirvacanīyatāvāda measuring the God or Supreme Soul, the individual self or the jīva and the universe with the same scale of inexplicability and declaring all of them as appearances either as Kāraṇa-ābhāsa or as the Kārya-ābhāsa.

A RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SIX BRAHMANICAL SYSTEMS AND EARLY BUDDHISM

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The Upaniṣads will be our authority for assigning an early date to the Sāṁkhya Philosophy and the Yoga discipline; the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras are in a way presupposed by the Nyāya philosophy and even the Buddhistic philosophy. It is, therefore, the *Jaimini-Sūtras* on the Mīmāṁsā (J. S.), the *Nyāya-Sūtras* (N. S.) of Gautama and the *Brahmasūtras* (B S.) of Bādarāyaṇa to fix a chronology of which, in relation to early Buddhism, an attempt is being made here. This will involve a refutation of the views of Jacobi (JAOS. XXX. pp.i. ff.) and of Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana on the strength partially of the information contained in the evidence brought together by me in a small book published in 1922,[1] partially of the books onrHīnayāna schools of Buddhism by a N. Datta and Bareau and patially on a comparison of the *Vigraha-vyāvartani* (V. V.) of Nāgārjuna, published by Rāhula Sāṁkrityāyana in JOBRS. XXIII, Appendix pp. vii. ff. with the N. S. and the *Nyāyabhāṣya*.

The Jaiminisūtras on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā.

The Vārttika of Kātyāyana (Vārt.), a grammatical work, is so far imbued with Sāṁkhya and Mīmāṁsā ideas that it goes out of its way to refer to Mīmaṁsā-nyāyas and to introduce Sāṁkhya principles to elucidate grammatical facts. It actually quotes a sūtra from the J. S. and improves the example cited in it, to which objection has been taken. The philosophical vocabulary of the J. S. is also considerably undeveloped as compared to that of the Vārt. and hence the J. S. is clearly earlier than the Vārt.[2] As to the date of the Vārt., there are

1. In 'Le Vārttika de Kātyāyana, une Etude du Style etc.', this being my thesis for the doctorate of the University of Paris.

2. Ibid. pp. 65-69; cf. Vārt. 9 on Śiva Sū. 4.(9): नाम्यवयवे कृत्स्नावयवे तद्विधिः; Vārt 12 on I. 1.1 प्रत्ययवचनं च वाक्यपरिसमाप्तेः; Vārt-40 and 56 on I. 2.64 where J.S. I. 1.15 is referred to.

references in the *Mahābhāṣya* to two different recensions of the Vārt. represented by two distinct schools and it gives alternative interpretations of some Vārttikas by a third school. Patañjali is a northerner and mentions Kātyāyana as a southerner. In order to account for a southern text being available in the north of India in two or three recensions I have concluded that Kātyāyana's date must be somewhere near 300-350 B. C. and Jaimini's by about a century earlier[3]. Dr. Gadge,[3] who has compared the Śrautasūtras with the J. S., is disposed to place the J. S. earlier than Kātyāyana's Vārt, and in the same period as the Śrautasūtras generally, i. e. about 500 B. C.

The Nyāyasūtras (N.S.) : The problem of the date of the *Nyāya-sūtras* is much more complicated. In point of style they (i. e. the original portions of them, the present sūtras being a later manipulation of the earlier ones) are of the same period as the Vārt.; its philosophical vocabulary is slightly earlier than that of the Vārt.; the main controversial issues, viz. whether the individual or the genus is the denotation of a word, the relation of the aggregate to a part and the eternality of word, are common to the J. S., the N. S. and the Vārt.

In the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, VI 2. 36 we have followers of the schools of Āpiśali, Kāśakṛtsna, Vyāḍi and Gautama grouped together. The first two were rival grammatical schools; the second pair must also have a common nexus of grouping. From the views of Vyāḍi as we know them from the Vārt., it appears that they were diametrically opposed to those of the N. S. and this gives us a clue towards the dating of the founder of the Nyāya school, if not of the author of the N. S.

The first chapter of the *Nyāya-sūtras* is apparently an ingenious attempt to give some semblance of logical order to what is really a string of points of controversy without much logical order and hence it is probably later than the nucleus of the N.S. I moreover suspect that the list and explanations of the hetvābhāsas in the N. S. are a later addition. Vātsyāyana, the author of the *Nyāyabhāṣya* (N. Bh.), himself feels the discrepancy of the hetvābhāsas being mentioned in two different places and tries to explain away the repetition. The hetvābhāsas

3. 'Citations in the Śabarv-bhāṣya', by Dr. D.V. Gadge, Poona, 1952, pp. 15-17.

have never been mentioned by name in the many controversial portions of the N. S. and the logical vices have been referred to there by the same terms as we find in the J. S. and to a greater extent in the Vārt. Two of the hetvābhāsas have actually common names with the jātis. The jātis, indeed, are an early attempt to classify and name the logical vices and the names they bear are derived from the two burning topics of the day, viz., the eternality of word and the relations between the aggregate and the parts, more especially between the soul and the body. This being so, I would place the nucleus of the N. S. about the same time as the Vārt. i. e., about 300 B. C. . if not earlier.

In any case, however, the sūtras that have been treated by Vācaspatimiśra in his *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā* by Viśvanātha in his Vṛtti and by Jacobi in *JAOS.*, XXX, pp. 1 ff. as referring to Buddhism, viz. N.S. IV. 26-35, may refer to any school of agnosticism and not necessarily to a Buddhistic school. The N. S. have referred to all kinds of views which may not have been seriously held by any particular school: to the views सर्वमनित्यम् (IV. I. 25), सर्वं नित्यम् (IV. I. 29), सर्वं पृथक् (IV. I. 34), सर्वम् अभावः (IV. I. 37). And now in the next Āhnika, while dealing with the topic of the aggregate and the parts, they refer to the view that direct perception is not a source of knowledge, the illustration being of the knowledge of cloth from a perception of the fibres. This matter has been already discussed in II. I. 14, where the reality of knowledge based on that of atoms, themselves invisible, is questioned and the comment of Vātsyāyana runs thus : प्रतिषेधलक्षणे स्ववाक्ये तेषामनपवादितानां प्रत्यक्षादीनां प्रामाण्येऽभ्यनुज्ञायमाने परवाक्येऽपि अनपवादितानां प्रामाण्यं प्रसज्यते, अविशेषात् । and thus there is no reference to Buddhism in the context, although the Buddhistic doctrine of *Śūnyatā* may have been a corollary of the atomic doctrine. Nowhere else is there any allusion to the Buddhistic doctrines in the N. S. or the N. Bh. This may probably be due to Vātsyāyana's sense of anachronism in making Gautama whom he styles as ṛṣi in II. I.25, being made to refer to the views of Gautama Buddha, whether a contemporary or a junior of the former.

The Sāṁkhya : The Sāṁkhya philosophy has been mentioned in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and in the older portions of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The Vārttika of Kātyāyana is saturated with Sāṁkhya views which are mentioned in connection with gramma-

tical facts. This means that in the fourth century B. C. the Sāṁkhya was the most popular philosophical system. The *Sāṁkhya Sūtras* of Pañcaśikha, of which about ten have been preserved by Vyāsa, the author of the *Yoga-Bhāṣya* (Y. Bh.), have been lost like the *Saṁgraha* of Vyāḍi and many other works in the political convulsions through which India passed from the second century before Christ to the third century after Christ.

The Vaiśeṣika Sūtras (V. S.) do not show any feature of the old controversial style, but the N. S. themselves presuppose a Vaiśeṣika school and there is nothing to show that the present sūtras are later than the N. S. Jacobi, the protagonist of late dates for the Brahmanical sūtras, was ready in 1928 to concede an early date to the V. S. and the J. S.

The Yogasūtras (*Y.S*) : The antiquity of the Yoga discipline is attested by the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and the old portions of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The extant sūtras have little in common with the J. S., the N. S. and the Vārt. and are of a late date; but, however late their date, they must be earlier than the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* on them, which I would place in the first century B. C. or at the latest in the first century A. C., this date being arrived at on account of the priority of the *Yoga-bhāṣya* over the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, which quotes it (cf. Govind Das, *Ind. Anti. XLIV.*, 1915).

The Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana on N. S. I. 2.6 quotes as an instance of the fallacy *viruddha* the following:—(यथा)—नौज्ञं विकारो व्यक्तेरपैति । नित्यत्वप्रतिषेधात् । अपेतोऽप्यस्ति विनाशप्रतिषेधात् । and his comments on it runs as follows:—न नित्यो विकार उपपद्यत इत्येवं हेतुर्व्यक्तेरपेतोऽपि विकारोऽस्तीत्यनेन स्वसिद्धान्तेन विरुध्यते । कथम् । व्यक्तिरात्मलाभः । अपायः प्रच्युतिः । यद्यात्मलाभात्प्रच्युतो विकारोऽस्ति, नित्यत्वप्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यते । यद्व्यक्तेरपेतस्यापि विकारस्यास्तित्वं तत्खलु नित्यत्वम् । ...अस्तित्वं चात्मलाभात्प्रच्युतिरिति विरुद्धावेतौ धर्मौ न सह संभवतः ।...

The passage quoted agrees substantially with the bhāṣya on Y. S. III. 23, which reads:—तदेतत्त्रैलोक्यं व्यक्तेरपैति । कस्मात् । नित्यत्वप्रतिषेधात् । अपेतमप्यस्ति विनाशप्रतिषेधात् । संसर्गाच्चास्य सौक्ष्म्यम् । सौक्ष्म्यात्त्वानुपलब्धिरिति ।

It will be seen that Vātsyāyana has substituted *vikāra* for *trailokya* and this has been done with the evident intention of showing clearly the opposition involved between *vikāra* and *nityatva*,

which would not strike the reader if the word *trailokya* remained without some explanation, *trailokya* being primarily a *vikāra*. The Nyāya philosophy does not accept the Sāṁkhya view, which is also the view of the Yoga, that the change of attributes does not affect the unchangeability of the substratum. The passage quoted is in answer to the argument of the adversary: पूर्वपरावस्थाभेद-मनुपपन्नः कौटस्थ्येनविपरिवर्तेत यद्यन्यदो स्यादिति and therefore it cannot possibly be regarded as a quotation from elsewhere. The date of Vātsyāyana then is later than Vyāsa, the author of the *Yoga-bhāṣya*, and the former can be determined now with reference to that of Nāgārjuna, the author of V. V., if the latter can be shown to be criticising not only the N. S., but the *Nyāyabhāṣya*. itself.

The Nyāyabhāṣya and the V.V. : We shall now proceed with a comparison of the *Nyāyabhāṣya* with the V. V. of Nāgārjuna. The date of Nāgārjuna has been placed in the latter half of the second century A. C. although it has been done as a good working hypothesis, though nothing more.[1]

Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana (R. S.), the discoveror of the unique manuscript of the V. V., noted in para. 1 above, affirms on p. vii. that not only Vātsyāyana, but also the author of the N.S. is criticising Nāgārjuna's theory of invalidity (Pratiṣedha) of all sources of knowledge which he developed through his theory of Śūnyatā (voidness); the absence of any criticism, by Nāgārjuna on the sūtra II. 1.16 प्रमेयता च तुलाप्रामाण्यवत् and the primitive style as opposed to the "polished language and a measured and effective style of argument of the N. S. are, in R. S's opinion, corroborations of his views. In fact, according to him, "the advent of Nāgārjuna opens a new epoch of activity in philosophical thought, which led to the formulation of the six systems of Brahmanical philosophy". I refer to this preposterous attempt at boosting up Buddhistic philosophy only to show to what extremes a propagandist can go.

I have already shown above that there is no reference to the Buddhistic doctrines as such in the N. S. and the N. Bh. We shall now try to see if the V. V. has criticised the N. S. and the N. Bh. or if the reverse is the case, as affirmed by R. S.

1. Winternitz, H.S.L. II. p. 342.

The V. V., as its very title shows, takes up an entrenched position from which the attacks (*nigraha*) of the enemy can be warded off (*vyā-vṛt*). A summary of the contents will show whose attacks are being warded off by it. The pūrvapakṣa is contained in v. I.20, to which a reply is given in vv. 21-70, the last two verses being devoted to a glorification of Śūnyatā and the Buddha. The pūrvapakṣa runs thus ; (A) things are not void, otherwise the argument of the śūnyavādin, being void, can prove nothing and refute nothing (vv. I-6); (B) things must be real, for the word of the Buddha mentions virtues and the paths to Nirvāṇa, which must be real (7-8); (C) unrealities cannot have a nameability (9); (D) a refutation of reality can be only on the strength of real attributes, without which there cannot be perception, perceived and perceiver, or refutation, refuted and refuter, in the absence of which latter, the truth of a thing must go unquestioned (10-19); (E) denial of reality cannot precede or follow or be contemporaneous with what is to be denied and hence denial is impossible (20). From vv. 7-8 we can see, it is a Buddhistic opponent whose attacks are resisted. I may say that the arguments in the siddhānta are mostly sophistical and shall therefore not reproduce them here. Nāgārjuna refers here only incidentally to views other than those of the Buddhists. According to R. S. (*loc. cit.* p. v.) the expressions वैकाल्यासिद्धेः in N. S. II. 1.4 and 12, पश्चात्सिद्धौ in sū. 10, युगपत्सिद्धौ in sū 11, प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धिप्रसङ्गः in sū. 17, प्रतिषेधः in sū. 12-15 and प्रमेयसिद्धि : in sū. 18 in the N. S. II. I contain direct references to the V.V., while in addition to them the expression पूर्वं हि प्रतिषेधसिद्धौ पश्चात्सिद्धौ in N. Bh. on N. S. I. 12, the word अनवस्था in N.Bh. on I.17, विशेषहेतुः in N.Bh. on I.19 and प्रत्यक्षादिभिः उपलब्धिः in N. Bh. on I.19 are quotations from V. V. I would say that the reverse is the case. In fact there is an express reference in the V. V. to the opening sentence in the N. Bh. प्रमाणतोऽर्थप्रतिपत्तौ प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यादर्थवत्प्रमाणम् in 30-31 and 41-51. The reference in sū. 70 to '*traikālya*' is even decisive; it shows the posteriority of the V.V. to the N.S. and the N. Bh. The pūrva-pakṣa in v. 20 runs as follows:—पूर्वं चेत्प्रतिषेधः पश्चान्प्रतिषेध्यमित्यनुपपन्नम् । पश्चादनुपपन्नो युगपच्च यतः स्वभावोक्तान् ॥

In the answer as contained in v. 70, which runs as follows:—यस्तैकाल्ये हेतुः प्रत्युक्तः पूर्वमेव स समत्वात् । त्रैकाल्यप्रतिहेतुश्च शून्यवादिनां

प्राप्त: II, the word traikālya is a technical word which cannot be understood without a previous study of the *Nyāyabhāṣya* and even earlier works. The word occurs in Patañjali's M. Bh., where a verse is quoted, giving the arguments held with a crow by a youth who prides himself on his knowledge of the Mīmāṁsā to prove to the crow that it cannot fly, since it could not fly in the past, since it cannot fly in the future, and since the present consists of only a moment in which no action is possible. A mere incidental mention of *traikālya* without any explanation in v. 70 shows the priority of the Brahmanical works.

The Brahmasūtras : From their style and vocabulary the B. S. appear to be considerably later than the J. S. The citations of common names in the B. S. and the J. S. do not prove anything, for the names often stand for schools; cf. Vārt. 19 on Pāṇ. I. I. 44., B. S. Pādas II. 1 and 2 contain a refutation of Buddhism among other doctrines and this raises a question as to the particular schools of Buddhism referred to and the relative date of the B. S. with reference to those schools. It may be said that B. S. II, Pādas 1 and 2 are outside the tenor of the method professed in the B. S. in I. 1.3 and 4 शास्त्रयोनित्वात् । तत् तु समन्वयात् ।, according to which the discussions proceed on the basis of Vedic texts and of a reconciliation of contradictory texts, while the pādas in question contain refutation on a strictly non-scriptural basis. The B. S., like most Brahmanical sūtras, are the product of a school rather than a single author. The arguments used in controversies with other schools were embodied into Adhikaraṇas and these adhi. were later on incorporated into a standard text. But the B. S., as they stand today, are too systematically arranged to allow the insertion of any important matter at a later date. They were evidently composed when the Sāṁkhya was a popular philosophy and the Vedāntic school, following the Mīmāṁsā, rejected the Sāṁkhya interpretation of the basic Upaniṣad passages and wanted to arrive at a homogeneous system from them. Taking them as a homogeneous whole, we have to consider whether their refutation of the Śūnyavāda or the Vijñānavāda in them and the two Nirodhas referred to in them can obviously belong to the early doctrines of Buddhism. The Abhāva referred to must also probably be a doctrine of early Buddhism; cf. the Bahuśrutīya view that only *prajñapti* has a real existence. The early Buddhist sects were in no sense pro-Mahāyāna;

neither their doctrines of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva nor their ontology can be regarded as having Mahāyāna tendencies. They never held that matter or citta were pure denominations, and, if they held the doctrine of instantaneity, they held it in common with the Mahiśāsakas, the Vatsīputrīyas, the Kāśyapīyas and even the Sarvāstivādins.

If, therefore, according to our present knowledge of Buddhism it was possible for the B. S. to refer to the doctrines of Buddhism relating to momentaneity or the concept of knowledge without a real basis in about the first century B. C. or A. C., there is no reason for us to regard the B. S. as coming after either Nāgārjuna or Asaṅga.

Early Buddhism:—Just as the interrelations of the V. V. and the N. Bh. have enabled us to fix a relative date for the Y. S. and Y. Bh., in the same manner the Y. S, and the Y. Bh. also enable us to say something about the doctrines of Buddhism which have been criticised by the Y. Bh., which is certainly not later than the first century after Christ and therfore is earlier than Nāgārjuna. Refutations of the Buddhists occur in the Bhāṣya-portion on Y. S. I.32, III.14, IV.14 15 (twice), 20,21,23 and 24. Of these the Bhāṣya-portions on I.32, III. 14, and IV. 2 refer to a momentary mind without a stable cogniser, those in IV. 14, 15 (twice) and IV.20, to the unreality of the object projected by the mind, and those on IV.21 and IV.23 refer to both the views. I quote below the Bhāṣya passages on IV. 14 and IV.23 to give an exact idea of the Buddhistic views which were refuted in the Y. Bh. and therefore had a currency in about the first century A. C.

Y. Bh. on Y.S. III. 14:—

यस्य तु धर्ममात्रमेवेदं निरन्वयं तस्य भोगाभावः । कस्मात् । अन्येन विज्ञानेन कृतस्य कर्मणोऽन्यत् कथं भोक्तृत्वेनाधिकिरेत । तस्मृत्यभावश्च । नान्यदृष्टस्य स्मरणमन्यस्यास्तीति । वस्तुप्रत्यभिज्ञानाच्च स्थितोऽन्वयी धर्मो यो धर्मान्वयात्वमुपगतः प्रत्यभिज्ञायते । तस्माद्भेद धर्ममात्रं निरन्वयमिति ॥

Y. Bh. in Y.S.IV. 23:—

तदनेन चित्तमात्रेवेन भ्रान्ताः केचित्तदेव चेतनमित्याहुः । अपरे चित्तमात्रमेवेदं सर्वं नास्ति खल्वयं गवादिघंटादिश्च सकारणो लोक इति । अनुकम्पनीयास्ते । कस्मात् । अस्ति हि तेषां भ्रान्तिबीज सर्वरूपाकारनिर्भासं चित्तमिति । समाधिप्रज्ञायां प्रज्ञेयोर्वः प्रतिबिम्बीभूतः तस्यालम्बनीभूतत्वादन्यः । स चेदर्थश्चित्तमात्रं स्यात् कथं प्रज्ञयेव प्रज्ञास्वभवधार्येत ।

Here is a doctrine of Skandhas coupled with a doctrine of the citta of momentary existence without a stable reality and the rival doctrine of the unreality of the object perceived which is invariably the result of a mental act.

In fact the development of the earliest Buddhistic doctrines remains yet to be studied on historical lines. That there has been a progressive development of doctrines can he seen from the fact that there are three Āsavas mentioned in M. I. 55, A. I. 265, III. 414 etc, while a fourth has been added in D.II.81, 84, 91, etc. and in the *Aṅguttara* itself in I. 65, 196 etc. For the three Sampadas of the D.I.171 we have five mentioned elsewhere and eight in still other places. If we refer to the words sīla, vimokkha, samādhi, saññā, āyatana, jhāna, kasina and ariya saccāni in Stede's Pali dictionary, we can see how the rich material that he has brought together has yet to be properly utilised. Our knowledge of the early sects is very meagre today, which fact has been acknowledged both by de La Vallèe Poussain and M. Bareau, and we cannot say that we have yet before us a complete view of the early doctrines of Buddhism.

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Y. Bh. in Y.S.IV. 23:—

तदनेन चित्तसाङ्ख्येन भ्रान्ताः केचित्तदेव चेतनमित्याहुः । अपरे चित्तमात्रमेवेदं सर्वं नास्ति खल्वयं गवादिपिण्डादिश्च सकारणो लोक इति । अनुकम्पनीयास्ते । कस्मात् । अस्ति हि तेषां भ्रान्तिबीजं सर्वरूपाकारनिर्भासं चित्तमिति । समाधिप्रज्ञायां प्रज्ञेयोर्वैः प्रतिबिम्बीभूतः तस्यालम्बनीभूतत्वादन्यः । स चेदर्थश्चित्तमात्रं स्यात् कथं प्रज्ञयेद प्रज्ञारूपमवधार्येत ।

Here is a doctrine of Skandhas coupled with a doctrine of the citta of momentary existence without a stable reality and the rival doctrine of the unreality of the object perceived which is invariably the result of a mental act.

In fact the development of the earliest Buddhistic doctrines remains yet to be studied on historical lines. That there has been a progressive development of doctrines can he seen from the fact that there are three Āsavas mentioned in M. I. 55, A. I. 265, III. 414 etc, while a fourth has been added in D.II.81, 84, 91, etc. and in the *Aṅguttara* itself in I. 65, 196 etc. For the three Sampadas of the D.I.171 we have five mentioned elsewhere and eight in still other places. If we refer to the words sīla, vimokkha, samādhi, saññā, āyatana, jhāna, kasina and ariya saccāni in Stede's Pali dictionary, we can see how the rich material that he has brought together has yet to be properly utilised. Our knowledge of the early sects is very meagre today, which fact has been acknowledged both by de La Vallée Poussain and M. Bareau, and we cannot say that we have yet before us a complete view of the early doctrines of Buddhism.

FAMILY LAW

AS OBSERVED IN THE SMṚTIS OF NĀRADA, BṚHASPATI AND KĀTYĀYANA

M. M. *Patkar*, Poona

Some aspects of family law have been considered at length by Nārada in a special section and title of law called "Mutual duties of Husband and Wife" (*strīpumsadharma*). Under this topic Nārada discusses several other topics such as marriage, impotency, adultery, divorce, levirate and so on. Although the title speaks of the mutual duties of husband and wife, the three law-givers are very brief in enumerating the duties of husband towards his wife, while they deal at length about the duties of wife. All that Nārada says about the duties of husband is that he should be devoted to his wife and if he leaves a dutiful wife he should be punished by the king.[1] Nārada also prescribes that husband and wife can neither lodge any complaint against each other nor can they institute legal proceedings against one another. They should not leave one another except when the wife is guilty of adultery. Barring such few exceptions the husband seems to have wielded great authority over his wife and her position, even in the time of the law-givers of advanced views like Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana does not seem to be much better than a slave, although in theory, she was considered as a half part of her husband, sharing equally the results of his good or bad actions. The husband completely dominated his wife. He should not show love to a barren woman or to one who gives birth to female children only or whose conduct is blamable or who constantly contradicts her husband. Otherwise he is likely to be reproached.[2] Simi-

1. *Nār*, p. 186, v. 95 :

अनुकूलामवाप्तुष्टां दक्षां साध्वीं प्रजावतीम् ।
त्यजन्भार्यामवस्थाप्यो राज्ञा दण्डेन भूयसा ॥

2. *Ibid*, v. 94 :

वन्ध्यां स्त्रीजननीं निन्द्यां प्रतिकूलां च सर्वदा ।
कामतो नाभिनन्देत कुर्वन्नेवं स दोषभाक् ॥

larly, the husband is at liberty to expel from his house his wife if she happens to betray malice towards him or speaks unkind words to him. A woman spending all her husband's money or attempting on his life is liable to be banished. On the other hand we find several rules in the codes of Nārada, and Bṛhaspati enjoining numerous duties for a wife. She should devote herself to house hold duties such as preparation of food, preservation of utensils, taking care of the domestic fire and so on. She should not reside in another man's house separated from her husband, father or son. She should lead a simple life and abstain from decorating herself when her husband is away from home. Bṛhaspati summarizes the position of a wife declaring that she is a part of her husband and by leading a virtuous life she promotes the welfare of her husband and ultimately the welfare of the family.[3] Such a dutiful and religious minded wife, according to him, finally attains heaven. According to Kātyāyana she should lead a pious and virtuous life attending to domestic and sacrificial fire, thus desiring prosperity and freedom from widowhood.[4] Among the faults of a wife Bṛhaspati includes drinking spirituous liquor, rambling, sleeping by day and neglecting her duties.

Marriage

When a man and a maiden are to unite as husband and wife, the first requisite according to Nārada is that the choice of the bride should be followed by the ceremony of joining the hands of the bride and the bridegroom. The provisions as regards the different aspects of marriage are to be found in the three Smṛtis under study and are briefly incorporated here.

Forms of Marriage

Almost all the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis mention eight forms of marriage. Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha, however, mention only six, omitting the *prājāpatya* and *paiśāca* rites. Nārada gives the characteristics of each of the eight forms which are reproduced below :

3. *Br.* p. 194, v. 14 :

शरीरार्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ।
अन्यास्वा जीवन्ती च साध्वी भर्तृहिताय सा ॥

4. *Kā.* p. 101, v. 835 :

पत्या चाप्यवियोगिन्या शुश्रूष्योऽग्निर्विनीतया ।
सौभाग्यवदवैधव्यकामया भर्तृभक्तया ॥

1. In the *Brāhma* form the father of the bride invites and receives the bridegroom with honour and offers his daughter to him bedecked with ornaments.
2. When a maiden is offered to the bridegroom by the bride's father addressing the words : "May both of you perform together your duties", and showing honour to the bridegroom, it is called *Prājāpatya* form.
3. The *Ārṣa* form is the third rite according to which the father of the bride receives from the bridegroom a dress, bull and a cow as marriage-fee.
4. When a maiden is given before the altar, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice during its performance, it is called the *Daiva* form.
5. The union of a willing maiden with her lover is the fifth form of marriage, known as the *Gāndharva* form, which springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose.
6. When the bridegroom receives a maiden, after having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father of the bride, her kinsmen or to the bride herself, according to his own will, that is called an *Āsura* form.
7. Forcible abduction of a maiden from her home is termed the *Rākṣasa* form. In this form the maiden generally weeps while being abducted. Her kinsmen and relatives are slain or wounded and their houses broken.
8. The last form is known as the *Paiśāca* form in which a person has sexual intercourse with a maiden during her sleep or while she is unconscious. Nārada condemns this as the basest of all.

Nārada declares the first four of these, viz., *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa* and *daiva* forms, as lawful, probably for all castes. The *gāndharva* form is common; and the last three unlawful.[6] Other writers, however, do not condemn the last three forms as does Nārada. Baudhāyana for instance, pronounces the *rākṣasa* rite as lawful for the Kṣatriyas.[7] The *gāndharva*

5. *Nār.* pp. 177-78, vv. 38-44.
6. *Nār.* p. 177, v. 44 :
एवां तु धर्म्यांश्चत्वारो ब्राह्मादयः समुदाहृताः ।
साधारणः स्याद्गान्धर्वस्त्रयोऽधर्म्यास्ततः परे ॥
7. *Baud. dhS.* p. 136, 1.11.12 :
अत्रापि षष्ठसप्तमौ क्षत्रधर्मानुगतौ तत्प्रत्यक्षत्वात्क्षत्रस्येति ।

and the *rākṣasa* forms are declared by Manu to be lawful for Kṣatriyas.[8] Manu agrees with Nārada in prohibiting the *asura* and the *paiśāca* for all castes including the Śūdras and in condemning the *paiśāca* form as the basest and most sinful of all. As regards the *gāndharva* form most of the law-givers seem to be in favour of it and although originally it was prevalent among the Kṣatriyas alone, in Manu's time it seems to have been lawful for the Brahmins, as well as for the Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[9] The only consideration for its universal recognition is that it was based on mutual love and consent.

Although eight forms of marriage were recognized by the ancient Hindu law-givers, they looked upon *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa* and *daiva* as the approved forms and the remaining as unapproved. The modern law, however, recognizes only three forms as prevalent, the most common form being the *brāhma*. The next is the *asura* form where there is a sale of the girl, and the third is the *gāndharva* form which is considered as approved for the purpose of divorce, though originally looked upon as unapproved.

Requisites of a valid marriage

When a man and a woman are to unite as husband and wife, the first requisite is the choice of the bride which is to be followed by the ceremony of joining hands of the bride and the bridegroom.[10] But the choice of the bride could be annulled as there is no binding of acceptance and on discovery of any defect in the bride although she has been selected for marriage. Nārada further states that as far as possible, the bride and the bridegroom should be of the same caste;[11] but

8. *Mn.* 3.26 :

पृथक्पृथग्वा मिश्रौ वा विवाहौ पूर्वचोदितौ ।
गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव धर्म्यौ क्षत्रस्य तौ स्मृतौ ॥

9. *Ibid* 3.23 :

षडानुपूर्व्या विप्रस्य क्षत्रस्य चतुरोऽवरान् ।
विट्शूद्रयोस्तु तानेव विद्याद्धर्म्यानराक्षसान् ॥

10. *Nār.* p. 173, v. 2 :

स्त्रीपुंसयोस्तु सम्बन्धे वरणं प्राग्विधीयते ।
वरणाद्ग्रहणं पाणेः संस्कारोऽत्र द्विलक्षणः ॥

11. *Ibid.* v. 3 :

ब्राह्मक्षत्रियविशामूद्रजां च परिग्रहे ।
सजातिः श्रेयसी भार्या सजातिश्च पतिः स्त्रियाः ॥

he also admits of the *anuloma* marriage, condemning the *pratiloma* form as it causes degradation and mixture of castes. Lastly, the bride and the bridegroom should not be related to each other within seven degrees on the father's side and five on the mother's; nor should they be of the same *gotra* or *pravara*. [12]

Age of the bride

While in the Vedic period adult marriages seem to be common, in the age of the Smṛtis the general rule appears to be that a maiden should be married between the ages of eight and twelve and at any rate before attaining the age of puberty. Nārada, however, does not seem to look down upon marriages of maidens even after attaining the age of puberty.[13]

Guardianship in marriage

Since women are created for the sake of procreation they should be married in accordance with law and since marriages of maidens were performed in ancient India before they attained puberty, which is supposed to be the age of discretion, it was necessary that some one authorized by law ought to get them married to suitable persons and in an approved form of marriage. Regarding the persons who are authorized to give a girl in marriage Nārada mentions the following persons in order:

1. father
2. brother with father's consent
3. paternal grand-father
4. maternal uncle
5. agnates or cognates; in default of all these
6. mother, if she is competent and
7. a distant relation.[14]

Nārada further provides that if there be none of these, the maiden should herself approach the king and with his

12. *Ibid.* v. 7 : आमन्त्रमानङ्चमाद्या बन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः।
अविवाह्या : सगोत्रा : स्यु: समानप्रवरास्तथा ॥

13 *Ibid.* p. 176, v. 27 :
अतः प्रवर्ते रजसि कन्या दद्यात्पिता स्वयम् ।

14. *Ibid.* p. 175, vv. 20-21 :
पिता दद्यात्स्वयं कन्यां भ्राता वानुमते पितुः ।
पितामहो मातुलश्च सबन्धुर्या बान्धवास्तथा ॥
माता स्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्तते ।
तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां दद्युः कन्यां सनाभयः ॥

permission choose a husband for her.[15] Yājñavalkya's order is slightly different and it also differs from the guardianship for other purposes where the guardian is the father and next to him the mother is the natural guardian; any other relative comes next in order. This divergence of views has been explained by stating that the guardianship in marriage refers only to the ceremonial competence of those who could dispose of the maiden and not to any legal right.[16]

Faults in a bride

Nārada enumerates the following defects in a bride but he does not state whether marriage with such a bride is void. The defects are :

1. affliction with a chronic or incurable disease
2. deformity
3. loss of virginity
4. wickedness and
5. staying with another person.[17]

Although these defects or faults in a maiden do not render a solemnized marriage invalid, the bridegroom is at liberty to annul the choice of the bride if he discovers any of these defects in the bride before the marriage takes place.

As regards virginity of the bride it appears that there is no rule of Hindu law which requires the virginity of the bride as an essential condition for a valid Hindu marraige.[18] In *Madan Shetty* v. *Timuri Avvak* (1939) (2 MLJ 802, 50 MLJ w. 387) it has been held that "if a Hindu marries with due formalities a girl who is not a virgin and whom he knows not to be virgin, he himself having had irregular connection with her before marriage, he is not entitled to repudiate the marriage subsequently on the ground of lack of virginity of the bride at the time of marriage" (*ibid.* p. 144).

15. *Ibid.* p. 176, v. 22 :

यदा तु नैव कश्चित्स्याद्कन्या राजानमाश्रयेत् ।
अनुज्ञया तस्य वरं प्रतीक्ष्य वरयेत्स्वयम् ॥

16. Mayne: *Hindu Law and Usage* (*HLU*) 11th ed., pp. 139-40.

17. *Nār.* p. 177, v. 36 :

दीर्घव्युत्सितरोगार्ता व्यङ्गा मसृष्टमैथुना ।
दुष्टान्यगतभावा च कन्यादोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

18. *HLU.* p. 144

If a person attaches any blame to a faultless maiden out of malice or hatred he becomes liable for fine up to 100 *panas*. Similarly, one who abandons a faultless maiden is not only liable to be fined but is also required to marry the girl even against his will.

Fault in a bridegroom

As in the case of a bride, physical fitness and some other qualities are considered essential in a bridegroom also. Nārada, therefore, mentions the following defects in a bridegroom :

1. madness
2. impotency
3. misery
4. affliction with chronic or hateful disease
5. abandoning one's relatives
6. loss of caste, and
7. deformity.

Although these and such other defects have been mentioned by the law-givers like Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada, the modern trend of decisions seems to show that a physical or mental deformity does not affect a marriage either with a eunuch or one physically or mentally deformed, if solemnized.

Impotency

Impotency of the bridegroom has been looked upon as disqualification on his part for marriage by Nārada although Manu (9.203) and Yājñavalkya (1.55) recognize the eligibility of impotent persons or eunuchs for marriage. Nārada expressly declares a very bold view that the bridegroom must undergo an examination of his manliness and if it is established beyond doubt, then alone he is considered fit to marry.[29] Nārada further describes the characteristics of potency and impotency elaborately. His mention of fourteen kinds of impotent persons is unique and agrees to a great extent with the description of eunuchs in medical treatises. The fourteen kinds of impotent persons enumerated by Nārada

19. *Nār.* p. 177, v. 35 :

प्रतिगृह्य तु यः कन्यामदुष्टामुत्सृजेन्नरः ।
स विनेयस्तत्कामोऽपि कन्यां दाप्येव चोद्वहेत् ॥

20. *Ibid.* p. 173, v. 8 :

परीक्ष्य पुरुषः पुंस्त्वे निर्जरैरेवाङ्गलक्षणैः ।
पुमांश्चेदविकल्पेन स कन्यां लब्धुमर्हति ॥

are : 1. one naturally impotent, 2. one whose testicles have been cut off, 3. a *pakṣaṇaṇḍha*, 4. one who has been deprived of his potency by curse of his spiritual guide or 5. by illness, or 6. by wrath of a deity, 7. one who has been impotent on account of jealousy, 8. a *sevya*, 9. one whose semen is evanescent like air, 10. a *mukhabhaga*, 11. one who spills his semen, 12. one whose semen is devoid of strength, 13. one timorous, and 14. one who is potent with another woman only.[21] Nārada states that of these, the first two viz., natural impotency and impotency due the cutting of testicles are incurable. A person impotent on account of some other causes should wait for some time and try to get himself cured. Kātyāyana gives the characteristics of an impotent person. He says that a person should be considered as impotent whose urine has no froth, whose feces sink in water, and whose generative organ is devoid of erection.[22] Nārada does not define an impotent person but merely gives the characteristics of a potent person stating that he who does not possess these qualities should be considered as impotent.[23]

The maxim of the seed and the field (bījakṣetra-nyāya)

When a person is begotten on a woman who happens to be the wife of another person, very often a question arises regarding the ownership of the child so begotten. This has been compared to the sowing of seed in the field of another person where the product belongs to the owner of the field. Applying this rule which is popularly known as the *bīja-kṣetranyāya* or the maxim of the seed and the field, some law-givers interpret that a son begotten on the wife of

21. S.B.E. vol. 33, pp. 167-68 and *Nār.* p. 174, vv. 11, 12 :
निसर्गषण्ढो वध्यश्च पक्षषण्ढस्तथैव च ।
अभिशापादमुरो रोगाद्देवक्रोधात्तथैव च ॥
ईर्ष्यीषण्ढश्च सेव्यश्च वातरेता मुखे भगः ।
आक्षिप्तो मोघबीजश्च शालीनोऽन्यापतिस्तथा ॥

22. *Kāt.* p. 104, v. 861 :
न मूत्रं फेनिलं यस्य विष्ठा चाप्सु निमज्जति ।
मेढ्रश्चोन्मादमुक्ताभ्यां हीनः क्लीवः स उच्यते ॥

23. *Nār.* p. 174, v. 10 :
रेतोऽल्पोत्लवते नाप्सु ह्यादि मूत्रं च फेनिलम् ।
पुमान्स्वाल्पव्रणैरेतैर्विपरीतस्तु षण्ढकः ॥

another person belongs to the husband of the woman and not to the begetter. Yājñavalkya says that if a sonless person procreates a son according to the rite of *niyoga* on the wife of another, the son so procreated inherits the wealth of both the begetter as also of the natural father and offers *piṇḍa* to both.[24] But while commenting on the same passage, Vijñāneśvara observes that if a person appointed to procreate a son on the wife of another person begets a son on her, the son so begotten becomes the son of the *kṣetrin* i. e. of the owner of the field and not of the *bījin* i. e. the owner of the seed.[25] The difference between the two views is due to the fact that in the first case the person begetting a son on another's wife is a sonless man (*aputraḥ*), whereas in the latter case he is a person already having a son (*putravān*). Nārada mentions two cases where in one case, the son procreated on the wife of another belongs only to the husband of the woman and the other where the son belongs to both the begetter and the husband of the woman on whom the son is begotten. When a son is begotten on the wife of another without the knowledge of her husband, the son belongs to the person who begets the child.[26] If, on the other hand, a son is begotten on another's wife with her husband's consent, he belongs to both.[27]

The views of the three Smṛti-writers on the topic of matrimonial relations are adumbrated above. They discuss under this topic mainly the several aspects of marriage. Their exposition exhibits their advanced views on marriage and other

24. *Yāj.* 2.127 : अनेन परक्षेत्रे नियोगोत्पादितः सुतः ।
उभयोरप्यसौ रिक्थी पिण्डदाता च धर्मतः ॥

25. *Mit.* on *Yāj.* 2. 127 :
यदा तु नियुक्तः पुत्रवान् केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते
तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव भवतीति न बीजिनः ।
स च न नियमेन बीजिनो रिक्थहारी पिण्डदो वा ।

26. *Nār.* p. 179. v. 33 :
क्षेत्रिकस्य वदन्ति क्षेत्रे बीजं प्रदीयते ।
न तत्र बीजिनो भाग : क्षेत्रिकस्यैव तत्फलम् ॥

27. *Ibid.* p. 180, v. 38 :
क्षेत्रिकानुमते बीजं यस्य क्षेत्रे समर्प्यते ।
तदपत्यं द्वयोरेव बीजिक्षेत्रिकयोर्मतम् ॥

allied topics. The Dharmaśāstra literature of the Hindus is replete with not only religious and secular matters but is likely to yield a very fruitful result if it is studied from an anthropological and sociological point of view. The present paper is an attempt in that direction.

VIṢṆUKUṆḌIN VIKRAMENDRAVARMAN II

Dr. M. Rama *Rao*

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were an important dynasty that ruled over parts of coastal Āndhradeśa and Telingana for over a century and a half during the post-Śātavāhana period between 450 and 615 A. D. Our knowledge of this dynasty was confined, till recently, to five copper plate grants.[1] The Tuṇḍi grant recently published,[2] is a welcome addition. Two more grants, edited by me,[3] supply very valuable information and necessitate radical changes in the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, besides bringing to light a historical incident, hitherto unknown. Mādhavavarman I and Vikramendravarman II of this dynasty were important rulers. An attempt is made in this paper to reconstruct the reign of Vikramendravarman II in the light of all the material now available.

Vikramendravarman is known from the Chikkuḷḷa, Tuṇḍi and Indrapālanagara grants. It is necessary to re-interpret the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates, previously published, and the Gālavalli plates, recently published , of Pṛthvīmahārāja in the light of the the two Indrapālanagara grants edited by me. This monarch was the son of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman and the sixth ruler[4] of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. He is said to have been annointed even while he was a child by the *saciva* or ministers.[5] This was due to the fact that his father, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, was killed in an elephant-fight[6] with *Adhirāja* Indra, the ruler of Kalinga and a member of the Eastern Ganga family. The date of Vikramendravarman's accession and the duration of his

1. The Polamūru plates, e.p. 7 of 1914 and *Bhārati* VII pp. 165-180; Ipūr II plates, *E.I.* XVII, pp. 334—337; Ipūr I plates, *E.I.* XVII, pp. 337-339; Rāmatīrtham plates, *E.I.* XII, pp. 133-136; and the Chikkuḷḷa plates, *E.I.* IV, pp. 193-196.
2. *A.P. Government Archaeological series*, no. 8
3. *Journal of Indian History*. XL, pp. 557-580
4. *Ibid* p. 575. Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy.
5. *Jour. Ind. Hist.* XL, p. 734. Text, line 15.
6. *Ibid.* lines 10-12.

rule have hitherto been matters of speculation. They can now be stated with accuracy. His Indrapālanagara grant I is dated in S. 488 expired which fell in the 11th year of his reign[7] and which corresponds to 566–567 A. D. This is his latest known date. It follows from this that he ascended the throne in (566-67 – 11 =) 555-556 A. D.

The Indrapālanagara grant referred to above, contains a fact of unique importance. It is stated therein that Vikramendravarman defeated a Pallava named Simha, came immediately thereafter to Śakrapura and made the gift contained in the grant.[8] The Pallava king Simha, is obviously a Simhavarman and may be identified with Pallava Simhavarman II[9] who ruled over coastal Āndhradeśa. We know further, that a certain Mūlarāja, a Viṣṇukuṇḍin subordinate, and follower of Vikramendravarman, and the executor of the Indrapālanagara grant, uplifted the goddess of his master's kingdom while she was falling down.[10] The mention of this fact after and along with Vikramendravarman's defeat of Pallava Simhavarman indicates that the two events were interconnected. Two other c. p. grants throw further light on this incident. The Mangadūr grant of Pallava Simhavarman, dated in the 8th year of his reign, registers the gift of a village in the Vengo-rāṣṭra.[11] This *Vengo-rāṣṭra* is identical with the territory lying immediately to the north of the river Krishna. The Chikkuḷḷa grant[12] of Vikramendravarman, dated in the 10th year of his reign, registers the gift of a village in the *Netrapāṭi-viṣaya*, situated immediately on the southern bank of the Krishna. On the basis of the date contained in the Indrapālanagara grant, the Chikkuḷḷa grant has to be assigned to 565-566 A. D. This must have been the 8th year of Pallava Simhavarman. The proximity of the areas in which the Pallava and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin made the gifts indicate that the two gifts

7. *Ibid* pp. 736-737, Text, lines 43-44.
8. *Ibid* lines 41-43
9. This Pallava king was the donor of the Omgōḍu II plates, *E.I.* XV, pp. 252-255; Pikira plates, *E. I.* VIII, pp. 159-163; Mangadūr, *I.A.* V, pp. 154-157 and Vilavaṭṭi plates, *E.I.* XXIV, pp. 296-303.
10. *Jour. Ind. Hist*, XL, p. 737, Text, lines 44-45
11. *I.A.* V, pp. 154-157
12. *E.I.* IV, pp. 193-198

were made in connection with the conflict between the two kings. The course of events may be re-constructed as follows : In 565-66 the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king invaded the *Netrapāṭi-viṣaya* which was then in the dominion of the Pallavas. Pallava Simhavarman retaliated by invading the *Vengo-rāṣṭra*, which was the heart of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom and besieged Vengī, its capital. Śrī Mūlarāja repelled the Pallava attack on Vengī and averted serious danger. Subsquently, Vikramendravarman joined the battle, defeated the Pallava and pursued him beyond the Krishna into his own dominion.

Another incident in the reign of Vikramendravarman can be made out of from two c. p. grants, the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates,[13] issued in the 46th year and the Gālavalli plates,[14] issued in the 49th year of the reign of Pṛthvīmahārāja, the last member of the Śrīrāmakāśyapa family which ruled from piṣṭapura, in southern Kaḷinga. The Cālukyas of Bādāmi conquered Kalinga and Vengī by 615 A. D. as shown by me elsewhere.[15] It follows from this that the reign of Pṛthvīmahārāja, whose grants are ascribed, on paleographical grounds, to the latter half of the sixth and the first quarter of the seventh century, ended by 615 A. D. If so, his reign must have begun in (615-49 =) 566 A. D. which was the eleventh and last known year of the rule of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarman II. Through his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant, Pṛthvimīmahārāja gifted a village in the *Pāguṇūra-viṣaya* which corresponded to the Bhīmavaram, Narasapuram and Tanuku taluks of the modern West Godavary district, on the southern bank of the Cavery. The same king gifted, through his Gālavalli plates, a village in the *Kudravāḍi-viṣaya* which corresponded to the Gudivada, Bandar and Kaikalur taluks in the modern Krishna district and part of the area lying round the Kollēru lake. Thus, Pṛthvīmahārāja seems to have been in possession of the greater part of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom on the coast. It is very likely that he drove the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king from the coastal area and took possession of it. Vikramendravarman must have sought refuge in the Nagonda district which was part of his dominion and which is contiguous to his home province of Vengī.

13. *Ibid* XXIII, pp. 88-99
14. *Ibid* XXXV, pp. 221-224
15. *Jour. Ind. Hist*, XL, p. 580

The Chikkuḷḷa plates describe Vikramendravarman as a *Paramamāheśvara*. His Indrapālanagara grant mentions him as a *Rājarṣi* and a *dharmacijayin*, and gives him the title *Uttamāśraya*. He had an eventful though short reign. He was able to repel a Pallava invasion of Vengī but could not withstand the southern aggression of the Rāmakāśyapa ruler, Pṛthvīmahārāja. He was the last ruler of the main line of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family.

KAUṬALYA'S ARTHA ŚĀSTRA—SOME TEXTUAL PROBLEMS

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The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya bristles with textual problems. At the close of the first chapter, the author tells us that his śāstra is easy to learn and grasp, couched in words of accepted denotations and free from prolixity. But we are removed from the author by over two thousands years, and live in changed conditions of life. We now find the work cryptic, obscure and difficult to understand. The śāstra is apparently simple but it is terse, profound and deep in meaning as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, अलब्धपारे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् as Bhartṛhari puts it. Dr. Jolly and Ganapati Śāstri held contrary views in regard to the value and authenticity of the *Arthaśāstra*, but they agreed in one point, viz., that it is difficult to understand. Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita* remarks: तत्तु किल शास्त्रं शास्त्रान्तरानुबन्धि, सर्वमेव वाङ्मयमविदित्वा न तत्रवतोऽधिगम्यते ....'the śāstra of Viṣṇugupta is interlinked with other śāstras and its real import could not be grasped without a knowledge of the entire range of Sanskrit literature.' Of course, this remark is put in the mouth of a calumniator who injects evil counsel to a young prince, but it cannot be denied that it points to its encyclopaedic nature. There are several factors that go to make the work difficult and a few illustrations are given in support of my point.

1. There are sentences of irregular construction. The sentence : तस्य पूर्वोत्तरं भागमाचार्यपुरोहितेज्यास्थान मन्त्रिणश्चाधिवसेयुः II-4. has to be construed as तस्य पूर्वोत्तरं भागम् आचार्यपुरोहितावधिवसेत्, तस्मिन्नित्यातोद्यस्थानं स्यात्, तं भाग मन्त्रिणश्चाधिवसेयुः ।

"The royal teacher and the priest shall occupy the division east-north to the centre of the city, their places of worship and bath shall be there, and ministers also shall occupy the same division. The *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* seeks to reconcile this irregularity thus: अर्थाद् विभक्तिविपरिणामः तद्यथा देवदत्तस्य गामोऽश्वं हिरण्यम्, आद्यो बंधेय

इति। This breach of order is immaterial. There is another difficulty in explaining the sentence. The previous sentence reads: वास्तुहृदयाद् उत्तरे नवभागे अन्तःपुरं कारयेत्। "In the ninth part to the north of the heart of the city shall be constructed the royal palace." *Tasya* in the next sentence should ordinarily refer to '*antahpura*' (royal palace) or '*navabhāga*' (the ninth part). But it is not so, *Tasya* should refer to *durga*, 'the entire city-area' and 'tasya pūrvottaram bhāgam' should be taken to mean "the northern part in the east of the city."; for, '*tasya*' is construed with all other divisions of *durga*.

The lay-out of the city consists of four main divisions namely, the east, the south, the west and the north to be occupied respectively by Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and Brāhmans and eight intermediate divisions, two each between each two quarters, namely पूर्वोत्तरः, पूर्वदक्षिणः, पूर्वः, दक्षिणपूर्वः, दक्षिणपश्चिमः, दक्षिणः, पश्चिमदक्षिणः, पश्चिमोत्तरः, पश्चिमः, उत्तरपश्चिमः, उत्तरपूर्वः, उत्तरः where public offices, workshops, warehouses, storehouses and other buildings are to be located. These twelve divisions are to be fixed around the royal buildings which are to be a little north to the centre of the city. (चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाजीवे वास्तुहृदयादुत्तरे नवभागे)

Words qualifying the object are put at the end, after the predicate. They give rise to the doubt whether they go with the previous or the following sentence. For instance, the sentence तस्य (भूमि गृहस्य) उपरि कोशगृहं कारयेत् प्रासादं वा occurring in the context of construction of treasure-house, storehouse and other buildings, is taken to mean : 'Above the underground cellar, should be built a treasure-house or a palace without an underground cellar'. But the construction of the palace has been dealt with in the first book, chapter 20 (Niśānta-praṇidhi). Again, treasure-house which is associated with an organic part of the state (Kośa) cannot be an option to a palace. '*Prāsādam vā*' should therefore go with the next sentence प्रासादं वा जनपदान्ते ध्रुवमभित्त्यकृतैः पुरुषैः कारयेत्। The particle 'vā' in the sentence is used in the sense of 'conjunction' (*samuccaya*) and not of 'option' (*vikalpa*). The reading 'Prāsādam ca' in the 'Devanagari' manuscript of the Jain Bhandar, supports the sense '*samuccaya*'. *Dhruvanidhi* is a

bahuvrīhi compound qualifying *prāsāda*, and the sentence is to be rendered as follows: "At the extremity of the country, he should choose a palace with an underground chamber containing permanent treasure, to be constructed by criminals condemned to death, as a provision against calamity." The modern 'Gold bars,' under New York City in U.S.A may be taken as a devclopment of the Kauṭaliyan secret treasure, at the extremity of the country.

2. There are numerous words which we do not find in the extant Sanskrit literature. To mention a few of them: "Anvāyana" (II. 21) means 'marriage-gift to a bride;' 'abhyābhavati,' (III. 2. etc.) 'to be liable for'; 'Uddaya' (II. 18) 'excess profit';'tuttha', (II.13). 'crucible'; 'upaskanda', 'slippery grounds' (II. 3); 'paṇyāgāra' (VII. 15 etc.) 'present or gift'; 'prahavaṇa' (I. 10 etc.) "garden-party". (udyānabhogam) and 'samyūhana, (II. 14 etc.) "metal-coating" and 'garland-making".

Many words are used in different meanings other than those given in ordinary literature. For instance: 'apasarati' (III.16) "to exculpate"; 'abhisarati' (IV. 3 etc.) "to go to the rescue of"; 'āspada' "danger spot"; 'kaladhauta (II. 14)' "purification of silver and gold."; 'Kulya or Kuḍya', "a small construction or series of constructions adjoining the fort wall within for storing arms and other war materials"; 'kṣāra' (II.15 etc.) "sugar"; 'deśa' (III. 1 etc.) "witness"; 'nivi' (II. 6 etc.) "amount left over after realising assets and meeting liabilities"; 'praṇidhi' (I. 16 etc.) "employment"; 'bhreṣa' (III. 12 etc.) "national calamity"; and 'saṇḍa' (II.6) "vegetable garden," and 'sannidhatte' "to hoard or store up." 'Ucita' is used in the exclusive sense of 'customary', and 'ratna' means "anything best of its kind" and not 'jewel'; 'deśam parihared rājā' means "the king shall avoid levying tax in a country"; 'sampadayati' (VI.1.192) means "to make happy."

There are technical terms which have not survived in the available technical treatises. For instance: 'parokta' (I. 14 etc.) means "defeat" or "a defeated party in a law-suit"; 'vaidharaṇa' (II. 12 etc.) "making good for the loss sustained by merchants when selling state goods"; 'vyāji' (II. 6 etc.) "an excess charge or super tax."

These are some of the characteristics that are inherent

in the work. There are adventitious factors which create difficulties in understanding the text. Only three or four manuscripts of the work have so far been unearthed in the south and they seem to represent a southern version. Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary *Pratipadapañcikā* is based on southern manuscripts which contain corrupt and inferior readings when compared to the text followed by the commentaries, the *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* and the *Nyāya-nirṇiti* of Yogghama. A bit of the latter commentary and a fragment of a Devanagari manuscript of the *Arthaśāstra* were discovered in a Jain Bhandar at Patan, Gujarat and they have now been published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

In copying manuscripts of ancient texts, small omissions, additions and alterations by scribes are inevitable and it is not surprising if the text of the *Arthaśāstra*, in transmission of manuscripts through long centuries, has not come down to us as it left the hands of the author. As a matter of fact, the extant manuscripts and the printed texts for that matter are not free from omissions, additions, corrupt, mutilated words and dislocated passages, which have exercised the medieval and modern commentators. I shall make my point clear by a few illustrations.

In the Chapter 'Samāhartṛsamudayaprasthāpana', (II. 6) "the setting up of the revenue sources by "Samāhartṛ", the passage explaining the revenue-head 'śeṣa' (outstanding revenue) has two unconnected phrases 'asāram, alpasāram ca' at the end. The commentary reads 'asāram alpasāram ca anādeyam', and explains the sentence as: 'Asāra is a tax-paying family, but unable to pay tax as the yield of their land leaves only seed for sowing and alpasāra as a tax-paying family, but unable to pay the customary tax as the yield of their land leaves only staple food grains and seed for sowing; and these two families are called 'anādeyas', i.e. those from whom outstanding dues should not be recovered' यत् कन्दमपि कुलमसार बीजावशेषत्वात् किञ्चिदपि दातुमसमर्थम् । तथाल्पसार भक्तबीजावशेषत्वाद् उचितमपि दातुमसमर्थम् । एतदुभयमविशेषमेव अनादेयाश्यम् । It is to be noted here that the text mentions three categories of outstanding revenue, namely 'āharaṇiya', "what must be recovered", 'prasodhya', "what has to be recovered after clearing difficulties",

and 'anādeya', "what should not be recovered." Here the word 'anādeya' has leaked away in the manuscripts.

The sentence अर्पयेत् कारकर्मण: पञ्चभाग काञ्चन दशभाग कट-मानम् III. 13 is interpreted by the commentary as: 'In making gold article set with jewels, one-fifth part of gold should be applied for setting, one-tenth for the leaf to cover wax or lac with and the remaining seven-tenth part for the base." Here the words सप्तभागा वास्तुकम् seem to be missing.

Among the qualities that make a ruler self-possessed, in the chapter *Prakṛtisampadaḥ* (VI. 1) one is that he should be '*śakla*'. This word occurs before the words स्मितोदग्रभाषी वृद्धोपदेशा-चार: in the text (VI. 1). The Malayalam commentary renders 'Śakla' as 'Priyamvada' "speaking kindly" and the *Kāmandaka* verifying the Kauṭalīya passages in the same context reads— वृद्धोपदेशसम्पन्न: श्लक्ष्णो मधुरदर्शन: । (IV. 18) and puts the word 'ślakṣṇa' in the place of 'śakla'. It is thus possible that 'śakla' is a corrupt form of 'ślakṣṇa', meaning 'polished' 'refined'. The Trivandrum editor of the *Kāmandaka* notes 'śakla', the variant of 'Ślakṣṇa'. The lexicon *Vaijayanti* reads श्लक्ष्ण-वाक् तु प्रियवद:, शक्लो मधुरवाक् । According to this lexicon 'ślakṣṇa', means 'speaking kind' and 'śakla' 'speaking sweet.' To the best of my knowledge, 'śakla' is not found in the sense of 'madhurvāk' in literature. If the word 'śakla' can be accepted as a corruption of 'ślakṣṇa,' it is certain that this corruption had crept in the manuscripts of *Arthaśāstra* even before eleventh century A.D., the date now given to the *Vaijayanti*.

Another quality required for a self-possessed ruler in the same context is that he should be 'Adīnābhihāṣī'. This word is rendered as 'not laughing at the lowly', 'making jokes with no loss of dignity' and so on. None of these renderings is satisfactory. According to Pāṇini 'ahīna' means "a sacrifice lasting for long days." The *Arthaśāstra* mentions 'dīrghasatra' in the sense of a long sacrificial session. The Malayalam commentary takes the word to mean ridiculing *agniṣṭomas* and other sacrifices which are of the nature adīna[1]. *Manu* XI.197 mentions 'ahīna' along with 'abhicara' sacrifice and prescribes expiation to the priest who partakes in both the sacrifices. As there is small difference between 'dī' and 'hī' in Malayalam

1. Adīnamāginda agniṣṭomādigale parihariikkamavar.

characters , 'adīna' in the manuscripts seems to be the wrong reading 'ahīna'.

In the context of constructing new houses, Kauṭalya says कर्णकीलायससम्बन्धोऽनुगृह सेतुः (III.8) which means : "There shall be 'setu' (boundary) for each house connecting the corner posts by iron wires." Here the phrase 'āyasasambandha', looks unusual. *Bṛhaspati* quoted by *Smṛticandrikā* lays down निवेशकाले कर्त्तव्यः सीमाबन्धविनिश्चयः "When founding a village there shall be made a definite boundary," and uses the word 'sīmābandha' in the sense of boundary. The reading 'Āyasasambandha' in the manuscripts seem to be a corruption of 'Āyasa-sīmā-bandha.' The *Vaijayanti* reads बन्धाः सीसाधियन्त्रणाः । That is, the word of 'bandha' has the meanings "lead", "pledge", and "binding". We know the word in the last two meanings but is nowhere found in the sense of 'sīsa' "lead." The *Nānārthārṇava* of Keśavasvāmin says that 'bandha' means "pledge" and "binding", and according to the reading found in the *Vaijayanti* it has also the sense 'lead'.

बन्धस्त्वाधौ च बन्धने ,

सीसाख्यलोहभेदे च वैजयन्त्यामपाठि सः ॥

The way in which Keśavasvāmin refers to the *Vaijayanti* seems to show that he is doubtful in regard to 'bandha' having the meaning 'lead'. The *Vaijayanti* is found to have incorporated words from the *Arthaśāstra* without understanding or verifying them. It appears to me that the compiler of the lexicon had before him 'sīmābandha' or the wrong reading 'sīsabandha' and straight off took 'sīmā' or 'sīsa' as a synonym of 'bandha' .

The next but one sentence reads अभूत वा परकुड्यादपक्रम्य द्वावरत्नी त्रिपदीं वा पादे बन्धं कारयेत् । Which means : "If there is no boundary already in existence, the foundation of the wall shall be put up, two *aratnis* or three *padas* away from the wall of the neighbour's house". 'Pāde bandha' in the manuscripts makes no sense. The amendment 'Deśabandha' and the rendering as 'boundary' in the recent Bombay edition (p. 107) are unnecessary. Treatises on the Śilpa śāstra mention 'pādabandha' in the sense of "a kind of basement" (*adhiṣṭhāna*); 'pāde bandha' in the Mss.', I think, can be easily amended

as 'pādabandha'. This amendment and its rendering as "basement" are in keeping with the dictum of Kauṭalya, a little further on, namely, "Between two houses, there shall be an open lane, a kiṣku or three pādas wide."

सर्ववास्तुकयोः प्राश्निप्तिकयोः वा शालयोः किष्कुरन्तरिका, त्रिपदी वा ।

'Kāntāpara' in IV. 6 falls under the class of persons who may be criminal suspects. This word is taken to mean "one devoted to a beloved." The Malayalam commentary explains the word as 'one frequenting jungle or forest.' Obviously, the original reading is 'Kāntārapara' and the letter *ra* is dropped in the manuscripts.

'Brāhmaṇasya Satriparigrahaḥ' (IV. 8) is interpreted as : "For eliciting confession from a Brahman when he is suspected of being guilty, he should be subjected to the harassment of espionage." The Malayalam commentary reads 'satyaparigrahaḥ' and understands that a Brahman should be asked to swear by truth. Manu (VIII. 113) lays down that a Brahman should be made to swear by truth, सत्येन ज्ञापयेद् विप्रम् । 'Satriparigraha' of the manuscripts can be corrected as 'Satyaparigraha.'

There is dislocation of sentences in the second chapter of the fourth Book 'Vaidehaka-rakṣaṇa' "Protection against merchants." The two sentences,

धरकस्य मापकस्य वा पञ्चमूलयाद् अष्टभागं हस्तदोषेण अपहरतः द्विशतो दण्डः, तेन द्विशतोत्तरा दण्डवृद्धिर्व्याख्याता ।

धान्यस्नेहक्षारलवणगन्धभैषज्यद्रव्याणां समवर्णोपधाने द्वादशपणो दण्डः ।

are pulled out from their proper place and inserted between the sentence तुलामानान्तरम् अर्धवर्णान्तरं वा यत्रिसृष्टमुपजीवयेयुः तदेषां दिवसमजातं संख्याय वणिक् स्थापयेत् ।,

which occurs further on. The result is that the latter sentence is truncated, its forepart standing without a predicate and the hind part, without a subject. I would render the sentence as it stood originally, as follows:—"The Superintendent of the market (Samsthādhyakṣa) shall calculate and register the daily total of profit permitted to merchants in weighing and measuring of commodities and in the price fixed thereof."

The text mentioning the profit permitted to merchants in weighing and measuring is not found in the manuscripts. The *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* explains the passages—षोडशभागो मानव्याजी,

विंशतिभागस्तुलामानं, मण्यपण्यानामेकादशभागः (II. 16) to mean "A merchant selling royal commodities measured by capacity shall remit a 'vyāji' of one-sixteenth part; in purchasing he shall take a 'vyāji' of one-sixteenth part, as excess to himself; when selling royal commodities measured by weight, he shall remit one-twentieth part and when purchasing take the same quantity in excess to himself and similarly one-eleventh part in the case of goods measured by counting."

षोडशभागो मानव्याजी-राजपण्यानां षोडशप्रस्थान् विक्रीणानः (वणिक्) एकं निवर्तयेत् । क्रीणानः सप्तदशकमधिकं गृह्णीयात् । तथा तुलनीयानां विंशतिभागः पलविंशत्या एक पल निवर्तयेत् । अधिक वा गृह्णीयात् । तथा मण्यानां मूलफलादीनामेकादशभाग इति योज्यम् ।

(KSRI. edn. p. 174)

From this it appears the 'Vyājī' that goes to a merchant is what is meant by 'tulāmānārtham', the profit in weighing and measuring of commodities. As regards 'Arghavarṇāntara' "the profit over the fixed price", Kauṭalya lays down in the next but one sentence, अनुज्ञातकयादुपरि चैषां स्वदेशीयानां पण्यानां पञ्चकं शतमाजीवं स्थापयेत्, परकीयानां दशकम् । "The superintendent shall fix a profit of five per cent for merchants and above the purchase-price, as their 'ājīva' (livelihood) on indigenous goods; and ten per cent on foreign goods." The distorted sentences quoted above them are continuation of the sentence तुलामानाभ्यामतिरिक्ताभ्यां क्रीत्वा हीनाभ्यां विक्रीणानस्य त एव द्विगुणा दण्डाः । , which occurs six sentences before. It may be noted here that Kauṭalya, who has all along been laying down fines for offences on the part of merchants in the chapter, prescribes profit (*ājīva*) in trade in the sentence Tulāmānāntaram Arghavarṇāntaram vā. Yājñavalkya lays down :

राजभि स्थाप्यते योऽर्घः प्रत्यहं तेन विक्रयः ।
क्रयो वा निखवस्तस्माद् वणिजां लाभकृत् स्मृतः ॥

(II.251.)

The sale or purchase of traders should everyday be done at the rates fixed by the king and the surplus in the translation should be the profit for traders. This stanza seems to be an adaptation of the sentence of Kauṭalya, 'Tulāmānāntaram' which is found disjointed in the mss. The text preceding and following the above stanza in the *Yājñavalkya* go to confirm

the proposed reconstruction of the text of the *Arthaśāstra*. The relevant text in both the works are given below for verification.

Arthaśāstra	*Yājñavalkya*
तुलामानाभ्यामतिरिक्ताभ्यां क्रीत्वा हीनाभ्यां विक्रीणानस्य स एव द्विगुणा दण्डाः धरकस्य मापकस्य वा पण्यमूल्येषु। अष्टभागं हस्तदोषेणापहरतः द्विशतो दण्डः। एतेन द्विशतोत्तरा दण्डवृद्धिर्व्याख्याता ।	मानेन तुलया वापि योंऽशमष्टमकं हरेत् । दण्डं स दाप्यो द्विशतं वृद्धौ हानौ च कल्पितम् ॥ (II. 244)
धान्यस्नेहक्षारलवणगन्धभैषज्य-द्रव्याणां समवर्णोपधाने द्वादशपणो दण्डः ।	भैषज्यस्नेहलवण-गन्धधान्यगुडादिषु । पण्येषु हीनं क्षिपतः पणान् दाप्यस्तु षोडशः ॥ (II. 245)
गण्यपण्येष्वष्टभागं पण्यमूल्येषु अपहरतःपण्णवतिर्दण्डः । काष्ठलोष्टमणिमयं रज्जकृचर्ममृन्मयं सूत्रवल्कलरोममयं वा जात्यमित्यजात्यं विक्रयाधानं नयतो मूल्याष्टगुणो दण्डः ।	मृण्मयं मणिसूत्रायःकाष्ठ-वल्कलवाससाम् । अजातेर्जातिकरणाद् विक्रयेऽष्टगुणो दमः ॥ (II. 246)
सारभाण्डमित्यसारभाण्डे तज्जातमित्यतज्जातं राढावुक्तमुपधियुक्तं समुद्गपरिवर्तनं वा नयतो हीनमूल्यं चतुष्पञ्चाशत्पणो दण्डः पणमूल्यं द्विगुणः। द्विपणमूल्यं द्विशतः, तेन अर्धवृद्धौ वृद्धिर्व्याख्याता।	समुद्गपरिवर्तं च सारभाण्डं च कृत्रिमम् । आधानं विक्रयं वापि नयतो दण्डकल्पना ॥ (II.247) भिन्न पणे तु पञ्चाशत् पणे तु शतमुच्यते । द्विपणे द्विशतो दण्डः मूल्यवृद्धौ तु वृद्धिमान् ॥ (II. 248)
कारुशिल्पिनां कर्मगुणापकर्षम् । आजीवविक्रयक्रयोपघातं वा संभूय समुत्पाद्यतां सहस्रं दण्डः ।	संभूय कुर्वतामर्घं सबाधं कारुशिल्पिनाम् । अर्घस्य हानौ वृद्धौ वा साहस्रो दण्ड उच्यते ॥ (II. 249)
	संभूय वणिजां पण्यम् अनर्घेणोपरुन्धताम् । विक्रीणतां वा विहितो दण्ड उत्तमसाहसः । (II. 250)

तुलामानान्तरमर्घवर्णान्तरं वा यश्चिसृष्टमुपजीवेयुः, तदेषां दिवसमज्जातं संस्थाय वणिक् स्थापयेत् ।

राजनि स्थाप्यते योऽर्घः प्रत्यहं तेन विक्रयः। क्रयो वा निःस्रवस्तस्माद् वणिजां लाभकृत् स्मृतः ॥ (II. 251)

तेन धान्यपण्यनिचयांश्चानुज्ञाताः कुर्युः अन्यथा निचितमेषां पण्याध्यक्षो गृह्णीयात् । तेन धान्यपण्यविक्रये व्यवहरेतानुग्रहेण प्रजानाम्, अनुज्ञातकक्षादुपरि चैषां स्वदेशीयानां पण्यानां पञ्चकं शतमार्जीवं स्थापयेत्, परदेशीयानां दशकम् ॥

स्वदेशपण्ये तु शतं वणिग्गृह्णीत पञ्चकम् । दशकं पारदेश्ये तु यः सद्यः क्रयविक्रयी ॥ (II. 252)

The instances can be multiplied but what I have given above will suffice to show the amount of scholarly work that is yet to be done, in the direction of reconstruction of the text, before it can be said to have approached its original form.

SOME ANOMALIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA

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The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is, as the text itself proclaims, a *rasamaya kāvya*[1] and is written in the manner of the *Kāvyas* of old. It is full of nice poetry which has an appeal that transcends barriers of time and space. The language too is simple and graceful and is characterized generally by correctness. It is only at places that we come across some anomalies which we propose to notice hereunder.

Gender

A glaring case of abnormal gender is provided by the verse :

sargo vidyata evāyaṃ na yatra kila kiñcana
tasya *dharmāṇi* karmāṇi na caivākṣaramālikā.[2]

Here *dharma*, a masculine word, is used in neuter.[3] It is clearly indefensible. The normal form should have been *dharmāḥ*. Probably it is a case of attraction of the neuter gender of *karmāṇi* or is a Vedic archaism reminiscent as it is of the Vedic hymn: '*yāni dharmāṇi* prathamāny āsan' where the neuter *dharmāṇi* is sought to be justified on the basis of *dharma* having both the genders, masculine and neuter (being one of the *ardharcādi* words); the sense of it governing the choice of either. Commenting on 'ardharcāḥ puṃsi' (II.4.31) *Kāśikākāra* says: "*Dharma* is masculine if the sense is merit but neuter if the sense is means of merit.[4] If in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the word could be interpreted in the sense of means of merit (*dharmasādhanāni*) the use of neuter

1. II. 18.33.
2. VI (ii). 143.7.
3. For a comprehensive treatment of such forms in the *Rāmāyaṇa* see the author's *The Rāmāyaṇa—A Linguistic Study*, Delhi, 1964.
4. Dharma ity apūrve puṃliṅgaḥ tatsādhane napuṃsakaṃ,tāni dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan. *Kāśikā*, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series edition, p. 130.

gender would not present any difficulty. But obviously this is not the sense intended here.

A clear case of indefensible gender is, however, provided by the verse 'ajñasyājñatayā deyo jñasya tu jñatayottaraḥ'[1], where, *uttara*, a neuter word (having the sense of reply) is used in the masculine.

The word *sthala* is neuter or feminine[2], but the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* uses it in the masculine, as for example, in 'uḍḍīyamānaṃ ātmānaṃ śilāḥ śailasthalān iva'[3]. Similarly the well-known word *āvaraṇa* is admittedly neuter but is used in the masculine in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* verses 'tāv ivāśritya tiṣṭhanti jalādyāvaraṇās tataḥ'[4] and 'jalādyāvaraṇās tatra na laganti'.[5] On the same lines the word *krīḍanaka* which is neuter is used in the verse: 'tṛṇaṃ tṛṇaṃ kalpayati bālaḥ *krīḍanakān* iva[6], in the masculine.

As we meet with the neuter words in the masculine, so we meet also with some of the masculine words in the neuter. As an instance we may point out the masculine word *āsava* used in the neuter in 'nālikera-rasāsavam[7]'.

The word lāja, which according to *Amarakoṣa* is always to be used in the plural and in the masculine[8] has been used in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the neuter, as in 'sa hutvā *tilalājāni* pāvakāya Śikhidhvajaḥ[9].

Of a piece with it is the use of the well-known masculine word *kumāra* in neuter in the verse 'kadā nu tānīkṣurasābdhitīre

1. VI (ii) 29.32.
2. Dvāv apy anyaliṅgau sthalaṃ sthalī. 11.1.5.
3. VI (ii). 143.36.
4. VI (ii). 129.23.
5. VI (ii). 129.25.
6. VI (ii). 208.26. *Krīḍanaka* in the masculine is grammatically unjustifiable too. In the Yavādigaṇa (V. 4.29) also, we have *krīḍanaka* used in the neuter in the expression *kumārī krīḍanakāni ca*.
7. III. 27.48.
8. 'Lājāḥ puṃbhūmni cākṣatāḥ' II.9.47.
9. VI (i). 106.36. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma is of the opinion that this (*tilalājāni*) is probably an erroneously expressed Samāhāradvandva, *sa napuṃsakam* (Pāṇ. 2.7.17), being flagrantly violated.

....drakṣyema bhūyo guḍamodakāni tathā *kumārāṇy* api śarkarāyāḥ'[1].

Kumāra is used here in the sense of a doll, *kumārapratikṛti*. The suffix *kan* enjoined by Pāṇ. 'ive pratikṛtau' (5.3.96) is dropped by Pāṇ. 'devapathādibhyaś ca' (5.3.100). This elision is technically called, *lup*, so the *lubanta* form must take the gender and number of the base (*kumāra*), which is masculine. Hence 'kumāra-pratikṛtayaḥ kumārāḥ'. But how can *kumāra* be in the neuter? Most probably like *dharmāṇi* it is a case of attraction of the gender of *modaka* which is both masculine and neuter. Or it is a case of simple textual corruption; for even if we read here *kumārāṇ* the metre would remain intact and would present no difficulty.

Concord : Gender

As a rule the adjectives follow the number and gender of the words they qualify. But the author seems to make a departure from it for, in the verse 'nadīṣu kṣepaṇācchāsu *varakeṣv abjapaṅktiṣu*'[2], he uses *varaka* in the masculine which, however, being an adjective to *abjapaṅkti* should be in the feminine. Similarly in 'vāsanāprāvṛṣi *kṣīṇe* saṃsthitau Rāmam āgate[3]', the locative singular *kṣīṇe* in the masculine or the neuter is used with *prāvṛṣi*, the locative singular of *prāvṛṣ* in the feminine. The present case may be put on a par with such uses as 'duhitā kṛpaṇam paraṃ'[4].

Similarly in *patre ubhau*[5], the masculine form *ubhau* is used with *patre*, the neuter form.

Concord : Number

In 'sthiramaṇinibham ambho *vāriṇi vārinīle*-[6] *vāriṇi* is in construction with *vārinīle*. Here the correct form should have been *vāriṇi*. The lengthening of the final *i* is perhaps due to metrical exigency. The commentator seems to read *vāriṇo*

1. VI (ii). 132.52.
2. III. 38.2.
3. IV.35-37. The commentator seeks to explain away the anomaly on the basis of sāmānye napuṃsakam: *kṣīṇe iti puṃsaṃkāropekṣe sāmānye napuṃsakam*. This appears rather laboured and fails to carry conviction.
4. *Manusmṛti*, 4. 185.
5. VI (ii). 44.18.
6. V. 67.45.

for *nāriṣī*. His explanation for this is that it is made up of *nā* in the sense of *yathā* and *ariṣaḥ* in the sense of things like swords having a sharp edge (*ara*). The following *nāri* (the locative of *nār*) coming after it in the verse is redundant. Now this is a feat of ingenuity. *Ariṣ* in the given sense is all obscure, *nā*, if a *niṣāta* in the sense of *yathā*, is also misplaced. It ought to have come after *ariṣaḥ*. It must however be conceded that with the reading *nāriṣi* too, the following *nāri*, (the locative of *nār*) is redundant.

Omission of Case Affix

In the verse 'tatas teṣv atiramyeṣu candraraśmiṣu *sampatat*[1]', *sampatat* is used without any case-affix[2]. Because it has to go with *candraraśmiṣu*, the locative plural, it too should have the locative plural suffix. There is a very clear rule in Sanskrit: *apadaṃ na prayuñjīta*, one should not use a word if it is not a *pada* (i.e. if it does not end in an affix, nominal or verbal).[3]

Interference with the Quantity of a Vowel

Short for long :
In
'na sambhavanty *āśriyante* yābhir antar manoguhāḥ[4]-,' and 'jvālāghanapaṭāṭopa*sinduriśyta*parvatam[5]-'—*āśriyante* and *sinduriśyta* are used in place of the regular *asriyante* and *sindūriśyta*.

Long for short :
In
(1) 'vahaduccchinna*cañcā*racāraṇaṃ śatruvāraṇam[6]'
(2) 'vitamuktā*va*litantuṃ cinmātram avalokayet[7]. and
(3) 'taṇḍuleneva *kañcā*kam ananyayāvyavasthitam[8]'

1. IV. 60.11.
2. Cf. Commentator: *chāndasaḥ sapo luk*.
3. We may cite *nikāmacāritaḥ* (V.54.2) too as an instance of omission of case affix but it is not altogether an unambiguous example for it may well be a case of double *sandhi*.
4. IV. 45.9.
5. VI. (ii). 75.15.
6. III. 50.16.
7. IV. 61.16. Cf. commentator : *Chāndasatvāl ṣpasarjanahrasvādhāveḥ*.
8. VI. (i) 30.107.

cāicūra, *vītamuktāvalī* and *kañcāka* are used for the regular *caṭcura*, *vītamuktāvalī* and *kañcuka*.

Interchange of Sounds

Interchange of sounds in Sanskrit takes many shapes—that between *ḍ-l*, *v-b*, *j-kha*, etc. but in the present work we meet with only that between *ḍ-l*. In 'asad evedam ābhogi dṛśyate *jalapañjaram*[1]' *l* has been used for *ḍ* : *jalapañjaram* being actually *jaḍapaṭjaram* while in 'sphurajjalakhagaprotāt saptābdhyekālavāḍakāt.[2] *ḍ* has been used for *l* , *ekālavāḍakāt* being actually *ekālavāḷakāt*.

Phonetic Disturbances

The *Yogavāsiṣṭha* furnishes instances of phonetic disturbance in the form of (i) metathesis (ii) anaptyxis and (iii) analogical formations. The examples of (i) are *nālikera-*[3] and *kācakacaya*[4] in place of the popular *nārikela* and *cākacakya*, the example of (ii) is *āruṣeṇa*[5] where *u* is clearly anaptycal (apart from the redundant *taddhita* suffix *ṇha* in it) and the example of (iii) is *allāsaprahullāsena*[6] where *prahullāsa* is evidently inspired by the preceding *allāsa*. Apart from these there is a solitary case in *dināvallyaḥ* of the syncopation of *a* with the doubling of the preceding consonant (*l*).

1. IV. 45.32.
2. VI (i). 85.97.
3. III. 27.48; VI (i). 106.53.
4. VI (ii) 55.18, 149.15, 163.27; 164.8; 167.12.
5. VI (ii) 175.76.
6. IV. 39.4. The commentator's explanation of the form is quite ingenious. He separates *prahul* from *lāsena* and takes it as an independent *kṛdanta* form : *prahullatīti prahul, phulla vikasane kvip*. But this seems to be inspired more with the desire to seek justification for the form. Being a laboured one this has little to appeal. It is more probably a case of an analogical disturbance.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM AṆAHILAVĀD PĀṬAṆ, NORTH GUJARAT.

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The present inscription is inscribed on a slab of black marble measuring 19" x 8½". It was found from the foundations of a house while it was being repaired, in the town of Pāṭaṇ or Aṇahilavāḍ Pāṭaṇ situated in North Gujarat and was procured by my friend, Pandit Amritlal Mohanlal Bhojak, an enthusiastic collector of antiquities, from the same place. The inscription has 11 lines in beautiful Devanāgarī script in the Jaina mode which is fairly common in the old writings from Gujarat and Rajasthan. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, with a few mistakes in grammar and spelling here and there. There is one verse in the beginning and one in the end, while the rest of the inscription is in prose.

As is well known, Pāṭaṇ, the find-spot of the present inscription, is a historical place and was the foremost city in Western India during the rule of the Caulukya or Solaṅkī Dynasty (942-1304 A.D.), and was the capital of Gujarat for more than six centuries from 746 A.D., the year of its foundation, up to the first quarter of the 15th century A.D. Our Inscription bears the date of 1447 V.S. (1391 A.D.), which is the 87th year after the Gujarat Kingdom was conquered by Allāuddīn Khaljī after vanquishing the last Hindu Sovereign, Karṇa Vāghelā. The administration of Gujarat was, then, in the hands of Zaffarkhān—the Governor at Pāṭaṇ of the Emperor Nāsiruddīn Mohammad of Delhī—who became the independent Sultān of Gujarat after a few years. Ahmadshāh, the grandson of Zaffarkhan, founded Ahmedabad which then became the capital city of Gujarat.

The inscription commemorates the reparation of the temple of the Śiva-God Āhaḍeśvara at Pāṭaṇ, by one Rājput chief Khundu, who belonged to the Paramāra clan, and was an inhabitant of Ayodhyā. The name of his mother was Sūna-

devī, and that of his father was Gūrjar. His wife's name was Bāi Tejū. He had repaired the shrine for the spiritual welfare of his ancestors on both maternal as well as paternal sides.

The inscription gives nothing very particular about the family history of the builder. But it throws valuable light on interprovincial cultural contacts in mediaeval India. This much is certain, however, that the family lived at Ayodhyā. But the names mentioned in the inscription are such as were fairly common in mediaeval Gujarat, and it is noteworthy that his father's name is Gurjar; and one may hazard a guess that the family belonged originally to Gujarat, and had shifted to Ayodhyā on account of political calamity when the last Hindu King of Gujarat was defeated. The builder is called Abhinavasiddharājāvatāra ('a new incarnation of Siddharāja', an illustrious king of Gujarat in the 12th century A.D.), which shows that he belonged to one of the politically important families. Anyhow, the builder had some blood connections at Pāṭaṇ; otherwise he might not have come from Ayodhyā to the far-off Gujarat capital, and repaired an old temple there. On the whole, the fact noted in the inscription is very important for the social history of ancient and medieval India.

We do not know who was the original builder of the shrine of Āhaḍeśvara. But it may be safely asserted that his name was Āhaḍa, looking to the name of the shrine. Āgaḍa or Āhaḍa, a king of the Cavada dynasty that ruled over Pāṭaṇ during the 8th-9th centuries, had built a shrine of Āgaḍeśvara (Āhaḍeśvara) at Karkarāpurī (present Kākar in the Banaskantha District of Gujarat), according to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Jinavijayaji's edition, p. 15). Probably the same Āhaḍa had built another temple of Āhaḍeśvara in his own capital city.

The text of the inscription is as follows :

(१) ॥ॐ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ अवतु शिवस्त्रिपुरहरः कनकरजःपुंजपिंजरे श(शि)रसि । क्षीराहुतिरिव हु-

(२) तभुजि निपतति भागीरथी यत्र ॥१॥ स्वस्ति स्वर्धुनीनीरनिर्म्मलचरित्रपवित्रशरः । क्षत्रियकुलकमलि-

(३) नीविकाशनमार्त्तंडश्चंद्रशेष(ख)रचरणारविंदचतुरचि(ञ्चं)चरीको(ः)-भिनवसिद्धराजावतारो देवद्विज-

(४) पूजनपरोऽनवरतद्विगतोषितयाचकजनः । यौर्यो(र्यौ)दार्यगुणा-
न्वितः । सूनदेव्या जनन्या(न्याः) समस्त क्ष-
(५) त्रियकुलतिलकस्य । पितृ राजश्रीगूर्जरस्याभिधानस्य चौलयवंशोद्भव-
पूर्वजानामुद्धरणायायोध्यानि-
(६) वासी । परमारवंशोद्भवो बाई लेजूपती राजश्रीपुंडनृपतिरणहिल्लपुर-
पत्तने श्रीमन्नृपविक्रमा-
(७) दित्यसमयातीत संवत् १४४७ वर्षे शाके १३१३ प्रवर्तमाने वसंतऋतौ
वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे २ अनं-
(८) तर ३ तृतीयायां तिथौ शुक्रदिने परमेश्वरस्य सुरासुरवंदितचरणयुगलस्य
देवश्रीआहडेश्वरस्य
(९) जीर्णप्रासादमुद्धार ॥चके॥ शिवः शिवप्रदो नित्यं हरो हरतु किल्बिषम् ।
भवो भवात्तिनाशा-
(१०) य शंकरः शंकराय च ॥छ॥ प्रासादोऽयं श्रीमहादेवप्रसादात् श्री हिमाद्रि
यावत्तिष्ठतु ॥श्रीः॥
(११) व्यासपुरुषोत्तमेन लिखिता ॥ मंगलं भूयात् ॥

INDIAN METHODS OF CALCULATING THE VOLUME OF THE FRUSTUM OF A PYRAMID OR CONE.

Dr. T. A. Saraswathi, Ranchi

Calculations connected with excavations (खातव्यवहारः) form a traditional part of Gaṇita (arithmetic & mensuration) in India. This inclusion is motivated by a practical need—paying for the digging of wells and tanks. Since these are usually rectangular or circular in section, calculation of the volume of the frustum of a pyramid or cone assumed importance. The formula for the volume of a frustum appears for the first time in the beginning of the seventh century in Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*:

मुखतलयुतिदलगुणित बेधगुणं व्यावहारिकं गणितम् ।
मुखतलगणितैक्यार्धं बेधगुणं स्याद्गणितमौत्रम् ॥
औत्रगणिताद्विशोध्य व्यवहारफलं भजेत्त्रिभिः शेषम् ।
लब्धं व्यवहारफले प्रक्षिप्य भवति फलं सूक्ष्मम् ॥

(*Br. Sp. Si.* XII. 45-46)

[The product of half the sums of (corresponding) sides in the face and the base multiplied by the depth is the 'vyāvahārika' (business measure) volume. Half the sum of the areas of the face and the base multiplied by the depth is the 'autra' volume. The difference got by subtracting the 'vyāvahārika' volume from the 'autra' volume should be divided by three and the quotient should be added to the 'vyāvahārika' volume. This will be the exact volume].

The two rough values of the volume got by multiplying by the depth (1) the area of section got from the average lengths of the sides and (2) the average of the areas at the base and the face, are termed the 'vyāvahārika' volume and the 'autra' volume. If these are V_v and V_a, the exact volume

$$= V_v + \frac{V_a - V_v}{3}$$

Now V_v (in a pyramidal frustum)

$= \left(\frac{a+á}{2}\right)^2 . h$, where a and á are the sides of the base and the face and h is the height.

$$V_a = \frac{a^2+á^2}{2} . h \quad \therefore \quad V = V_v + \frac{V_a - V_v}{3}$$

$$= \left(\frac{a+á}{2}\right)^2 . h + \frac{\frac{a^2+á^2}{2} - \left(\frac{a+á}{2}\right)^2 h}{3}$$

$$= \frac{h}{4}\,\frac{a^2+á^2+2aá}{} + \frac{2a^2+2á^2-a^2-á^2-2aá}{12}$$

$$= \frac{h}{12}\,\frac{3a^2+3á^2+6aá+a^2-á^2-2aá}{}$$

$$= \frac{h}{3}(a^2+á^2+aá)$$

And this is the correct formula for the volume of a frustum.

The method can be used for finding the volume of any regular frustum. The formula is repeated by Mahāvīra in the 9th century.

Śrīdhara (8th cent. or 9th cent.) gives an expression for the volume of the frustum of a cone

$V = \frac{\pi}{24} . h\,[d_1^2+d_2^2+(d_1+d_2)^2]$ where h is the height and d_1 and d_2 are the diameters of the base and the top. The conical frustum he has in view is a well.

मुखतलजयोगानां वर्गैक्यकृतेः पदं दशगुणायाः ।
वेधगुणं चतुरन्वितविंशतिभक्तं फलं कूपे ॥

(*Triśatikā* V. 38)

[The square root of ten times the square of the sum of the squares of the diameter at the top, the diameter at the bottom and the sum of these diameters, when multiplied by the depth and divided by 24 gives the volume of a (circular) well]

$$\text{i.e. } V = \frac{h}{24}\sqrt{10\,[d_1^2+d_2^2+(d_1+d_2)^2]^2}$$

$$= \frac{\pi . h}{24}\left[d_1^2+d_2^2+(d_1+d_2)^2\right]$$ since Śrīdhara accepts the value of $\sqrt{10}$ for π.

This is based on the formula for the volume of a cone namely, volume $= \frac{\pi d^2 . h}{4 . 3}$ and is directly obtainable by completing the cone and subtracting the volume of the small cone above the frustum from the volume of the whole cone.

Neither Brahmagupta nor Śrīdhara nor Mahāvīra tells us how exactly they derived their expressions. But Vīrasena in his commentary called *Dhavala* on the Jaina canonical text *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* describes in detail a method for finding the volume of the frustum of a cone. If 'a' and 'b' are the diameters at the base and the top and h the height of the frustum, a cylindrical core of diameter b can be removed from the centre of the frustum. If the remaining sheath is slit open vertically, we get a wedge-shaped solid whose top edge is π.b in length and whose base is a trapezium with parallel sides equal to π.a and π.b and height $= \frac{a - b}{2}$. Of its other two faces one is vertical and the other inclined.

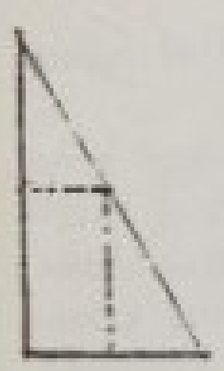
A smaller wedge on a rectangular base of sides π b and $\frac{a - b}{2}$ can then be removed from the centre of this wedge.

The volume of this wedge = mean sectional area $\times$ height
= length x mean thickness x height

$$= \pi . b . \frac{\frac{a-b+o}{2}}{2} . h$$

$$= \pi . b - \frac{a-b}{4} . h$$

Two wedges on a triangular base are now left behind. To calculate their volumes, two planes, one vertical and the other horizontal are drawn passing through the middle point of the hypotenuse edge, which divide the section of the wedge as shown in the figure. Then the central part will be the frustum of a



wedge with thickness at base $= \frac{a - b}{a}$, height $= \frac{h}{a}$

and length of base $= \frac{\pi . (a-b)}{2.2}$

If the two wedges so formed are placed one upon another with the thin top of one lying on the thick base of the other, we get a rectangular parallelopiped of sides $\frac{h}{2}$ and $\frac{\pi (a-b)}{4}$ and thickness $\frac{a-b}{2}$

Hence its volume $= \pi \frac{(a-b)}{4} \cdot \frac{a-b}{2} \cdot \frac{h}{2}$

$$= \pi \frac{(a-b)^2 . h}{16}.$$

The remaining 4 triangular wedges are again cut up similarly to yield 4 rectangular wedges which can be arranged in pairs to form parallelopipeds of sides $\pi \frac{(a-b)}{8} \cdot \frac{h}{4}$ and $\frac{a-b}{4}$

The volume of these $2\pi \frac{(a-b)}{8} \cdot \frac{a-b}{4} \cdot \frac{h}{4} = \pi \frac{(a-b)^2}{16} \cdot \frac{h}{4}$

The remaining 8 triangular wedges when treated similarly produce 4 parallelopipeds of combined volume $\pi \frac{(a-b)^2}{64} \cdot \frac{h}{4}$

$= \frac{\pi (a-b)^2 . h}{16} \cdot \frac{1}{42}$ This process is to be repeated till the remainder triangular wedges are infinitely small and so can be neglected. Then the total volume of all these parallelopipeds together

$$= \pi \frac{(a-b)^2}{16} \cdot h \left(1 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4^2} + \ldots\ldots\ldots\right)$$

$$= \pi \frac{(a-b)^2}{16} \cdot h \cdot \frac{4}{1-\frac{1}{4}}$$

$$= \frac{4}{3} \pi \frac{(a-b)^2 . h}{16}$$

$\therefore$ Then the volume of the frustum

$$= \frac{\pi b^2}{4} . h + \pi . b . \frac{a-b}{4} . h + \frac{4}{3} \frac{(a-b)^2 h}{16}$$

$$= \frac{\pi . h}{4} \left(b^2 + ab - b^2 + \frac{a^2+b^2-2ab}{3}\right)$$

$$= \frac{\pi . h}{4} \cdot \frac{3b^2+3ab-3b^2+a^2+b^2-2ab}{3}$$

$$= \frac{\pi . h}{4} \cdot \frac{a^2+ab+b^2}{3}$$

The method involves integration by the summation of series made possible by a skilful cutting up of the frustum.

If Virasena who is primarily a religious teacher and only incidentally a mathematician knew this derivation, it must have been commonly known amongst the mathematicians of his day and possibly earlier too. Did Brahmagupta know this? It is difficult to answer this question. One argument that can be brought forward against the possibility is that

Brahmagupta does not deal with geometrical progressions and the summation of geometrical progressions is involved in Virasena's method. Even if Brahmagupta did not know the rationale of the correct formula for the volume of the frustum F. L. Coolidge's insinuation in his comments on Brahmagupta's method of getting the correct volume from two practical values is hardly justified. Coolidge[1] says:—"How did Brahmagupta ever reach the correct formula in this curious way" . . . . "he may have heard of the result somewhere. We have seen that it was known to the Egyptians. We shall presently see the Chinese knew it also. He sets about justifying a traditional formula. The practical content is a prism standing on the mid-section. This is his first guess. A second guess would be a prism standing on the average of the two bases. These 2 give different values. Let us modify the first by adding to it a multiple of the difference between the two. He takes one-third as a co-efficient, perhaps because he thereby reaches the traditional result."

Actually when Coolidge accepts that Brahmagupta knew the formula for the correct volume there is no necessity for assuming that the choice of the divisor 3 is a lucky hit. The difference between the exact volume and B.G.'s Vyāvahārika volume can, with a little manipulation, be easily expressed as $\frac{Va-Vv}{3}$

For the said difference

$$= \left\{\frac{a^2-ab-b^2}{3} - \left(\frac{a-b}{2}\right)^2\right\} h$$

$$= \frac{h}{3}\left(\frac{4a^2-4ab-4b^2-3a^2-3b^2-6ab}{4}\right)$$

$$= \frac{h}{3}\frac{(a-b)^2}{2}$$

$$= \frac{h}{3}\left\{\frac{2(a^2+b^2)}{3} - \frac{(a-b)^2}{4}\right\}$$

$$= \frac{1}{3}\left\{h\ \frac{(a^2-b^2)}{2} - h\left(\frac{a+b}{2}\right)^2\right\}$$

$$= \frac{Va-Vv}{3}$$

1. *A History of Geometrical Methods* by J. L. Coolidge p. 16.

A NOTE ON *AKKA*—A GHOST WORD IN SANSKRIT

Dr. Nilmadhav Sen

1. A well-known Sanskrit proverb (*ābhāṇaka*) *arke cen madhu vindeta kimarthaṃ parvataṃ vrajet* is almost equally, perhaps even more widely, known with a *varia lectio* (v.l) *akke* for *arke*, so much so that Apte's revised Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Poona, 1957 ff.)records (Vol. 3, Appendix E, p. 52)the proverb with a preference for the reading *akke*. The word *akka*, however, does not seem to have been recorded by any ancient Sanskrit lexicographer[1] nor by any modern Sanskrit Dictionary[2] except the above-mentioned revised edition of Apte's Dictionary (s.v. *akka*) which, following some traditional commentators, glosses it as 'the corner of a house'. We shall now trace the history and fate of this proverb as found in some well-known as well as rather minor Skt. texts and try to show that *akka* is a ghost word in Skt.

2. The earliest reference to this proverb that I have been able to trace till now is to be found in the celebrated *Śābara-bhāṣya* of Śabarasvāmin[3]. Under the *Jaimini-(Mīmāṃsā-)sūtra* (JS), 1.2.4. *anyānarthakyāt*, the *Śābarabhāṣya* has the following

1. The following traditional Skt. lexicons have been consulted by me:—*Anekārtha-tilaka* of Mahīpa, *Anekārtha-saṃgraha* of Śāśvata, *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra, *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā* of Halāyudha, *Ekārthanāma-mālā-dvyakṣaranāmamālā* of Saubhari, *Kalpadrukośa* of Keśava, *Nānārtha-nāma-mālā* of Irugapa Dandanātha, *Nānārtha-manjarī* of Rāghava, *Nāma-mālikā* of Bhoja, *Mankhakośa* (or *Anekārthakośa*) of Mankha, *Medinīkośa*, *Śabdabheda-prakāśa* of Maheśvara, *Śāradīyākhya-nāmamālā* of Harṣakīrti, *Śivakośa* of Śivadatta, *Viśvaprakāśa* of Maheśvara and *Vaijayantīkośa* of Yādavaprakāśa. These works roughly represent texts written during the period between c.500 A.D. to 1750 A.D.

2. E.g. *Śabda-kalpadruma*, *Vācaspatya*, St. Petersburg Dictionary (BR), Dictionaries of Monier Monier-Williams, Macdonell, Wilson, Cappeller and Mayerhoffer. Renou's Skt.-French Dictionary was not available to me.

3. Relying on a traditional verse of no value that the legendary king Vikramāditya is the son of Śabarasvāmin, Dr. Ganganath Jha places him in the 1st cen.B.C. (Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.I, p.370). Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* does not propose any date for him. Other scholars usually place him between the second and third centuries A.D.

observations (p. 111 of the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition of the JS with *Śābarabhāṣya* and *Tantravārttika*): *na hy akṛtā pūrṇāhutim agnihotrādayaḥ kriyante; na cāniṣṭā agnīṣomīyena somena yajante; na cānadhītyāśvamedhena yajante; tad yathā: pathi jīte 'rke madhūtṛjya tenaiva pathā madhvarthinaḥ parvataṃ na gaccheyus tādṛśaṃ hi tat. Api cāhuḥ: "arke cen madhu vindeta kimarthaṃ parvataṃ vrajet| iṣṭasyārthasya saṃsiddhau ko vidvān yatnam ācared"* iti.

'Until the Final Oblation has been already poured into the Fire, the Agnihotra and other acts are not completed; similarly until the Agnīṣomīya has been performed, the Soma sacrifice is not completed; similarly until they have read the section dealing with the Aśvamedha, people do not perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice. So that the case of all this should be like the case where men seeking for honey would never leave the honey (if) found on the Arka plant growing on the way and proceed further on to the mountain. To this end there is the popular saying — 'if honey can be found on the Arka plant, wherefore should one go to the mountain? Which wise man would go on working after the desired object has been attained?'[4]

3. The *Tantravārttika* of Kumārila (c.700 A.D.) does not comment on the proverb, but repeats it under JS. 1.2.17, *phalasya karmaniṣpattes teṣāṃ lokavat parimāṇataḥ phalaviśeṣaḥ syāt* in the following way: *yadi hy alpān mahataś ca karmaṇaḥ samaṃ phalaṃ jāyeta tato 'rke cen madhu vindetety anenaiva nyāyenālpena siddhe mahati na kaścit pravarteta* (p. 130 of ASS edition). But strangely enough, in spite of the very clear reading of the *Śābarabhāṣya* (under JS 1.2.4), Dr. Ganganath Jha apparently reads *akke* in the *Tantravārttika*-passage quoted above and translates it thus: 'That is to say, if the result obtained by means of the simpler action were exactly equal to that obtained by the more elaborate action, then, in that case, the desired result having been obtained by means of the former, no person would ever be inclined to the more elaborate and difficult one; as says the proverb— 'If one can find the honey *in his own house* (italics ours), why should he go to the distant mountain for it?'[5]

4. Adapted from Dr. Ganganath Jha's translation of the *Śābarabhāṣya*, Vol.I, p.54, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1933.

5. *Tantravārttika* (English translation), Vol.I, p. 51, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1924.

4. The next important work where this proverb is found is Śaṅkara's[6] *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* 3.4.1.3, *ācāradarśanāt*. Śaṅkara's words run as follows: *kevalāc cej jñānāt puruṣārthasiddhiḥ syāt kimartham anekājña-samanvitāni karmāṇi te kuryuḥ, 'arke cen madhu vindeta kimartham parvatam vrajed' iti nyāyāt* (p. 783 of the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition of the *Śārīrakabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* with *Ratnaprabhā* of Govindānanda, *Bhāmatī* of Vācaspatimiśra and *Nyāyanirṇaya* of Ānandagiri). But the various editions of the *Śārīrakabhāṣya* are not uniform as regards the reading of the proverb. The popular NS edition of 1948 without any commentary (on *Śārīrakabhāṣya*) but with footnotes and variants reads (p.434) *arke* without noting any v.l.; so also the Poona edition (p. 503) of Vishnu Vaman Bapat Shastri published in 1925; the Acyuta Granthamālā edition published in 1991 Saṃvat (=1934 A.D.), however, reads *akke*. Among the commentators on the *Śārīrakabhāṣya*, the *Prakaṭārtha-vivaraṇa* of Anubhūtisvarūpa (c.1100 A.D.) reads *akke* only and glosses it as *samīpe* 'nearby, near at hand' (University of Madras edition of 1939, Vol. II, p. 931) and, following the commentator, Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, too, reads *akke* for *arke* in this particular edition. The well-known *Bhāmatī* of Vācaspatimiśra (middle of the 9th cen. A.D.) has no comment on the proverb; the *Nyāyanirṇaya* of Ānandagiri (c. 13th-14th cen. A.D.) seems to know the only reading *arke*, but glosses it as *samīpavacano 'rkaśabdaḥ* the 'word *arka* means vicinity' (pp.783-4 of the NS edition with 3 commentaries). He is probably the first author to assign this unusual meaning to the vocable *arka*, a meaning not recorded for this word by any ancient or modern lexicographer. The *Ratnaprabhā* commentary of Govindānanda (of unknown date, but probably later than Ānandagiri) knows both the readings, but prefers *akke* and glosses (*ibid.*, pp. 783-4) both the vocables as 'nearby' (*akka iti samīpa ity arthaḥ*; *arka iti pāṭhe 'pyayam evārthaḥ*). In his English translation of the *Śārīrakabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* (SBE, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, p. 288), Prof. Thibaut has accepted the reading *arke* and has translated Śaṅkara's passage quoted above as follows: "If mere knowledge could

6. Śaṅkara is usually placed in the latter half of the 8th cen.A.D. (Dasgupta, *op.cit.*, p. 370); but Kuppuswāmi Shastri places him in 632-64 A.D.

effect the purpose of man, why should the persons mentioned have performed works troublesome in many respects? 'If a man would find honey in the *Arka* tree why should he go to the forest?' " Thus, in spite of the conflicting evidences, it seems on the whole more likely that Śaṅkara, like Śabarasvāmin, had the reading *arke* before him.

5. The famous scholar Vācaspatimiśra (middle of the 9th cen. A.D.) of Mithilā, removed from Śabarasvāmin and Kumārila both in space and time, has quoted this proverb at least in two of his philosophical works, viz. the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* and the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*. Both the editions of the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, viz., the Vizianagram Sanskrit Series edition of 1898 edited by Mm. Gangadhara Shastri Tailanga (p. 220, l. 17) and the Kāśī Sanskrit Series (Chowkhamba) edition of 1925 edited by Pandit Rajeshvar Shastri Dravid (p.320, ll.23-24) read the proverb with *akke* as the only reading. But the different editions of the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* are not uniform in this matter. Thus the Calcutta edition of 1905 Saṃvat (1848 A.D.) edited by Babu Rasamay Datta reads (p. 2. ll.18-19) the proverb with *arke* as the only reading; the Chowkhamba edition of 1917 (p.6, l.3) has accepted the reading *akke*, glossed as *gṛhakoṇe* 'at the corner of a house' by the editor, but it also knows the other reading *arke* which has been correctly interpreted as *arke iti pāṭhe arkavṛkṣe* (with the reading *arke*, the passage means 'in the *Arka* plant') by the editor; the edition of Mm. Pandit Annadacharan Tarkacūḍāmaṇi with his own commentary *Tattvasudhā* accepts (p. 8, l.4) *arke*, but also knows *akke* which has been glossed by the late Mm. as *gṛhakoṇe, gṛhasamīpe, prāṅgaṇe vā* 'at the corner of a house, near a house or in the courtyard'. The Benares edition of Pandit Kashinath Shastri Prabhuṇa of 1945 Saṃvat or 1888 A. D. (p.8) and the critical edition of Ganganath Jha with English translation (Bombay Theosophical Society Fund, 1896, p.2, last but one line of the Skt. portion) know only *akke* here and Jha translates the passage as follows (p.2, lines 28-29 of the English portion): 'When a man can find honey in the house wherefore should he go to the mountain? So, when the object of desire has been attained, which wise man will make any further attempts?'[7] It may be noted here that this translation

7. In a foot note here Jha draws our attention to the *Nyāyalatikā* for

of young Jha does not differ from the translation of this proverb by the mature Jha as found in his translations of the *Tantravārttika* and *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. That is to say, Jha was always convinced that the correct reading should be *akke*, and that too, in spite of Śabara's remark *pathi jāte arke*, 'on the *Arka* plant growing on the way.'

Like Śaṅkara, Vācaspatimiśra too did not himself comment on the proverb; so we are not sure about his own reading; but from the evidences that we have from his two works, it seems likely that he had, in contradistinction to Śaṅkara, the reading *akke* before him.

6. The next important author who has quoted this proverb is Aniruddha (2nd half of the 15th cen. A.D.), the commentator on the *Sāṃkhyasūtra* (SS). He has quoted it in his commentary on SS, 1.1 *atha trividhaduḥkhātyantanivṛttir atyanta-puruṣārthaḥ* : 'Well, the absolute cessation of the threefold pain is the absolute aim of Soul.' (Garbe's translation). But here again there is uncertainty about the reading. Whereas Garbe in his English translation of the SS with the commentary of Aniruddha has accepted the reading *arke* and translated it as '(in a hole) of the Arka-tree' (p.3) the only edition[8] of the original Skt. text of the SS with Aniruddha's commentary that I have with me reads *akke* explained as *gṛhakoṇe* by the editor. Not only that, the editor further makes the observation (p. 2, fn. 2) that in this proverb the ONLY correct reading is *akke* (*atra akke ity eva pāṭhaḥ sādhuḥ*). He also draws our attention (*loc.cit.*) to another v.l. *aṅke* in some unnamed texts (*granthāntare*). I have not come across with this v.l. in any text during my investigations.

7. The proverb has also been quoted in some minor texts on Sāṃkhya philosophy, viz., the *Sāṃkhya-tattvapradīpa* (Chowkhamba Skt. Series, No. 286, Fasciculus 2, p. 151) and the *Tattvamīmāṃsā* (*ibid.*, p.179). Both the printed texts read *akke*, the first text introducing the verse with the remark *uktaṃ ca sāṃkhyācāryaiḥ* and the second text with *tathā ca laukik-*

this proverb, but that work has not been available to us. This fn. has been omitted in the later revised editions (published by the Oriental Book Agency, Poona) of Jha's 1896 edition of the *Tattvakaumudī*.

8. Edited by Dr. Ramshankar Bhattacharya, Vyākaraṇācārya, M. A., Ph.D. and published by Prachyabharati Prakashan, Banaras, 1964.

ānām ākhāṇakaḥ. As regards the second text, there cannot be any uncertainty about the reading *akke* which has been glossed by the author himself as *gṛhakoṇe* 'at the corner of a house'. It should be noted here in passing that the authorship and dates of these two Sāṃkhya texts are not known.

8. Raghunāthavarman of unknown but late date explains this proverb in his still unpublished *Laukikanyāya-ratnākara*.[9] He seems to prefer the reading *akke* (written as *akve* in the Ms.), but explains both *akke* and *arke* as *gṛhakoṇe* (*akke gṛhakoṇe, arka iti pāṭhe 'py ayam evārthaḥ*). Further, the proverb has been quoted also in two modern collections of Skt. maxims, viz. Col. Jacob's *Laukikanyāyāñjali*, Part II, p. 6 (NS Press, Bombay, 2nd edition, 1909 A.D.) and Thakur-datta Sharma's *Bhuvaneśa-laukikanyāya-śākhasrī* (Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1918 A.D.). But whereas Col. Jacob prefers the reading *arke* while noting the v.l. *akke*, the latter work accepts only *akke* explained as *gṛhakoṇe* and does not even mention the other reading *arke*.

8a. A further complication to the problem has been created by a third reading of the proverb in at least two printed texts. Mm. Kuppuswami Shastri reads *aṭke* for *arke* in his edition of the *Collected Works of Śaṅkara* (Vani Vilas Press, 1910, Vol.III, p. 720) against all Mss. evidences. This is followed by Dr. Har Dutt Sharma in his revised edition of Ganganath Jha's edition of the *Tattvakaumudī* (Published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1st revised edition, 1937, 3rd revised edition, 1965) replacing Jha's reading *akke* by *aṭke* and consequently further changing Jha's English translation 'in the house' to 'in a much-frequented place' (p.4 of the Skt. portion of the 1965 edition). A vocable *āṭka* is no doubt attested in the RV meaning (1) 'garment, cloak, mantle (Gewand, Hülle)' and (2) 'Name of a person (Asura)'; BR and Roth's and Sarup's editions of the *Nighaṇṭu-Nirukta* further record *āṭka* as a v. l. for *arkā* in *Nighaṇṭu*, 2.20 under the synonyms of 'lightning' (*vajranāmāni*); moreover, the *Uṇādisūtras* assign two other meanings,

9. India Office Ms.No. 582, described in the *India Office Catalogue of Skt. and Prakrit Mss.*, Part IV, p. 650, entry No. 2053. The Ms. is dated 1808 A.D. The *Laukikanyāya-saṃgraha* of the same author has been published in 1902 A.D., but no copy of that work has been available to me.

viz. (1) 'a traveller' and (2) 'a limb or member (of the body)' to this vocable, though the vocable *átke* in either of these two meanings is never attested in literature. We should also remember that no ancient authority has assigned the meanings '*gṛhakoṇe, samīpe*', etc. to this vocable. Indeed, this vocable in any sense whatsoever has been completely ignored in the traditional Skt. lexicons. It is, therefore, clear that this *átka* (of the RV and of the *Uṇādisūtras*) has nothing to do with the *atka* suggested by Kuppuswami Shastri and Har Dutt Sharma. Sharma's etymological explanation of *atka* as '*at sātatyagamane' ity asmād dhātor niṣpanno 'yaṃ śabdaḥ ato 'sya svarūpam atka iti; arthaś cāsya 'yasmin sthāne satataṃ gacchanti lokā iti*, "this word is derived from the root *at* 'to go constantly' — so the correct form of the word is *atka* and its meaning is 'a place often frequented by people'" might have been all right for a medieval scholiast, but is unworthy of a modern scholar and does not deserve any serious consideration, especially when this reading has no mss. support.[10] Even if such a reading were found in any ms. we should take that as rather a hyper-sanskritization for *akka* (as Kuppuswami seems to have done by reading *atke* for *akke*).

9. To sum up the results obtained so far: (1) the proverb under question was known to Śabarasvāmin and most probably also to Kumārila and Śaṅkara with the only reading *arke* which has been correctly interpreted by the first-mentioned author; (2) already in the 9th cen. A.D., if not still earlier, *arke* was partially replaced by *akke* which was, a little later on, glossed as '*samīpe, gṛhakoṇe*' by the commentators without any lexical authority or any further usage of this vocable in literature; and (3) the modern emendation *atke* is neither warranted by etymological considerations nor supported by mss.

10. It is indeed strange and surprising that such a simple proverb has created so much confusion amongst so many scholars from quite an early time till the present day. The real reason for this seems to me to be as follows: There is no doubt that unlike many learned and technical maxims this proverb was once very popular and widely current even amongst the

10. It seems that mainly relying on Har Dutt Sharma's revised edition of the *Tattvakaumudī*, the compilers of the revised edition of Apte's Skt.-English Dictionary have recorded the meaning 'the corner of house' for *atka* as well.

ordinary, uneducated people and women — a fact shown by the introductory remark *tathā ca laukikānām ābhāṇakaḥ* found in some works where this proverb has been quoted. But it must have existed amongst such people not in its pure Skt. form, but rather in a Prakritised version, something like **akke cen ma(d)hu vindeta kimartham pavvatam v(r)aje(t)*. But, either because the real meaning (Calotropis Gigantea) of the vocable *arka* in this proverb was lost sight of as it is not a vocable of daily use or, more probably, just because of a popular explanation of this proverb, apparently contextual meanings like 'vicinity, corner of a house', etc. soon became associated with it. Our medieval commentators and authors must have been acquainted with this form of the proverb and the particular 'popular' meaning assigned to the vocable *arka* which they readily accepted even for the Skt. version of the proverb. This meaning, even though without any lexical authority, has passed down traditionally for generations[11] and has misled even modern scholars of the calibre of the late Mm. Ganganath Jha, Kuppuswami Shastri and others who do not seem to have paused to ponder even for a moment why *akka* does not occur anywhere else in the whole range of the vast and varied Skt. literature.

11. We can now safely come to the conclusion that *akka* (with the meanings 'vicinity, a corner of a house', etc). is a ghost word in Skt. and that we cannot assign this meaning even to the Prakrit vocable *akka*.[12]

12. Now, a practical problem which confronts a modern Sanskrit lexicographer is whether to accept the vocable *akka* with its traditional meaning in Sanskrit Dictionary or not. In our humble opinion, we should accept this vocable indicating that it is a wrong reading for *arka* found nowhere else besides this proverb with the meanings 'vicinity, a corner of a house',

11. I have been informed by many traditional Skt. scholars (Pandits) coming from different parts of India that they all have learnt this meaning of *akka* (found only in this proverb) from their Gurus and they never questioned its validity.

12. In Prakrit *akka-arka* has been used only in three different meanings: (1) the sun, (2) Calotropis Gigantea and (3) gold (*Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, s.v. *akka*) and in Pāli, only in the first two (*A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *akka*). Pkt. *akka* meaning 'name of a soldier of Rāvaṇa' is to be derived from Skt. *akṣa*. The only Skt. vocable which has some similarity, both phonetical

etc. assigned to it by some medieval authors and commentators. But it would be wholly unwarranted to assign the same or similar meanings to *atka* as well.

and semantical, with *akka*, supposedly meaning 'vicinity, a corner of a house' is *okas*, but even a medieval scholiast would hesitate to derive *akka* from it. Nor can this *akka* be possibly regarded as a loan word in Skt., and all my attempts to find out a word in Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (Mundari) and Tibeto-Burman languages which may be regarded as the likely source of *akka* have completely failed. It may, however, be noted here that Skt. *arka* 'Calotropis Gigantea' itself is most probably a loan word from Dravidian (Burrow, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1946, 16; *Sanskrit Language*[2], p. 380.).

A NOTE ON ĀŚĀDHARA BHAṬṬA AND HIS WORKS

Dr. Umakant P. Shah

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mixed up the Jaina writer Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa, with the later Hindu writer Āśādhara, the son of Bhaṭṭa Rāmajī. While the Jaina writer lived in 1236 A.D., his Hindu namesake was supposed to have flourished in the eighteenth century. Aufrecht however suspected that there were two Āśādharas and suggested that the *Triveṇikā*, *Advaitaviveka* and *Koviddānanda* belonged "to a later Āśādhara, as in the *Triveṇikā* not only Mallināṭha but also the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* are mentioned."[1] In the second part of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*,[2] he was more definite and noted that Āśādhara, the author of *Kuvalayānandakārikāṭīkā*[3] was the son of Rāmajī and pupil of Dharaṇīdhara. He also said that this Āśādhara is also the author of *Koviddānanda* and his own commentary on it called *Kādambinī*. In the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[4], Dr. V. Raghavan, in honour of whose Ṣaṣṭyabdapūti I have great pleasure in contributing this paper, has carefully distinguished the two writers and set forth distinctly the works and other data relating to these two Āśādharas.

Batuka Natha Sharma edited the *Triveṇikā* in the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Series, no.14. He noted that the middle of the 17th century might be taken as the upper limit for the date of Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa and said that he "in all probability belongs to the latter half of the 18th century." He has also shown that Āśādhara lived a little prior to Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa or, perhaps was a senior contemporary of the latter.

The works of Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa, so far known from manuscripts and references in *Triveṇikā*[4a] etc., are: (1) *Triveṇikā*,[5]

1. Reprinted ed., (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 54-55.
2. Reprinted ed., *op. cit.*, p. 10.
3. Known as *Alaṁkāradīpikā*.
4. Vol. II. University of Madras, 1966. pp. 153-6.

4.a *Triveṇikā*, ed. by Batuk Nath Sharma (Banaras, 1925), Intro. pp. 8-10.

5. *Triveṇikā*, ed. by Pandit Kaliprasad Shukla (Varanasi, 1957), p.16.

(2) *Kovidānanda*, with his own commentary *Kādambini*, (3) *Kuvalayānandavyākhyā*, *Alaṁkāradīpikā*, (4) *Advaitaviveka* and (5) *Prabhāpaṭala*. Manuscripts of the last two works are not yet discovered but Āśādhara himself refers to them, cf:

मत्कृतेऽद्वैतविवेके—

मृगाङ्कत्वेऽपि न मृगी शशाङ्कत्वाच्छशीति तु ।
चन्द्रमाः कथितस्तत्र रूढेरन्यत्र कारणम् ॥

At the end of *Triveṇikā*, Āśādhara writes two verses in Hariṇi metre[6] and says:—

प्रभापटले निबद्धमिदं हरिणीद्वयं तापापनोदाय त्रिवेणिका-प्रान्ते निक्षिप्तम् ।
यथा रघुवंशस्थाः श्लोकाः कुमारसम्भवे स्वकृतस्वान्निक्षिप्ताः ।

It is supposed that *Advaitaviveka* was probably a work on Vedānta and the *Prabhāpaṭala* might have been a work on Tantra. As far as the order of composition of the works is concerned, it seems that the *Advaitaviveka* and *Prabhāpaṭala* might have preceded *Kovidānanda* and the *Triveṇikā*. *Kovidānanda* of course was composed before *Triveṇikā* since in the latter work, Āśādhara often refers to the formar.

As noted by Batuk Natha Sharma, a manuscript of *Kovidānanda* is dated in 1783 Śaka (=1861 A.D.) while a ms. of *Alaṁkāradīpikā* bears Śaka 1775 (=1853 A.D.) as the age of copying. Thus Āśādhara lived sometime before 1853 A.D. but after the author of *Siddhāntakaumudī* referred to by him and the *Kuvalayānanda* commented upon by him.

A ms. of *Triveṇikā* in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, is dated Samvat 1860, i.e. 1803 A.D. One ms. of *Triveṇikā* consulted by Kalikaprasad Shukla mentions that Āśādhara wrote this work in Samvat 1830 (=1773 A.D.) Though not specified by Kalikaprasad Shukla, this is Oriental Institute ms. no. 9742. The date of copying of this ms. is also mentioned as Samvat 1871. It is said to have been copied at सांखेडपुर (Samkheḍāi n Gujarat). Since *Kovidānanda*, *Advaitaviveka* and *Prabhāpaṭala* are known to have been composed before *Triveṇikā*, the age of Āśādhara should be placed at least between 1720 and 1790 A.D.

The Oriental Institute, Baroda, has a ms. of *Kovidānanda* in its collections (Accession No. 9535, Extent 700

6. *Triveṇikā*, ed. by K. Shukla (*Ibid.*)., p. 38.

granthas . It contains the author's own commentary called *Kādambinī*.[7]

Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa also wrote a work on Nyāya, known as *Āśādhari*, the existence of a ms. of which in the collections of Shri Badarīnātha Shastri, of Baroda, is noted by Kalika Prasad Shukla.[8] One Badarinātha Shastri in Baroda is dead long ago and it is not likely that Pandit K.P. Shukla had access to his collection. The other Badarīnātha Shastri is still living and on enquiry, I find that he does not remember this work. He has however promised to search the manuscript in his collections. He further informs me that he had another work of Āśādhara, entitled *Padasamjñā-vicāra*, which he cannot trace at present in his collections. This work, according to Shri Badarīnāth Shastri, was a small text.

The Oriental Institute, Baroda, fortunately preserves mss. of a few more works of Āśādhara, not yet published, nor referred to by previous writers. One of them contains a few fragments of a Vṛtti by Āśādhara on Mallinātha's commentary[9] on the *Kirātārjunīya*.

Āśādhara also composed another small work on Alaṁkāraśāstra, known as *Rasikānanda*. The Oriental Institute, Baroda, has a ms. of this work (No.9481) copied in V.S. 1929. Its extent is about 400 granthas, folios 20. It has the following chapters:—

(१) परिभाषा (२) शृङ्गाररस (३) हास्यरस (४) करुणरस (५) रौद्ररस (६) वीररस (७) भयानकरस (८) बीभत्सरस (९) शान्तरस (१०) भक्तिरस (११) भाव (१२) प्रकीर्ण

The work thus deals with nine rasas, bhāvas etc., and adds *bhakti* as the tenth rasa. At one place he refers to *Rasa-vilāsa* and its author Bhūdeva Śūkla.

7. *Kośiddhanda* with *Kādambinī* Commentary, ed. by Pandit Kalika Prasad Shukla (Varanasi, 1963).

8. Intro. to *Trisaṃdhā*, p. 27.

9. Mss. nos. 9462 and 9538 in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. According to one of the mss. this Vṛtti of Āśādhara was entitled "छायानन्द". It is not certain whether Āśādhara completed the Vṛtti or wrote only on the introductory portion of Mallinātha's *Ghaṇṭāpatha*. The O.I. mss. contain Vṛtti on Intro. portion only.

That this is a work of Āśādhara is obvious from the colophons at end of chapters. Cf. Folio 7a:—

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीण-रामजीभट्टात्मजाशाधरभट्ट-कृतौ रसिकानन्दे शृङ्गाररसप्रकरणम् (॥१॥ (f 8a); इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीणरामजीभट्टात्मजाशाधरभट्टकृतौ रसिकानन्दे हास्यरसप्रकरणम् ॥२॥

This manuscript is especially valuable, not only because it is the only known manuscript of this work of Āśādhara, but also because it gives us, for the first time, new information about the author and his patron, which helps us to know definitely the age of Āśādhara. The colophon and the end of the work on folio 20a are as follows:—

प्रायः कृतयुगे लोका धर्मे भक्तिरसाश्रयाः ।
त्रेताद्वापरयोर्भाविाश्रया आभासिनः कलौ ॥३८॥
क्वचित्तु भक्तिरसिकाः कलावपि महाधियः ।
लल्लुभायि-प्रभृतयः पुण्यक्षेत्रनिवासिनः ॥३९॥

तथा हि—

जयति नर्मदा पुण्यकमंदा सकलशमंदा भूरिवमंदा ।
जनितसंसदा सत्पदप्रदा विबुधसंसदा वन्दिता हृदा ॥४०॥

अत्र प्रकृताथंपरौ विबुधवन्दितशब्दौ वृत्तनाममूचकौ । तेन मुद्रालङ्कारः । सूच्यार्थसूचनं मुद्रेति लक्षणात् । वृत्तलक्षणं तु 'विबुध-वन्दिता नौ ररौ लगौ' इति ।

तीरे तदीये **भृगुकच्छसंज्ञं** पुरं पुराणप्रथितं चकास्ति ।
तत्राधिकारी खलु **लल्लुभायी** सतां मतो भक्तिरसानुयायी ॥४२॥
दयालुदास-प्रभवो दयालुः राधावराराधनधन्यताभाक् ।
पराक्रमे भक्तिरसे च दाने यस्योपमानं न भुवीति जाने ॥४३॥
यस्य प्रियं भागवतं पुराणं तदुक्तधर्माचरणं च शश्वत् ।
तदाश्रिताशाधरपण्डितेन ग्रन्थः कृतोऽयं सुधियां मुदेऽस्तु ॥४४॥

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीण-रामजीभट्टात्मजाशाधरभट्टकृतौ रसिकानन्दे प्रकीर्णप्रकरण समाप्तम् ॥

संवत् १९॥२९॥ ना चैत्रकृष्णपक्षे तिथौ षष्ठ्यां भृगुवासरे लेखक मेता जयशंकरात्मज मेता अमरजिदाख्येन लिखितोऽयं ग्रंथः ॥ श्री स्वामीनारायणाय नमो नमः श्री नृसिंहाय नमो नमः श्री हरये नम :

It will thus be seen that a devotee of Krishna, named Lallubhai, the son of Dayāludāsa, and residing in Bhrgukaccha (Broach) on the bank of the river Narmada gave patronage to Pandit Āśādhara. Lallubhai was known for his bravery, devotion to God and charities. He especially loved the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and followed the Dharma preached in it.

According to tradition, noted by Kalikaprasad Shukla and H. C. Mehta in their Introduction to *Triṣaṣṭikā*, Pandit Āśādhara belonged to Peṭlād or Pīja of the Baroda district in Gujarat. Pandit Shukla tried to collect the information from serveral Pandits and Brahmin families, and accordingly, he has noted that besides Peṭlād and Pīja, Vaso near Pīja is also reported to have been the native place of Āśādhara.

Whatever the place of residence of Āśādhara might have been, he seems to have spent some time of his life at Broach, as he calls himself an "*āśrita*" of Lallubhai of Broach.

Lallubhai of Broach was a famous personality in the Gujarat of the eighteenth century and a busy crowded area in Broach is still known as "*Lallubhai no cakalo*," the square (catuṣpatha) of Lallubhai. The area contained the old building of Lallubhai, with its fine wood carving which has been quite recently dismantled and the descendants of Lallubhai Majumdar still live in the building.

Lallubhai is said to have been a Moḍha bania by caste,[10] who by his own political sagacity rose to the position of the Diwan (chief minister) of Moazizkhan, the Nawab of Broach in A.D. 1768-72. He was a favourite of the Nawab and it was believed that it was Lallubhai who really ruled Broach. But once due to some cause, the Nawab fined him heavily and keeping this insult in mind, Lallubhai sided with the English when they attacked Broach in 1772 A.D. Lallubhai is thus reported to have turned against his master and become a traitor, but he is also known as a pious man, famous for his charities, who constructed a step-well, built an asylum for animals (Panjarāpoḷa), and so on. His big house, with fine wood carvings, is said to have been contructed in A.D. 1791.

I have not yet verified from other sources the oral tradition about Lallubhai's treachery or faithlessness. There is a saying in Gujarat which says that Lallubhai lost Broach in talking and gossiping (बातोमां ने बातोमां लल्लुभाइए भरुच गुमाव्युं). It would thus appear that Lallubhai either miscalculated the danger of the English attack or was lazy and slow in action, fond of idle play and gossip. According to one folk tale

10. *Gujarata-sthalanāma-samsad-ṣākhyānamālā*, Vol. I (in Gujarati), Baroda, 1965), pp. 311-12, as noted by Prof. Narottam Valand.

which I heard in my own childhood, Lallubhai was playing a game, chess or something, when messengers came one after another and told him that the English army was drawing nearer and nearer Broach. Too confident, Lallubhai went on playing and lost Broach which was swiftly attacked and possessed by the British army.

Another interpretation of the above Gujarati saying could, in the context of the tradition regarding Lallubhai's treachery, be offered, namely, due to the quarrel (in talk), Lallubhai (taking revenge,) lost Broach (by turning a traitor). But this is not the sense in which the above proverb is now used. It is used for warning lazy persons, idlers, and those who are used to procrastination or are over-confident and indifferent.

Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri has written in Gujarati, two learned papers on Lallubhai Majumdar. One is based on a Persian account, "*Hadikat-ul-Hind*" by Saiyyad Cakṣumiyān of Surat, which, though somewhat different in details, speaks of the enmity that existed between Moazziz-Khan and Lallubhai.[11] According to this account, Broach was captured by the English on 29th November, 1772.

But K. M. Zaveri also notes from the life of his own grandfather Shri Ranachoddas Girdharabhai, an account of Lallubhai incidentally given therein. According to this account, Lallubhai was of a very generous nature, who during famine in Broach, helped the poor by daily giving alms. Shri Zaveri also notes that the English had given Broach to the Scindhias in A. D. 1773 but was again captured by them in A. D. 1803.

In another paper K.M. Zaveri has noted that when the English attacked Broach, Lallubhai had to run away to Pavagadh where he committed suicide.

In this paper is given a detailed summary of the Mukhatyāra-nāmā (power of attorney) which Nawab Moazziz-Khan had given to Lallubhai when the Nawab visited Bombay at the instance of Mr. Hornby of the East India Company to dis-

11. *Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri Lekhasangraha* (in Gujarati, publ. by Shri Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, 1951), Vol. I, pp. 459-464 and pp. 464-474. The first paper is entitled, *Bharuchna ne Nawab ane Lallubhai Majumdar* (*Ibid.*, pp. 459-464) and the second, *Bharuchna ne Nawab Saheb Sheth Lallubhai ne apela Kalamukhatyara-patra* (pp. 464-474).

cuss matters relating to customs etc. at the Broach port. The whole deed, an authoritative reliable document, of which a copy was also found from the collections of the late Kāji Saheb of Broach, shows clearly that Lallubhai enjoyed full confidence of the Nawab and that the account of Saiyyad Chakṣumiyān of Surat is obviously unreliable.

It is thus difficult to decide whether Lallubhai had proved treacherous or not, and one must await a more detailed study of all available evidence.

Lallubhai was a devout Vaiṣṇava as is known from the Praśasti at the end of *Rasikānanda*. Āśādhara also wrote a smaller work entitled *Veda-stuti-vyākhyā* which is a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, skandha 10, adhyāya 87. This might suggest that Āśādhara was himself a Vaiṣṇava or that he possibly composed this to please his patron Lallubhai Dayaludasa Majumdar who was a Vaiṣṇava. A ms. of this work also exists in the Oriental Institute, Baroda (No. 11212).[12] The extent is about 700 granthas including the text on which this commentary is written. The end and colophon are :—

यद्गर्वपर्वतसमुच्छ्रयरुद्धवर्त्मा
न प्रक्रिया स्फुरति साधु न काधिकापि ।
तद्वादसिन्धुवडवानल किन्न कल्पाय (?)—
ऋद्धि (?) मुदेऽस्तु स गुरुर्वदुराघसंज्ञ—(?)
(The last words should be गुरुर्बदुरामसंज्ञः)
* * संशयस्य हन्त्री ।
व्याख्या सुधीजनमुदे निपुणं निरूप्य
मूलार्थमन्वयमुखेन यथामनीषम् ॥२॥

12. The ms. was copied in Samvat 1977. Āśādhara invokes Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī in the beginning of this commentary. It seems that he had Vaiṣṇava leanings at some time in his life, but he invoked other gods also. The opening verses of *Kavidānanda* are addressed to Śiva:—

त्रिनयनलसत्पञ्चास्यश्रीः षडाननानन्दनः
सततमहिमा सत्सर्व्वाद्यैः कृतस्तुतितोषितः ।
जयति जगतां व्याकुर्वाणोऽजवाकृतिनामनी
पुनरपि दधत्कण्ठेकालः स कालकलोज्झितः ॥२॥

The opening verse of his own comm. on *Kavidānanda* is:—

प्रणम्य शङ्करं साम्ब कोविदानन्दनामकम् ।
ग्रन्थं व्याख्यामि संक्षेपात्स्वकृतं बोधसिद्धये ॥१॥

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीणरामजीभट्टात्मजाशाधरभट्टविरचिता वेद-स्तुतिविशल्या सम्पूर्णा ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ सं० १८५९ शा० १७२२ आश्विनसुक्ल-—भानुवासरे श्लोकसंख्या ७०० ॥

प्रतिकृतमेतच्छ्रीगुर्जराधिपतिनिर्मितपुस्तकालयाध्यक्षाज्ञानुरो(धे)न प्रकाश-करोपाह्वेन बालकृष्णशर्मणा वटोदरनिवासिना ॥ मार्गशीर्षस्य कृष्णसप्तम्यां सम्पूर्णम् संवत् १९७७ वैक्रम ।

Thus this manuscript was copied in Samvat 1977 (=A.D. 1920) from a ms. which was dated Samvat 1859 (=1802 A. D.). Whether Āśādhara lived upto 1802 A.D. and composed this commentary in 1802 is not quite clear from the above entry.

In the beginning of this commentary we find—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्री रुक्मिणीकान्ताय नमः ॥

एको यस्यानने दन्तः पाणौ यस्याश्च कच्छपौ ।
येनोपदिष्टौ तौ मह्यं न च तौ च नमाम्यहम् ॥१॥

आशाधरात्मजो यदुरामशिष्यः ** स्वशिष्यैः परिपृष्ट आह ।
वेदस्तुतेरन्वयमूलमर्थं निरन्वयं पल्लवनं विहाय ॥२॥

In other works Āśādhara calls himself a disciple of धरणीधर. We do not know whether यदुराम and धरणीधर are identical or not. It would appear that the two are different. Was Yadurāma a teacher of Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa in Vedānta and Dharaṇidhara the teacher in Vyākaraṇa and Alaṁkāra ?

We obtain some more information about Rāmaji Bhaṭṭa, the father of Āśādhara, in the last verse of *Kaviddnanda*:—

शिवस्य भक्त्या समवाप्तसिद्धि-
र्वीनीरवी रामजिभट्ट आसीत् ।
तत्सूनुनाशाधरभट्टनाम्ना
ग्रन्थः कृतोऽयं सुधियां मुदेऽस्तु ॥५२॥

इति श्रीपदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीणरामजिभट्टात्मजाशाधरभट्टविरचिते कोविदा-नन्दे व्यक्तिनिर्णये तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

Thus Rāmaji Bhaṭṭa was a devout follower of Śiva.

The Oriental Institute, Baroda, has three mss. of another small work of Āśādhara, entitled *Pūrvapakṣamañjūṣā*. on grammar, which is so called in the opening of the work, but which, in all the three mss. is called 'Pūrvapakṣapraśnottarā' in the colophon at the end. The mss. are—no. 5253 (undated, extent

folios 1-6), no. 10300 (copied in Samvat 1895, Śaka 1761, folios, 1-7) and no. 9539 (folios 1-6, Samvat 195x . Ms. no. 5253 has the following entry at the end:—

इति श्रीपूर्वपक्षप्रश्नोत्तरा समाप्ता ॥ मगमत् (समाप्तिमगमत्) ॥ मधुपुर-स्थित भ. भिखारीसुतप्रेमानन्देन लिखितं ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

Ms. No. 10300 has the following entry:—

इति श्रीरामजीभट्टात्मजाशावरभट्टविरचिता पूर्वपक्षप्रश्नोत्तरा संपूर्णा ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ संवत् १८९५ ना शाके १७६१ प्रवर्तमाने वैशाषमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथौ १ रविवासरे ॥ अहिछत्रवास्तव्यौ (च) रेवासी (i.e. रहेवासी, resident of) वारणाना भटपीतांबरात्मजबदुरामेण लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं स्वार्थाय ॥

IMPORTANCE AND SCOPE OF THE BRAHMA-SŪTRAS

Dr. B. N. K. Sharma

The Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa are the earliest aphoristic manual of the "system" of Vedānts that has come down to us. Internal evidence shows that there had been other attempts to codify the speculations of the Vedic and Upaniṣadic teachings and systematize their views. Jaimini, Bādari, Āśmarathya, Auḍulomi and Kāśakṛtsna are some of the names occurring in the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. But we cannot be sure if any or all of them had covered the entire field of metaphysical system-building or had merely confined their attention to partial aspects thereof. Mādhva holds that Bādarāyaṇa's work was of a much wider range than theirs and that these authors cited by him were, in fact, his disciples who developed partial aspects of his own teachings and that his intention in referring to their views is merely to give them publicity and that there is no conflict of views between him and these authors.[1]

1. व्यासचित्तस्थिताकाशादवच्छिन्नानि कानिचित् ।
अन्ये व्यवहरन्त्येतान्यूरीकृत्य गृहादिवत् ॥ इति स्कान्दवचनान् न मतानां परस्परविरोधः ॥ (*M.B.S.B.* 1, 2, 28)
कृष्णद्वैपायनमतादेकदेशविदः परे ।
वदन्ति ते यथाप्रज्ञं न विरोधः कथंचन ॥ इति पाद्मे ॥ (*Op. cit.* 1, 4, 23)

"Other sages severally take up as their own views some of the ideas sages that exist in the spacious mind of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana-Vyāsa and utilize them even as houses etc. enclose portions of space."

"Having imbibed a part of Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana's wisdom, all the other sages expound views according to their comprehension; so there is no conflict of views between his views and theirs."

मुनिमतानां भगवन्मतत्वमेव । तथापि तद्विदितात्ममतैकदेशाभिप्रायेण शिष्यप्रसिद्धयर्थं जैमिन्यादिग्रहणं युज्यते । (Jaya Tīrtha)

The various views of these sages are indeed the views of Vyāsa himself. But a part of his own views are understood by them has been incorporated by Vyāsa so that, as his disciples, they may also get necessary publicity. There is no inherent conflict in the different views held by them as they are meant to apply to aspirants at different levels of fitness. (*J.MB.S.B.* 1, 4, 23)

Even a cursory glance at the body of the Sūtras will show that they have collected their data from a wide range of sources extending from the Vedic to the post-Vedic texts, not excluding the Smṛtis, Itihāsas and Purāṇas[1] and have discussed them under appropriate headings with the help of the well-known principles of interpretation derived from the *Mīmāmsā Śāstra* and other critical apparatus evolved by themselves. In this way, they have tried to formulate and expound a full-fledged system of Vedānta which will be free from contradictions of thought and conflicts of evidence that may possibly be felt or raised within the sacred literature itself. Thus, they arrive at their first principles and special doctrines from these original sources, which are studied from both the critical and constructive points of view. Lastly, they examine the doctrines of other established schools of thought opposed to their findings and lay bare their limitations and inadequacies, thus demonstrating the soundness of their own conclusions, as the last word on the subject of philosophy in general and of Vedānta philosophy in particular.

Such a definitive, critical and comprehensive treatment of the Vedānta system, which even the author of the *Gītā* felt worthy of honorable mention (*Gītā* xiii. 4) can hardly be denied the title of Nirṇāyaka-Śāstra, at least so far as the followers of the Vedānta system are concerned. It is not surprising therefore that Dr. Radhakrishnan should have accepted this description of the B.S. as "Nirṇāyaka-Śāstra" from M. and given currency to it in his latest work on the Brahma Sūtras.[2] Such a description would naturally raise the question of the scope of the Sūtras,—whether it should be extended to the Vedic and post-Vedic literature as well or be confined to the ten or twelve Upaniṣads alone. Ś. has taken the latter view, on the basis of which he has explained the Sūtras as a systematization of the Upaniṣads[3] (Aupaniṣadam Darśanam). His

1. Vide the following Sūtras as commented upon by Ś. i, 2,6; i,3.23,28; 30; ii, 3, 43; iii, 1,13, 14, 15, 19; iii, 2,17; iii, 3, 26, 32; iii, 4, 30, 37, 38, 43; iii, 4, 10; iv, 2, 14; iv, 3, 11; iv, 4, 20.

2. *The Brahma Sūtra*, p. 21.

३. वेदान्तवाक्यकुसुमग्रथनार्थत्वात् सूत्राणाम् । वेदान्तवाक्यानिह मूर्ध-श्रदाहृत्य विचार्यन्ते ।

(ŚBSB 1.1.2)

influence had predisposed most of the other commentators who came after him into accepting his view of restricting the Samanvaya of texts carried out in the Sūtras to the Upaniṣads alone. But the internal evidence of the Sūtras and certain admissions of Ś. himself in his c. go to show that their scope as originally conceived by their author was *much wider* than the ten or twelve Upaniṣads and included the earlier and later phases of the sacred literature.

Ś's c. on *Śāstrayonitvāt* (B.S. i.1.3) is itself against restricting the scope of the Sūtras. The term "Śāstra" as used in this Sūtra has been explained by Ś. himself as "The *Rg Veda* and others" (Śāstram Ṛgvedādiḥ),—"the others", referring, according to his commentator Vācaspati, to the fourteen Vidyāsthānas. This meaning of Śāstra is retained by Ś. in the second interpretation of the third Sūtra, according to which "the aforesaid Śāstra consisting of *Rg Veda* and others is the only source through which Brahman can be known"

(अथवा यथोक्त ऋग्वेदादिशास्त्र योनिः कारणं प्रमाणमस्य ब्रह्मणो यथावत्स्वरूपाधिगमे *(Ś.B.S.B.)*

It follows from this that the whole of the Śāstra consisting of the *Rg Veda* and others and not only the Upaniṣads when properly interpreted with the help of the principles of interpretation formulated in the 'Samanvayādhyāya' and elsewhere in the Sūtras is competent to give us the correct knowledge of Brahman. This is precisely how M. understands the meaning of the Śāstrayoni-Sūtra; and that is why he is opposed in principle, to impose any restriction on the scope of the Sūtras and limit it to the ten or twelve Upaniṣads. The Ārṣa tradition, as preserved in the Vedic and Upaniṣadic texts supports the wider view of M. that Brahman is as much the chief and central theme of the Vedas as it is of the Upaniṣads, Epics and Purāṇas.[1] Ś. himself may not seriously dispute the truth of

1. यस्तं न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति *(R.V.)*
नावेदविन्मनुते तं बृहन्तम् *(Taitt. Brāh.)*
सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति *(Katha Up.)*
वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यः *(Gītā xv. 15)*
वेदे रामायणे चैव पुराणे भारते तथा ।
आदावन्ते च मध्ये च विष्णुः सर्वत्र गीयते ॥ *(Harivaṃśa)*

this proposition; though he has not taken the trouble to demonstrate how such a thorough-going Samanvaya could be successfully worked out. He was probably deterred from going beyond the Upaniṣads for purposes of Brahma-samanvaya, by his sense of loyalty to the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā dictum that the end and aim of the Vedas is sacrifices (*āmnāyasya kriyārthatvāt*).

However that may be, we have many scattered references to numerous Vedic Śākhās including Khila Śrutis and non-extant sources in the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, even according to Ś's own showing.[1] These are sufficient to establish the fact that Viṣaya-vākyas (texts embodying the subject-matter of discussion) and other relevant particulars for building up certain adhikaraṇas have been drawn by the Sūtrakāra from pre-Upaniṣadic sources also, on several occasions. Post-Upaniṣadic and Purāṇic sources including Smṛtis and Dharma-Śāstras are also found to be utilized by the Sūtrakāra, especially in Adhyāyas III and IV.[2] The Sūtrakāra views other Darśanas in Adhy. ii, by way of strengthening the conclusions established by him regarding the nature and attributes of Brahman in Adhy. I.

These are facts borne out by the text of the Sūtras, as we have it and by Ś's own c. on the Sūtras, in many places. We cannot therefore be guided by his assumption that the scope of the Sūtras was originally limited to the ten or twelve Upaniṣads, either for purposes of Samanvaya of Adhy. or for systematization of doctrines, carried out in the rest of the work. This is confirmed by what Ś. has himself said in this context, in his c. on the *Sarvavedāntapratyayādhikaraṇa* (iii, 3, 1-4).

The point established in this adhikaraṇa, according to Ś., is that the several Vidyās taught in the different Upaniṣads or different parts of the same Upaniṣad have a fundamental unity in regard to the subject of their meditation viz. Brahman regardless of their variation in details and particulars of such Vidyās.[3]

1. iii, 3, 55, 56.
2. iii, 1, 13-16; iii, 1, 19; iii, 2.4; iii, 3.3; i, 3.30,36; 3.43, 47;
3. यान्येवैकस्मिन् वेदान्ते (विद्यानानि) तान्येव वेदान्तान्तरेष्वपि (*Bhāmatī* iii, 3.1) दर्शयति च वेदोऽपि विद्यैकत्वं सर्ववेदान्तेषु वेद्यैकत्वोपदेशात् ।
(ŚBSB. iii. 3.4)

M., and following him Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa of the Caitanya school, have given a wider interpretation to the Sūtra: *Sarvavedāntapratyayam* (iii, 3, 1) that for purposes of meditation with a view to realisation of Brahman, the seeker should equip himslf with a fully co-ordinated knowledge of Brahman as the purport (*anta*) of the teachings of all the Vedas (*sarvaveda*) and Śāstras (including the Upaniṣads): Sarvavedanirṇayotpādyajñānam brahma (*M.B.S.B.*). Brahman is to be understood as the purport of the entire Veda-Śāstra with the help of the principles of interpretation elaborated in the B.S.

Tho' Ś.'s interpretation if iii, 3, 1, is not the same as M's, still, he veers round to M's position that Brahman is as much uniformly the central theme of the Vedas (including the Karma-Kāṇḍa thereof) as it is of the Upaniṣads. This confession comes out in his c. on B.S. iii, 3, 4, of the same adhikaraṇa : *Darśayati ca*. Ś. says there that "the Veda also establishes the unity of all the Vidyās taught in the Upaniṣads thro' the oneness of their subject-matter and object of inquiry". In support of this interpretation, Ś. cites two Śruti texts, one from *Kaṭha Up*: *Sarve vedā yatpadam āmananti* and another from the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (iii, 2.3):

Etam hyeva Bahvṛcā mahatyukthe mīmāṁsante etam agnvādhaveyeva etam Mahāvrate Chandogāḥ....

The passage quoted by Ś. from the *Ai. Ā.*, clearly says that Brahman is the direct object of meditation and quest of the followers of the Ṛg, Yajus and Sāma Vedas, even in the sacrificial rites performed by them such as the Mahāvrata, even as it is in the case of the numerous Vidyās taught in the Upaniṣads. Thus B.S. iii, 3, 4 as explained by Ś. himself clinches the matter that Brahman is the final theme of both the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and not merely of the latter. Consistent with this finding, to which we are led, there can be no valid objection to our agreeing with M. that the expression "Sarva-veda-anta" in the opening Sūtra of the same *Adhikaraṇa* has to be given a wider meaning that would be in keeping with the claims of the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa parts of the Vedic literature to reveal the true nature of Brahman along with the Upaniṣads, and help the seeker to discover the fundamental unity of thought (Gati-sāmānyāt i. 1,/O.) running through all branches of the sacred literature.

The Vedic seers who had proclaimed the truth; *Tasmāddhānyan na paraḥ kimca nāsa* (R. V.X.,129.2), 'beyond that there was no other', could hardly have disagreed with the Upaniṣadic seers who maintained : *Ekam eva advitīyam* (One only without an equal). The Vedas which the Upaniṣads claim to be the breath of Brahman could hardly be opposed to or unconcerned with the majesty of Brahman. The Samanvaya posited by the Sūtrakāra in i. 1, 4, if it is to be a real Samanvaya of the entire "Śāstra"-s as that term has been defined and understood in i. 1. 3 (by Ś. also) must, in principle, be capable of being applied and must have been applied to the pre-Upaniṣadic and post-Upaniṣadic literature as well. Otherwise, the solemn declaration of the *Ai. Ā.* : *Etam hyeva Bahvṛcā mahatyukthe mimāmsante*"..will be reduced to nullity and the Pūrva-Mimamsā dictum : *Āmnāyasya krijārthatvād* would triumph as an absolute truth and the Samanvaya of Śāstra, proposed by the Sūtrakāra would be inapplicable to a part of the Śāstra itself. It is for these reasons that M. has decided to invest the Samanvaya contemplated by the Sūtrakāra with a wider range and meaning and bring the whole of Śāstra within its purview, for purposes of systematization.

A Samanvaya of such wide range and dimensions would require vast equipment and exegetical resources and would impose great strain on the patience and understanding of ordinary persons in following the intricacies of its detail, even when it is successfully made out. Madhva is alive to this limitation on the part of the seeker. He recognises that only Brahmadeva is competent to master the discipline of Sarva-śāstra-samanvaya in Brahman, in all its completeness.[1] Nevertheless, he has tried to show the broad outlines of working out

1. कथं समन्वयो ज्ञेयः स्वल्पशास्त्राविदां नृणाम् ।
वेदा ह्यनन्ता इति हि श्रुतिराहाप्यनन्तताम् ॥
अनन्त वेद निर्णीतिर्महाप्रलयवारिधेः ।
उत्तारणोपमेत्यस्मान्न ज्ञेयोऽत्र समन्वयः॥
इति शंकापनोदार्थं स आह करुणाकरः ।
अशक्योत्तारणत्वेऽपि ह्यागमापारवारिधेः ॥
निर्णीयते मयैकाय रोमकूपलवोदिना ।
यद्यप्यशेषवेदार्थो दुर्ज्ञेयोऽखिलमानवैः ॥

such a Samanvaya to the best of our powers and understanding. His work in this direction is therefore purely illustrative of the technique and is not intended to be exhaustive. Even so, he has achieved remarkable results in enabling us to capture the unspeakable majesty of Brahman as it stands manifested in the Adhibhūta, Adhyātma, Adhidaiva and other cross-sections of cosmic life. The purpose of such Samanvaya of Śāstra in Brahman is, as pointed out by M., to expound the Gunapūrṇatva or infinitude of Brahman, its *Bhūmatva*, its immanence in the Universe (*viśvāntaryāmitva*) and transcendence (*viśvātitatva*). In showing the way to such a Mahāsamanvaya of Śāstra (as M. calls it) in Brahman, he has undoubtedly blazed a new trail in the history of Brahma-Sūtra-interpretation. His approach to Samanvaya is partly mystical and partly exegetical.

मज्ज्ञानाव्याकृताकाशे प्राप्नोति परमाणुताम् ।
इति प्रकाशयन् विश्वपतिराह प्रमेयताम् ॥
निखिलस्यापि वेदस्य गतिसामान्यमञ्जसा ।
को नाम गतिसामान्यमनन्तागमसम्पदः ॥
ज्ञानसूर्यमृते ब्रूयात्तमेकं बादरायणम् ।
अन्योऽप्यल्पमतिः शास्त्राच्चतुष्पञ्चगत वसु ॥
ज्ञानब्रह्ममतित्वेन ब्रूयात्तस्य प्रसादतः ।
इति मुख्यतयाशेषगतिसामान्यवित् प्रभुः ॥
महासमन्वये तस्मिन्नाधिकारोऽखिलस्य हि ।
ब्रह्मैवाधिकृतस्तत्र मुख्यतोऽन्ये यथाक्रमम् ॥
दुर्गमत्वाच्च नैवात्र प्राथम्येनोदितोऽञ्जसा ।

(M. *Anuvākhyāna*. III. 3, 24-31; 35-36)

BOTANICAL OBSERVATIONS OF BĀṆA BHAṬṬA
(7th Cent. A. D.)

P. V. Sharma, Varanasi

INTRODUCTION

The period of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa is a definite and important landmark in Indian history. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who was attached to the court of King Harshavardhana (606-648 A.D.) has contributed two great works—*Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*—the former being a narrative and the latter a story. Bāṇa has narrated the life of his King in his *Harṣacarita* which is thus a valuable document of contemporary history. While dealing with the life of the King, he has also described nature with minutest details. He was a keen observer of nature and this he did during his long travels from one corner to the other of the country. During this period he came into direct contact of the plants and gained first hand information regarding peculiarities of size, shape, etc., of the different parts such as flowers, fruits, leaves, roots etc. Surprisingly enough he was able to catch the delicate sensation of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell, from the vast expanse of nature. He has also seen the nature in different seasons with open eyes and acute vision.

As regards the parts of a plant, he has mentioned the following:—

1. Aṅkura, Praroha (shoot)—H[1] 42, 28, 253.
2. Mūla, Śiphā, Jaṭā, (root)—H 37, 73, 420, 432, 415.

Kanda (tuberous roots)—K 121; H 429, 432.

1. H.—*Harṣacarita*, Chowkhamba IInd edn. 1964. K.—*Kādambarī*, Chowkhamba IInd edn. 1961.

The root of the lotus has been mentioned as 'Śāluka'

3. Skandha (stem)—K 71, 74; H 419; also
Prakāṇḍa—H 333
Kāṇḍa —H 264, 113
Daṇḍa — H 112
Kāṣṭha (heartwood)—H 409
Tvak, Valkala (bark)— H 387, 409, 432. 60
Paṭṭamūlaka (fibrous barks) —H 409
Kaṇṭaka (spines) —H 95, 432.
Śākhā (branch) — K 101, 406
Śuṅga (terminal bud) — H 410

4. Pallava, Kisalaya (tender leaves) — H 35, 38, 44, 50, 57, 112, 108, 97, 39, 96, 170; K 117, 457, 368.
Vaṁśa-Karīra (tender leaves of bamboo)—H 328.
Dala, Parṇa (leaf) — H 37, 433
Vṛnta (petiole) — K 305
Śuṣka-patra (dry leaf) — H 84
Niṣpatra pādapa (tree without leaves)— H 97, 28

5. Kusuma — (flower) — H 33, 58; also
Guccha-Different forms of inflorescence H 284
Mañjarī — H 15, 137, 252, 370, 387
Stabaka — H 419, K 368; H 227, 50, 55
Jālaka, — H81, 373, 86, 407
Pūli — H 110, 268.
Kalikā (bud) — H 17, 199
Koraka (bud) — H 418, 442
Mukula (bud) — H 39.
Kuḍmala (bud) — H 38, 418; K 5, 368, 457
Utphulla, unnidra (blown) — K 67
Kusuma-dala (petals)
Kośa, Samputa (interior of the flowers) — H 26, 296; K80, 9.
Kesara—(stamens) — H 26, 41, 161, 221, 450
Dhūli(pollen) — H 26; K 117, 388.
Vana-kusuma (wild flower) — H 434
Phala (fruit)—H 37, 44, 161; K 53, 116, 338
Sarasa-phala (juicy fruits) — H 387
Śalāṭu (unripe fruits) —H 420

Jūṭa (bunch of fruits)—H 160, 387, 408
Guccha .. —H 82
Stabaka .. —H 387
Rāji .. — H 410
Mañjarī .. —H 84, 152; K 76, 77.
Vallarī .. —K 77
Phala Kośī (legume, pod, outer covering)—H 160, 433
Pāka Viśarāru, Sphuṭadbīja (Capsular)— H 88, 160
Śuka—H 84
Phalatūla (cotton) — H 84, 411
Twak (integument) — H 96, 143
Karṇikā, bījakośa —
Bīja, Taṇḍula (seeds)—H 231, 260, 412, 172, 441, 78
Asthi—(stone) — H 407
Bīja-jālaka (multiple seeds) — H 84

Different forms of plants have been also mentioned such as :—

1. Oṣadhi (herbs)—H 444, 449
2. Vīrudha (weak plants) — H 81, K 117
   Latā — H 42, 411, 61, 36, 49, 182, 161
   K 184, 178, 56, 22
   Bāla-latā H 50, 221, 349
   Vana-latā H 431
   Bhavana-latā H 213
   Mārga-latā H 54
3. Gulma, Stamba, Veṇī (shrub)—H 441, 84, 215, 419; K 366
4. Vṛksa, Taru, Druma, Pādapa (tree)—H 28, 123, 414, 97, K 74

   Vanaspati — K 74
   Mahāvanaspati, Mahātaru, Tuṅgataru (big tree)— H 162, 161; K 200.
   Kṣīri-vṛkṣa —H 444; K 199.

Different places and surroundings where plants grew have been mentioned as follows:—

1. Vana-aṭavī H 36, 56, 204, 406, 109, 100; K 373
2. Mahāṭavī —H 441
3. Vanānta —H 296
4. Vanagrāmaka —H 98
5. Ārāma —H 164, 178, 420

6. Udyāna —H 79
7. Upavana —H 249
8. Vāṭikā —H 175, 411

On the borders of the Vāṭikā-vāṭa (hedge), Ketakī (H 450), Ikṣu, Snuhi (H 410) and Bamboo (H 410), were grown. The group of plants grown at one place was known as 'Ṣaṇḍa' such as Pūga-ṣaṇḍa (K56), Tāla-ṣaṇḍa (K 71), Taru-saṇḍa (K370). The grove of Bamboo plants 'Vaṁśa-viṭapa-saṁkaṭa' (H410) and Guñjā-kuñja (H420) have also been mentioned. The plants grown in a row were called as Vīthikā or Pāli as Candana-vīthikā (K 417), Tamāla-vīthikā (K 69), Arjuna-pāli (H 161). The plants grown at the entrance-gate were called Praveśa-pādapa (entrance-trees).

Some words are also found regarding cultivation of plant. The fields were called 'Kṣetra' (H160, 178). The fields having particular crop were known by that name such as those having paddy were called 'Śāleya' (H100, 160, 178) and those having Māṣa were known as 'Māṣiṇa' (H 375). Furrows in the fields were called 'Kedāra', or 'Kedārikā' (H407, 78). The irrigation was done by 'Ghaṭī-yantra' (H160). The place where crops were kept for final processing was called 'Khala' (H 160). The loads of crops were called 'Pūlikā' (H157). The container having seeds of crops was called 'Bījadhāni' (H 406).

Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa had extraordinary acuteness of perception and responded promptly and fully to the senses released in the vast expanse of nature. He has ably described the sensations of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell of the objects, particularly plants, for instance—

1. *Sound*—The murmuring sound arising from the dry leaves of the plants has been mentioned (H 82, 83). Similarly, the sound produced by the dry pods containing seeds is also mentioned (H 100).
2. *Touch*—The softness the lotus flower (H 48), fresh Jasmine flowers (H 455) and the bark of the Bhūrja tree (H 386) has been mentioned. The delicacy of the inner part of the Banana plant has also been noted (H 370). The cold experienced in the Sandal gardens has also been described (K 127). The plants having cooling properties have been described (K 615).

3. *Vision*—The transparency of water and walls has been described (K99, 612). Similarly the unstable character of the Banana leaves and the pointedness of the Kuśa grass have been mentioned (K 125). The poet is a master of colours and has described these in a very clear way. The following colours have been observed:—

1. *Śveta* (*white*)—Whiteness of foam, cotton (K73), teeth (K112, H451), pieces of camphor (H221), sandal (K181, 183, 590, 69, 576), flowers of white lotus (K150, 223) Kumuda (K155, 479) and white Sindhuvāra (K151).
2. *Pāṇḍura* (*white with yellowish tinge*)—The dried paste of sandal (K482, 618) and the inner leaves of Ketakī (H190, K205)
3. *Piṅgala, Dhūsara* (*grey*)—The pollen grains of Ketakī and Kamala (K243) and cane-chairs (H387)
4. *Babhru, Piñjara* (*reddish yellow-saffron colour*)—This colour has been taken from Kusumbha (H285, 56, 243; K218), Kuṅkuma (K219; H368) and pedicle of the flowers of Śephālikā (K 77).
5. *Pīta* (*yellow, golden colour*)—Haridrā was the main source of this colour (H 420; K 218). The Campaka flowers were also of golden colour and have been simulated with a group of earthen lamps (H 27).
6. *Harita* (*green*)—The plants of Banana have been described as green like parrots (K63). The Yavasa grass has been simulated with green Marakata (emerald) gem (H 212).
7. *Rakta* (*red*)—The palms, lower lip and the corner of the eyes have been simulated with red lotus flower (K29, 190, 224). The blood is described red like blossomed Bandhūka flowers (H 357, 415). The glow of the setting sun has also been simulated with these flowers (H314). The other two substances being the source of red colour are Māñjiṣṭha (H 313; K81, 268) and Lākṣā (K92, 181, 240).
8. *Śyāma* (*blackish*)—This has been mentioned in K71.
9. *Kṛṣṇa* (*black*)—A variety of tila was black (H188).

The lips became almost black due to excessive use of betel (K308).

10. *Nila (blue)*—The plant Tamāla is described as Nīla (K 60). The Nīli plant was the main source of this colour (H 57, 259).

The following substances of plant-origin were used as dyes:—

1. Yellow—Haridrā (generally clothes were dyed, particularly on auspicious occasions)[1].
2. Reddish Yellow—Kusumbha,[2] Saffron[3].
3. Red—Māñjiṣṭha[4], Lākṣā.[5]
4. Blue-Nili.[6]

A combination of five colours has been mentioned for decoration on auspicious occasions (K219).

4. *Taste*—The sweet taste of fresh juicy fruits like Drākṣā, Prācīnāmalaka has been mentioned (H161, 387; K53). The salty taste of sea water has also been described (K378).
5. *Smell*—The fragrance of Candana (H60; K26, 47, 49), Kastūri (K49), Karpūra (K49). Kuṅkuma (K49, 47, 181) and Elā (K359) has been aptly described. The blossomed flowers like lotus (K99, 478), Saptacchada (K91) and mango (H39, 61, 66) spread their fragrance in the atmosphere. There was a particular smell in Guggulu (H170), Sallaki (K83), Bhadramustā (K83) and Soma (K132). The drinking water particularly in summer was perfumed with flowers (K183). The saffron was

1—हारिद्रद्रवविच्छुरणपिञ्जराम्बरधारिणाम् K218; हरिद्राद्रवरञ्जमान°— 420

2—कुसुम्भरागपाटलं—षड्ऋतुम् 1 —H 56

क्षुण्णक्षाल्यमानकुसुम्भसंभाराम्भेः पल्वलपूररञ्यमान पादपल्लवम् H243

3—३ङ्कुमरागकोमलोत्तरीयान्तरितोत्तमांगे—H368

4—मञ्जिष्ठरागलोहिते किरणजाले K81; ममज्ज मञ्जिष्ठारुणोऽरुण-सारथिः H313

5—लाक्षालोहितकोशे परिधानम् K92; लाक्षाजलक्षुटाप्रहारपाटलीकृत-दुकूलः— K181

6—नीलीरागनिहितनीलिम्ना H57; नीलीरागमेचकरुचा— H59

used to perfume the clothes as Paṭavāsa (K41). The bathing water for the rich people was also perfumed and this was called 'Gandhodaka' (K45,50,607). Oil in earthen lamps was also sometimes perfumed, particularly in the houses of rich people (K206). Below are quoted some instances to show the minute observation and vivid description of the author:—

1. The juice of the Jambū fruit which is bluish-red in colour and astringent sweet in taste has the simile of the pleasant cuckoo bird.[1]
2. The sweet particles have been compared with the particles of the white Sindhuvāra flowers.[2]
3. The white pomegranate seeds with red glow have been described as having the splendour of pearls wet with fresh blood.[3]
4. The spines in the Śālmali tree were like the dark spots due to old age.[4]
5. The climbers were like the venous system on the body of the trees and they were prominent in old plants.[5]
6. The sweet droplets interspersed with dry blood-spots were like ornaments made with pearls mixed with Guñjā fruits.[6]
7. The flower-stalk of Pārijāta was similar to the bunch of Kṛttikā stars.[7]

1—आमलकोकिलच्छविर्नीलपाटलः कषायमधुरः जम्बूफलरसः—K 53

2—अवदलितसिन्धुवारकुसुममञ्जरीविभ्रमाभिः स्वेदकणिकाभिः—K 44

3—हरिनखभिन्नमत्तमातगकुम्भमुक्तरक्तार्द्रमुक्ताफलविधि दाडिमी-बीजानि—K 51

4—जरातिलकबिन्दुभिरिव कण्टकैरांचितवनुः—K 72

5—शिराभिरिव परिगतो ततिभिः K 73; उन्नमता शिराजालकेन जरत्कल्पतरुमिव परिणतलतासंचयेन निरन्तरनिचितम्—K 133

6—अन्तरान्तरा लग्नाश्यानहरिचन्दनबिन्दुना स्वेदजलकणिकाचितेन गुञ्जा-फलमिश्रैः करिकुम्भमुक्ताफलैरिव विरचिताभरणेन वक्षःस्थले-नोद्भासमानम्—K 91

7—कृत्तिकातारस्तबकानुकारिणीं पारिजातमंजरीम्—K 403

8. The fine cloth on the body was like the soft bark on the tree.[1]
9. The stone slab matted with the stalk of Pāṣāṇabheda plant.[2]
10. Stone slab moistened the liquid exuded continuously from the Guggulu plant.[3]
11. The big trees like Sarala, Sāla and Śallaki were to be seen only on elevating the neck upwards and their tops were like umbrellas.[4]
12. The shape of the Sphaṭika Kamaṇḍalu was described being like the bud of the lotus.[5]
13. The size of the pearls has been mentioned of three types similar to Bakula fruit, Āmalakī fruit and Kadamba bud gradually increasing.[6]

The habitat of the plants was the Vindhyā as well as the Himalayan region[7] given prominence in *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī* respectively. The former work is revolving round the Vindhyā region while the latter one is centred on the Himalayan region. The Vindhyā region seems to be more favourite,[8] and known to the author rather than the Himalayan region which has become more an object of imagination. There also the poet could not restrain himself from describing the Vindhya region. He has also described the Malayan region particularly with reference to sandal.[9]

1—विटप इव कोमलवल्कलावृतशरीरः । K 112

2—पाषाणभेदनमंजरीभिर्जटलीकृतशिलातलेन । K 369

3—अनवरतगलद्गुग्गुलुद्रुमार्द्रीकृतदृषदा । —K 369

4—उद्ग्रीवदृश्यैरुपरिच्छत्रमण्डलाकारैः सरलसालसल्लकीप्रायैः पादपैः K 369

5—पुण्डरीकमुकुलमिव स्फटिककमण्डलुम्—H 18

6—बदुलफलानुकारिणीभिः मुक्ताभिः ।—H 57

आमलकीफलनिस्तुलमुक्ताफलेन—H 56

कदम्बमुकुलस्थूलमुक्ताफलयुगलमध्याध्यासितमरकतस्य । H 39

7—हिमवद्विन्ध्याविवाचलौ H 232

8. H 404; 413; K 22.

9—मलयमेखलामिव चन्दनपल्लवावतंसामिव

K 33, 188, 376

Plants growing in Vindhya region:

1. Ṣaṣṭikā
2. Wild grains
3. Vaṭa
4. Śāli
5. Śyāmāka
6. Alambuṣa
7. Kokilākṣa
8. Śāla
9. Nāgasphuṭa
10. Jambu
11. Dhūli-kadamba
12. Śaivala
13. Pāṭalā
14. Kālavetraka
15. Sahakāra
16. Dhātakī
17. Atasī
18. Lāmajjaka
19. Muñja
20. Khadira
21. Kuṣṭha
22. Kodhra
23. Veṇu
24. Ikṣu
25. Snuhi
26. Karañja
27. Uruvuka
28. Vacā
29. Vaṅgaka
30. Surasa
31. Sūraṇa
32. Śigru
33. Granthiparṇa
34. Gavedhuka
35. Garmut
36. Kāṣṭhāluka
37. Badarī
38. Khadira
39. Nala
40. Kiṁśuka
41. Śara
42. Balvaja
43. Śālmali
44. Kamala
45. Kumuda
46. Tamāla
47. Kāśmarya
48. Rājādana
49. Madana
50. Madhūka
51. Kusumbha
52. Rājamāṣa
53. Trapusa
54. Karkaṭikā
55. Kūṣmāṇḍa
56. Alābu
57. Nāgadamana
58. Bandhūka
59. Karṇikāra
60. Campaka
61. Nameru
62. Nalada
63. Nārikela
64. Nāgakesara
65. Sarala
66. Kurabaka
67. Raktāśoka
68. Bakula
69. Tilaka
70. Tāla
71. Hiṅgu
72. Pūga
73. Priyaṅgu
74. Mucukunda
75. Devadāru
76. Tāmbūli

77. Jambhīra
78. Kuṭaja
79. Pīlu
80. Bilva
81. Kaṭphala
82. Śaileya
83. Śephālikā
84. Haridrā
85. Guñjā
86. Jātīphala
87. Lakuca
88. Lavalī[1]
89. Marica
90. Dāḍima
91. Kamphillaka
92. Lavaṅga
93. Ketakī
94. Karīra
95. Bāṇa
96. Asana
97. Rakta Candana
98. Kuśa
99. Candana
100. Aguru
101. Śamī
102. Palāśa
103. Vetra
104. Saptaparṇa[2]
105. Elā
106. Āmalaka
107. Karkandhu
108. Kadalī
109. Panasa
110. Nīvāra
111. Karavīra[3]
112. Mālinī
113. Sindhuvāra
114. Agasti
115. Kharjūra
116. Guggulu
117. Katukālābu
118. Iṅgudi[4]

Plants growing in Himalayan region:

1. Sarala
2. Sāla
3. Sallakī
4. Pāṣāṇabheda
5. Guggulu[5]
6. Bhūrja
7. Kakkola
8. Nameru
9. Sahakāra
10. Marica
11. Campaka
12. Pippali
13. Dāḍima
14. Tāli
15. Tamāla
16. Lavalī
17. Kadalī
18. Nārikela
19. Pūga
20. Kharjura
21. Granthiparṇa
22. Karpūra
23. Aguru
24. Kumuda

1. H. 406-421
2. K 55-61
3. K 116-120
4. K 633-643
5. K 369

25. Nāgalatā
26. Punnāga
27. Guñjā [1]

Plant growing in Malayan region :

1. Candana[2]

Among the articles presented by the king of Assam[3] the following are the plant-products which shows their abundance in that region.

1. Jātīpaṭṭikā
2. Vetra (chairs)
3. Aguru (paper)
4. Pūga (fresh fruits)
5. Sahakāra (juice)
6. Kṛṣṇāguru (oil)
7. Bamboo (tubes)
8. Kāpotikā (leaves)
9. Gośīrṣa-candana
10. Karpūra
11. Kakkola (leaves and fruits)
12. Lavaṅga (flower-stalks)
13. Jātīphala (bunch of fruits)
14. Alābu (containers)

Among the presents sent by Kādambarī there were fresh areca nuts, betel leaves, camphor and sandal paste. Let us compare the two : —

तरुणहारीतहरिन्ति क्षीरशारीणि पूगानां सरसावलम्बीनि फलानि—H387

मरकतहरिन्ति व्यपनीतत्वङ्नि चारुमञ्जरीभाञ्जि क्षीरीणि पूगीफलानि K 601

It is evident that in the description of Kādambarī there is more a play of imagination based on the facts of *Harṣacarita* acquired by direct contact by the author.

The changes occurring in plants in different seasons have also been minutely observed and described by the author such as :—

1. K 382-387
2. K 188, 276, 309
3. H 386-88.

Autumn[1]

Nīpa	— closes
Kuṭaja	— has no flowers
Kandala	— has no buds
Red lotus	— becomes soft
Blue lotus	— exudes honey
White lotus[2]	— becomes pleasant
Śephālikā	— cools the nights
Jasmine	— becomes fragrant
Water lily	— opens
Saptacchada[3]	— makes the winds grey with its pollen.
Bandhūka	— forms an evening glow.
Śyāmāka	— is parched to ripeness
Priyaṅgu	— Pollen is formed in blossoms
Cucumber	— Skin is hardened
Kāsa[4]	— blossoms

Winter :

Priyaṅgu	— blossoms[5]
Lotus	— closes.

Spring :

Aśoka	— blossoms
Pāṭalā	— blossoms[6]

1.—निमीलन्नीपे, निष्कुसुमकुटजे, निर्मुकुलकन्दले, कोमलकमले, मधुस्यन्दीन्दीवरे, कल्हाराह्लादिनि, शेफालिकाशीतलीकृतनिश, यूथिकामोदिनि, मोदमानकुमुदावदातदशदिशि, सप्तच्छदधूलिधूसरितसमीरे, स्तबकितबन्धुरबन्धूकावश्यमानाकाण्डसन्धे...परिणामाध्यानश्यामाके, जनितप्रियङ्गुमञ्जरीरजसि ...कठोरितत्वचि, कुसुमस्मेरशरे शरत्समयारम्भे—H 142-143

2. H 38, 193. ; K 33. 204, 267
3. H 177, 405
4. H 334. H 393.
5. —हिमसमयकाननमिव स्फुटितप्रियङ्गुमञ्जरीगौरम्—K 422
6. —मधुमासदिवसमिव विकसिताशोकपाटलम्—K 242

Tilaka	— blossoms[1]
Jāti	— closes[2]

Summer—

Mallikā	— blossoms.
Climbers	— dry up
Dhātakī	— the bunches of flowers harden
Mandāra	— blossoms
Garmut	— dries up
Kapikacchu	— fruits ripen
Mucukunda	— flowers fall down
Kandala	— dries up
Śamī	— dries up
Karañja	— fruits ripen.
Śālmalī	— fruits with cotton burst.
Grass	— spreads with wind
Yava	— ripens
Bamboo	— dries up
Guñjā	— fruit bursts
Pāribhadra	— blossoms
Guggulu	— burns with forest-fire
Madana	— blossoms
Nivāra	— ripens and bursts[3]
Palāśa	— flowers fall down[4]

Rainy Season :

Kandala	— grows

1.—मधुमासमिव कुसुमधवलतिलकभूतिभूषितम्—K 422

2.—मधुमासकुसुमसमृद्धिमिव अजातिम्—H 34

3.—ग्रीष्माभिधानः संकुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासो महाकालः ।—विरल-वीरुधि कठोरवातकीस्तबक—मन्दारसिन्दुरितसीम्नि—घर्ममर्मरितगमुंति—अपक्व-कपिकच्छुगुच्छः—मुचुकुन्दकन्दलदलनदन्तुराः—शुष्यच्छमीमर्मरश्रिञ्जानजर-त्करञ्जमञ्जरीवीजवालकैः—शीर्यमाणशाल्मलिफलतूलतन्तुभिः—शिराला इव तृणवेणीविकिरणैः—घूयमाननवधवशुकशकलशकुनिभिः शुष्कवैणवनास्फोटन - पटुरवैः—स्फुटितगुञ्जाफलस्फुलिंगागारकितांगा—सरुधिराहुतिभिरिव पारि-भद्रद्रुमस्तवकदृष्टिभिः—क्वचिद्दग्धगुग्गुलवो रौद्रा—क्वचिज्ज्वलितनेत्रदहन-दग्धसकुसुमशरमदनाः—स्फुटघोरसनीवारबीजनाजवधिभिः—H 79-88.

4.—निदाघकालमिव साषाढम्—K 422

Kadamba	— blossoms
Lotus	— closes
Grass	— grows[1]

The herbs were tied round the wrist and on the head for warding off the evil attacks.[2] The fruits, and tubrous roots were used as food.[3] Alcoholic beverages were also prepared from the different parts of the plants such as Puspāsava from flowers.[4] Sugar and honey were obtained from cane sugar and flowers. Papers were made of the red grass and clothes from fibres obtained from the bark and cotton of the plants. Vegetable oils were also obtained. The woody trees were utilised in construction of houses and furniture. Seats and chairs were made of cane. Thus the life was moving round the plants.

It is very difficult to decide how far the description of the plants is based on the experience and knowledge of the author and how far imagination has played part in filling up the gaps. It appears to be certain that the Vindhyā region being not very far off from the birth place of the author and capital was within the reach of the author who had a hobby of travelling and thus acquired direct experience of the plants in nature as well as cultivated. On the contrary, he did not have the direct knowledge of the plants growing in the Himalayan region.[5] Hence the description of that region is based on his imagination. In most cases the knowledge acquired in the Vindhyā region has been utilised in drawing upon the imagination and has been projected in the other region. Therefore, both the works have to be read carefully and distinguished accordingly.

1—कस्मिंश्चित् काले कन्दलिनि कुड्मलितकदम्बतरौ दृढतोऽमतृणस्तम्बे स्तम्भिततामरसे—H 215

2. K 195, 202, 210, 386

3—फलमूलमयेषु आहारेषु प्रायः K 407

4. K 435, 423

5—सीमान्तलेखा पृथिव्याः सर्वजनपदानाम्— K 366

EARLY MEDIEVAL SOCIETY IN BIHAR
(*c.* A. D. 600-1200)

R. S. Sharma

Broadly speaking the four-fold division of society based on varṇas continued in Bihar in post-Gupta times. Although we do not come across brāhmaṇa rulers, the brāhmaṇas continued to occupy the highest position in society. Only they could receive religious grants for officiating at various sacrifices, which naturally added to their social and economic power. Besides performing religious functions they imparted education for which they were granted *agrahāras*. Land grants mention brāhmaṇas of various gotras such as Kāśyapa,[1] Gārgya, Śāṇḍilya,[2] Aupamanyava[3] and Savarṇa.[4] Brāhmaṇas of some of these gotras are still found in the localities in which grants were made. Thus Maithili and Bhūmihār brāhmaṇas of Śāṇḍilya gotra are found in the Saharsa District where a grant was made in Bangaon to a brāhmaṇa of this gotra. Similarly Bhūmihār brāhmaṇas of Savarṇa gotra are found in the Chapra District, where in Dighwa-Dubauli a grant was made to a brāhmaṇa of this gotra in the 10th century A.D. This may imply that the brāhmaṇas of Śāṇḍilya gotra have been living in Saharsa since the 11th century A.D., and those of Savarṇa gotra living in Chapra since the 10th century A.D., but it is difficult to establish that the present brāhmaṇas are the descendants of the old ones. In the case of the Gāhaḍavāla grant made to a brāhmaṇa family in Maner some brāhmaṇas having Kāśyapa gotra and three *pravaras* mentioned in the grant still live in Maner. Others called Maneria brāhmaṇas with the same *gotra* and *pravaras* are found in the district of Arrah. According to their traditions they originally lived in Maner from where they were driven out by the Muslims in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is interesting to note that

1. *JBORS*, ii, 441-7, l. 17.
2. *JBORS*, v, 382, l.11.
3. *EI*, xviii, no.30, l. 43.
4. *IA*, xv, 112, l. 11.

now they call themselves Bhūmihār brāhmaṇas, mostly landed proprietors having no priestly functions.

In several cases the *pravaras* of the brāhmaṇas are mentioned. Thus the brāhmaṇas of the Śāṇḍilya gotra had Śāṇḍilya, Asita and Devala as their *pravaras*;[1] those of Kāśyapa had Kāśyapa, Avatsara and Naidhruva.[2] The *pravaras* of Śāvārṇya and Aupamanyava gotras are not mentioned. We can only note that many Bihari brāhmaṇas had three *pravaras* and not five as in the case of some of their counterparts in modern times.

What gotra and *pravara* meant to brāhmaṇas in early medieval Bihar we have no means to find out. Their gotra indicated the name of the ancestor, usually some sage, from whom they were descended, and the *pravaras* indicated the original teachers of their clan or the spiritual *guru*s who had instructed their forefathers. At any rate it is clear that *gotra* and *pravara*, by which brāhmaṇas are identified and distinguished in the present-day Bihar, had become sufficiently important from post-Gupta times onwards.

The original home, now commonly known as *mūla*, is mentioned in several cases, but cannot be identified. One of the place *Koldñca* is mentioned as the original habitation of a brāhmaṇa of Śāṇḍilya gotra in Tirabhukti under Vigrahapāla in the 11th century[3] and also of a brāhmaṇa donee of the same gotra under Saṅgrāmagupta in the 12th-13th century. The term *koldñca viniryatāya* (hailing from Kolāñca) is applied to many brāhmaṇa beneficiaries in north-eastern India. The place is possibly identical with Korāñch near Banaras, from where many brāhmaṇa families of modern Bihar claim to have come. Some brāhmaṇas were proud of their original home or village, and made a specific mention of it whenever there was an occasion for it. Thus the brāhmaṇa writer of an eulogy in the Sitala Temple of Yakṣapāla describes himself as *āgigrāmakulodbhavaḥ*.[4]

1. *JBORS*, v, 582, l.11; *EI*, xxix, no. 7, p. 38.
2. *JBORS*, ii, 441-7, l.17.
3. *EI*, xxix, no.7, l.39; *JBORS*, v, 582, l.11.
4. *L*.21.

Most brāhmaṇa beneficiaries specialised in different branches of Vedic study. The Vedic schools to which they belonged are mentioned as Vājasaneyi,[1] Chāndogya,[2] Āśvalāyana,[3] Yajurveda,[4] Kauthuma-Chāndogya.[5] Of these the first two seem to be popular among the Maithili and Bhūmihār brāhmaṇas of present-day North Bihar.

Although the brāhmaṇas formed the most cultured section of society, they did not always maintain a high standard of character and integrity. Some of them showed too much greed for land. We know of two forged grants, apparently made by the brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, palaeographically ascribed to the 7th-8th century A.D., but manufactured in the name of Samudragupta. Much later in the 13th century A. D. some brāhmaṇas are condemned as cheats (*lampaṭāḥ*) by Pratāpadhavala of Jāpilā, for they enjoyed land on the strength of forged grants which had to be revoked.

The titles of the brāhmaṇas, as known from the records of this period, have survived down to our times. These titles are *bhaṭṭa* (prefixed),[6] *miśra* (suffixed),[7] *śarman*[8] (suffixed) and *svāmin* (suffixed).[9] Since the first was prefixed, it might indicate political or administrative status, but the second is a familiar title in modern times among the Maithili, Bhūmihār, and Śakadvīpī brāhmaṇas. Of the remaining two, *svāmin* has died out, and *śarman*, invariably used as the title of brāhmaṇas whenever they have to recite Vedic mantras on the occasions of investiture with sacred thread, marriage, etc., has been revived since about 1920 by the Bhūmihārs and members of some other castes who want to rise in scale in Hindu hierarchy.

Information about the kṣatriyas of the period is meagre. It seems that the ruling chiefs and kings were considered to be kṣatriyas, according to the dictum *kṣatriyo rājā ucyate*, i.e. anybody who is a king is a kṣatriya. We have no clear traces of

1. *EI*, x, 49.
2. *EI*, xxix, no.7, l.38.
3. *EI*, xviii, no. 30, l.43.
4. *JBORS*, v, 582, l.12.
5. *IA*, xv, 112, l.11.
6. *IA*, xv, 112, l.12; *EI*, xviii, no.30, ll.42-3.
7. Ibid.
8. *EI*, xxiv, no.7, l.39; *JBORS*, 441-7, l.18; *JBORS*, v, 582, l.19
9. *EI*, xxv, no.9, l. 6.

neo-kṣatriyas or Rajputs in Bihar during this period although the Pratīhāras and their feudatories in northern India mostly belonged to this caste. The Pratīhāras and Gāhaḍavālas ruled over portions of Bihar, and some of their families may have settled down in this region. Although we have no indication of the Candella rule in Bihar, probably the Candella Rajputs settled down in Gidhaur during this period. Their original home lay in Madhya Pradesh, where they seem to have been improvised into Rajputs from being aboriginal Gonds. Such a process can be discerned in Palamau during this period. The Khayaravāla rulers of Japla, called *jāpilādhipati*, were obviously the chiefs of the aboriginal Kharwars who are found in good numbers even to-day. The term *khayaravāla* was the sophisticated, Sanskritised version of *kharwar*, and the fact that they issued land grants in Sanskrit to the brāhmaṇas in the beginning of the 13th century shows that they were adopted as kṣatriyas much earlier.

As in the rest of early medieval India, in Bihar also the ruling chiefs tried to invent respectable genealogy for themselves by tracing their descent from the lunar or solar race. Thus the Pālas rose from humble origins, but in their later inscriptions trace their origin from the Sun. It seems that once certain clans or castes rose to power it was not difficult for the brāhmaṇas to invent suitable family trees for them. In their turn these rulers became great champions of the brāhmaṇical order based on four varṇas. The term 'upholder of the varṇa system' (*varṇa-vyavasthāpana-pravṛta*) is applied to Later Gupta, Vardhana and Pāla kings. None of these were originally kṣatriyas, but came to be recognised as such at a later stage.

Some ruling families such as those of Vardhanas started as vaiśyas, which may be taken as an example of vaiśyas rising to the rank of kṣatriyas, but we have no adequate knowledge about ordinary vaiśyas. We know of two merchants from Ayodhyā who came to the Hazaribagh area some time in the 7th-8th century A.D. and were recognised as rulers by the local people who commended themselves to the rule of these merchant brothers.[1] Obviously they must have been men of substantial means and status. Merchants are also mentioned in

1. *EI*, ii, 343-45.

the votive records set up in honour of various Buddhist deities. Occasionally their wives are also named. Some merchants were quite respectable and known as *vaṇik kula*.[1] Apparently these merchants belonged to the vaiśya varṇa, and it seems that during our period trade was considered to be the chief function of the vaiśyas. But on account of scarcity of coins and consequent retrogression in trade, traders could not be expected to occupy any leading position in society.

Śūdras as such nowhere figure in inscriptions of the period. But several artisans (*śilpins*)[2], particularly those who acted as engravers of the copper-plates and votive records, are mentioned. We could take them either as vaiśyas or śūdras. It is evident that these artisans were literate; otherwise they would not have been engaged in carving out land grants. An important section of the śūdras and possibly vaiśyas seems to have been the śauṇḍikas (vinters), who are mentioned in several votive records of Pāla times. The modern Suris, who function as oilmen and retail merchants in rural areas along with the Telis, seem to be the representatives of the early medieval śauṇḍika caste.

According to Hsüan Tsang Śūdras in Madhyadeśa were agriculturists,[3] and this may have also been true of the overwhelming majority of them living in Bihar.

The available sources do not throw any light on the disabilities of the Śūdras during this period in Bihar, but the caṇḍālas, who are repeatedly mentioned as inhabiting villages in Pāla grants,[4] were subjected to ignominies. Hsüan Tsang informs us that they were considered to be untouchables and had to live outside the village. But the fact that they are frequently informed of the land grants by the Pāla rulers shows that numerically they constituted a sizable section of the village population. This also held good for the aboriginal tribes Medas and Andhras who are mentioned in the land grants along with the caṇḍālas. All the three seem to have been aboriginal agricultural communities in the process of Hinduisation.

1. B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1942), pp.xxii-xxiii.
2. *JBORS*, xxvi, 245, 250.
3. *JBRS*, xxxvii, 1-4.
4. *EI*, xviii, no. 30, l.37.

The grants mention karṇikas,[1] a class of scribes who are now represented by their descendants Karaṇa kāyasthas in North Bihar.[2] They seem to have been allied to their compatriots in North Bengal, where lived the Karaṇa kāyastha Sandhyākara Nandī, the author of the *Rāmacarita*. Karaṇikas were also employed for drafting inscriptions by the Gāhaḍavāla rulers, and one of these, karaṇika Ṭhakkura Viśvarūpa, is mentioned in a grant. Some Karaṇa kāyasthas acted as ministers, and the case of Śrīdharadāsa, a minister of Vigrahapāla, may be cited.

Another caste that practised writing as a profession seems to have been that of vaidyas (physicians), who appear in Bihar for the first time under the Pālas. Inscriptions at Gaya mention three vaidyas acting as composers of *praśastis* (eulogies) and of invocations to Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite deities. One of them is a veterinary surgeon (*vāji-vaidya*)[3] and the other two ordinary vaidyas.[4] Thus the vaidyas of the Gaya area were highly educated and possibly functioned as both priests and physicians, although at present in the rural areas of Bihar the vaidyas mainly serve as physicians. However, the vaidyas constitute a far more important caste in Bengal. It has been argued that they came from the South,[5] but there is not much to substantiate this view.

The early medieval society of Bihar furnishes instances of social mobility and integration. It has been shown how peoples of humbler origins were raised to the status of kṣatriyas once they had captured political power. We may add that villages granted to the brāhmaṇas on the fringe of the Chotanagpur plateau—such as in south Monghyr—may have helped the spread of the brāhmaṇical way of life among the tribal people. In the developed areas the Medas, Andhras and Caṇḍālas, who were originally tribal elements, were admitted to the brāhmanical social order as junior partners occupying

1. An inscription of about the 12th century in Kolhua (Vaiśālī) records the gift of a statue by the karaṇika Ucchāha, a follower of Mahāyāna.
2. Some of them trace their family tree back to the 13th century A.D.
3. *Gauḍa Lekhamālā*, p. 110, verse 15.
4. *Proc. ASB*, 1902, p.66, ll. 12-3; *Memoirs ASB*, v, 81.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I. (Calcutta, 1968), p. 118.

the lowest ranks in society. The fact that several tribal goddesses were given respectable place in the Hindu pantheon suggests the incorporation of the aborigines in the Hindu system on a large scale. Unfortunately direct records of this fascinating process are not available.

A major factor which worked for the social integration and wide intercourse not only between different sections of Bihar, but also between Bihar and other parts of the country was the visit of princes, nobles, officials and ordinary folk to the religious towns of Nālandā and Gaya. Numerous seals of post-Gupta times found at Nālandā and inscriptions found at Gaya bear witness to this process of mutual intercourse. In some cases pilgrims and devotees came from the farthest corner of the country; the example of a devotee from Nagarahāra is well known. Whether restrictions on interdining could be observed in these places of pilgrimage or not is doubtful. In any case we have no instances of intermarriage.

Another factor that brought the peoples of distant regions was service in the Pāla army. From the 8th century onwards the Pāla records invariably mention the Oḍras, Hūṇas, Khasas, Kulikas, Karṇāṭas, Mālavas and Lāṭas who served the Pālas as retainers and soldiers. They may have been absorbed locally and may have introduced some of their manners and customs. Perhaps so many peoples of different regions are not mentioned in the records of other contemporary ruling dynasties.

In pre-Pāla times women were evidently important in public affairs, for the names of the queens are mentioned in the genealogical tables of the later Guptas, Maukharis, Vardhanas,[1] and also of the Pratīhāras in their only copper-plate grant found in Dighwa-Dubauli in Chapra. They are, however, not mentioned in Pāla genealogies, which suggests that women in ruling families suffered in position under them. This might suggest that while some matrilineal traces persisted among the pre-Pāla dynasties, the Pālas were completely a patrilineal people among whom the name of the queens was not mentioned. In contemporary times the position was quite different in Orissa, where women played an important part

1. *JBRS*, xli, 146, ll. 1-2; *EI*, xxviii, 144-5.

in administration because of the tribal background. In Bihar, however, many votive records donated by women, mostly from the merchant class, belong to Pāla times, which shows that vaiśya women did not lose in importance.

We have no means to find out the forms of marriage and various practices and rituals connected with it.

Some women of higher varṇas seem to have been highly educated. If we rely on tradition, in Mithilā, Bhāratī, the wife of Maṇḍana Miśra, gave defeat in philosophical disputation to no less a scholar than the famous Śaṅkarācārya of South India. But we do not hear of any woman teacher in the universities of Nālandā or Vikramaśilā.

Some of the aboriginal goddesses were made members of the brāhmaṇical pantheon, which might imply infiltration of matrilineal practices in Hindu society. Women could be freely initiated in the Tāntric rituals, which were not considered to be the monopoly of any caste or class. But the introduction of erotic element in these practices degraded the position of women. Some of the curious practices such as the worship of the female organ which continued in Mithilā till recent times seem to have originated in this period.

THE MAINAMATI PLATES OF THE CHANDRA KINGS OF SOUTH-EAST BENGAL

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We have had occasion to refer to the contents of certain copper-plate grants of the Chandra kings of South-Eastern Bengal, on the basis of a paper read by Dr. A. H. Dani, now Professor of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar, at the Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress held in December, 1960, and published in the Proceedings of the Session. We were so long waiting for the publication of the copper-plate grants and are very glad that three of the Chandra records found in the course of excavations on the Mainamati hills near Comilla in the Tippera District of Bangladesh have recently been published by Prof. Dani in the *Pakistan Archaeology*, Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, No. 3, 1966, pp. 22-55. Two of the charters were issued by Laḍahachandra and one by Govindachandra. Unfortunately, there are many mistakes and inaccuracies in the text and translation of the three records as published by Prof. Dani. We are inclined in these lines to deal with only two of the most serious mistakes, one relating to the reading and the other concerning the interpretation of the text.

The error of decipherment relates to the reading of the geographical name Vaṅga in three stanzas occurring in both the grants of Laḍahachandra and in one of the stanzas in Govindachandra's grant. The four verses in which the name Vaṅga has been read by Prof. Dani are quoted below together with their translation as published by him.

I. Verse 1 of Laḍahachandra's Grants.

Jyotis = tushāra-śiśiraṁ chyutam = Atri-netrāch =
Chandraḥ sa tat-kshaṇam = abhūd = bhuvan-aika-dīpaḥ |
Vaṅgas = tataḥ pravavṛite pṛithivīpatīnāṁ
sār-ottaraḥ = cha saralaḥ = cha samunnataḥ = cha ||

"The light, cool as snow, emanating not from the three-eyed god (i.e. Mahādeva) is the Chandra which became the unique lamp of the earth that very moment. From him, the lord of the world, Vaṅga became fruitful, plain, i.e. peaceful and prosperous." There is a note on *Mahādeva* occurring in the translation, which reads, "Here the reference is to the moon that emanates from the head of Mahādeva."

II. Verse 2 of the same.

Viśv-opakāryasya paro vidhātā
dharmyāt=pathaś=ch=āchyuta eva jātyā /
Maheśvaraś=ch=ājanmād=ato='bhūd=
deva-tray-ātm=eva sa Chandra-Vaṅgaḥ //

"That Chandra of Vaṅga was, as it were, three lords [combined] in himself: the Creator (Brahmā) being the great benefactor of the world, Achyuta (Vishṇu), not having by nature deviated from the path of virtue, and Mahādeva, god unborn, being the lord from the very birth."

III. Verse 3 of the same.

Tasy=ābhyunnati=śālinaḥ prachayino Vaṅgasya muktāmaṇiḥ
khyātaḥ kshmā-valay-aika-nāyakatayā Trailokychandro nripaḥ/
akshudraḥ pariśuddhimān=apagata-trāsaḥ suvṛitto guṇa-
grāhyaḥ puṇyatamo babhūva jagataḥ prītyai cha bhūtyai
cha yaḥ //

"The king, owing to his sole leadership over the world, was known as Trailokyachandra (literally, Chandra, moon, of the three worlds). [He was] the crest jewel of Vaṅga, which was full of prosperity and rising into prominence. He who was the most sacred of all, dispeller of hundred and one fears,[1] of noble conduct, endowed with qualities, and full of purities, became an object of love and welfare to the world."

IV. Verse 3 of Govindachandra's plate.

Tasya prajā-prītikar-odayasya
diśān=tamaḥ-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitasya /
kramāt=pravṛiddhaḥ saralaḥ suparvā
samunnataś=cha prasasāra Vaṅgaḥ //

1. This is the curious translation of *apagata-trāsa* which has been wrongly read as *apaśata-trāsa*.

"During his [reign] who adopted measures leading to prosperity that were pleasing to the subjects, and who was adept in dispelling the darkness of the directions, Vaṅga was gradually rising to prosperity, pre-eminence and peace."

The most obvious defect in the reading of all the four stanzas is that what is in reality *vaṁśa* (*vaṁśa*) has been read as *Vaṅga*.[1] It is a matter of regret that we had occasion to quote Trailokyachandra's epithet as *Vaṅgasya muktāmaṇiḥ* (i.e, crest jewel of the Vaṅga country) from Prof. Dani's earlier paper published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress. But the correct reading of the passage is now found to be certainly *vaṁśa(vaṁśa)sya mukti-maṇiḥ* (i.e. the pearl of the Chandra dynasty). There is a pun here on the word *vaṁśa* which means also 'bamboo', considered in Sanskrit literature as one of the sources of pearls. In this connection, it has to be noticed that the representation of *ṁś* by *ṁś* and of *ṁs* by *ṁs* is quite common in East Indian epigraphs of the early medieval period, including the inscriptions of the Chandra dynasty of South-East Bengal; cf. the word *ṁatriṁśat* in line 11 on the reverse of Laḍahachandra's second charter, which Prof. Dani has read correctly. It was no doubt based on the regional pronunciation of the *anusvāra*.

Among the mistakes of interpretation, the most unfortunate seems to be that, in the first of the four stanzas, Chandra or the moon is supposed to be described as emanated from Mahādeva's head in the foot-note quoted above. There is, however, nothing like this in the stanza itself which actually represents Chandra as the *jyotiḥ...chyutam=Atri-netrāt*, i.e. the light that emanated from the eye of the sage Atri. It seems that *Atri-netrāt* has been taken by Prof. Dani to be *a-Trinetrāt* and that is why we have "emanating not from the three-eyed god" in his translation, though this "not" is forgotten in the foot-note quoted above, so that the moon is stated by Prof. Dani, at the same time, to have emanated from Trinetra and also not to have emanated from that god. Really, however, there is no story regarding Chandra's emanation from Śiva's head, the well-known story being that Śiva wears the half-moon on his head as an ornament.

1. Consequently, the pun on the word *vaṁśa* used in the first and fourth stanzas in the two senses of 'a family' and 'a bamboo' has been missed.

It is again a pity that the same conception occurring in verse 2 of Govindachandra's plate has likewise been totally misunderstood. The stanza and its translation as published by Prof. Dani are both quoted below.

Yad = adbhutan = nirgatam = Atri-netrāj =
jyotiḥ prakṛityā śiśiraṁ sitaṁ = cha |
so = 'bhūt = kshaṇāt sundara-kāntir = indur =
ānandano loka-vilochanānām ||

"The light that emanated not from the three-eyed god (i.e. Śiva) and which by nature was cold and white, being more charming that the moon, became in an instant the source of joy to the eyes of the people." Here also *Atri-netrāt* has been wrongly understood as *a-Trinetrāt* without noticing that "emanated not from the three-eyed god" does not really lead us any-where.

It is probably not necessary to discuss the minor errors in the interpretation of the stanzas; cf., e.g., the passage wrongly read as *Chandra-Vaṅga* (for *Chandra-vaṁśa*) and inaccurately translated as 'Chandra of Vaṅga' in verse 2 of Laḍahachandra's grants, 'more charming than the moon' as understood from the word *induḥ* in the Nominative in the stanza quoted from Govindachandra's charter, and the like.

A PADMABANDHA INSCRIPTION FROM CHITORGARH

Sri V. S. Subrahmanyam,

Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore-5.

The inscription[1] edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist is engraved on the northern face of the seventh pillar in the Gambhīrī river bridge at Chitorgarh, District Chitorgarh, Rajasthan. On the upper half of the written surface is engraved the text made up of 2+4 stanzas in seventeen lines. The lower half has in relief the *Padmabandha* which covers the first two stanzas of the upper half. The characters are Nāgarī of about the twelfth century and the language is Sanskrit. The stone has suffered some damage along the left margin of the upper half resulting in the loss of a few letters in lines one and two and in the damage of one letter each in the other lines. The lost or damaged letters have been restored by me with the help of the *Padmabandha* in the case of the first two stanzas and contextually in other cases.

The first two stanzas (lines 1-7) of the inscription in the upper half also contained in the *Padmabandha* are in praise of Pārśvanātha. The prose passage in line 8 states that this eulogy of Pārśva (i.e. Pārśvanātha)was composed by Jinavallabhamuni.

Four more stanzas follow in lines 9-17. The first of these (lines 9-12), which is erotic in nature, describes the physical effects affecting the body of a *Nāyikā* on hearing the praise of her lover. The second stanza (lines 12-14) graphically describes the pathetic plight of a stag and its entrapped beloved, a female deer. When the hunter approaches the entrapped beloved with his drawn bow, the male deer, overwhelmed by love, pity and fear feels neither like running away nor bold enough to stay. The third stanza (lines 14-16) describes a certain lady as treading the path of virtue and having the gait of an infatuated elephant and having her face overhanging with tresses dark like the night and thus contributing to the delight

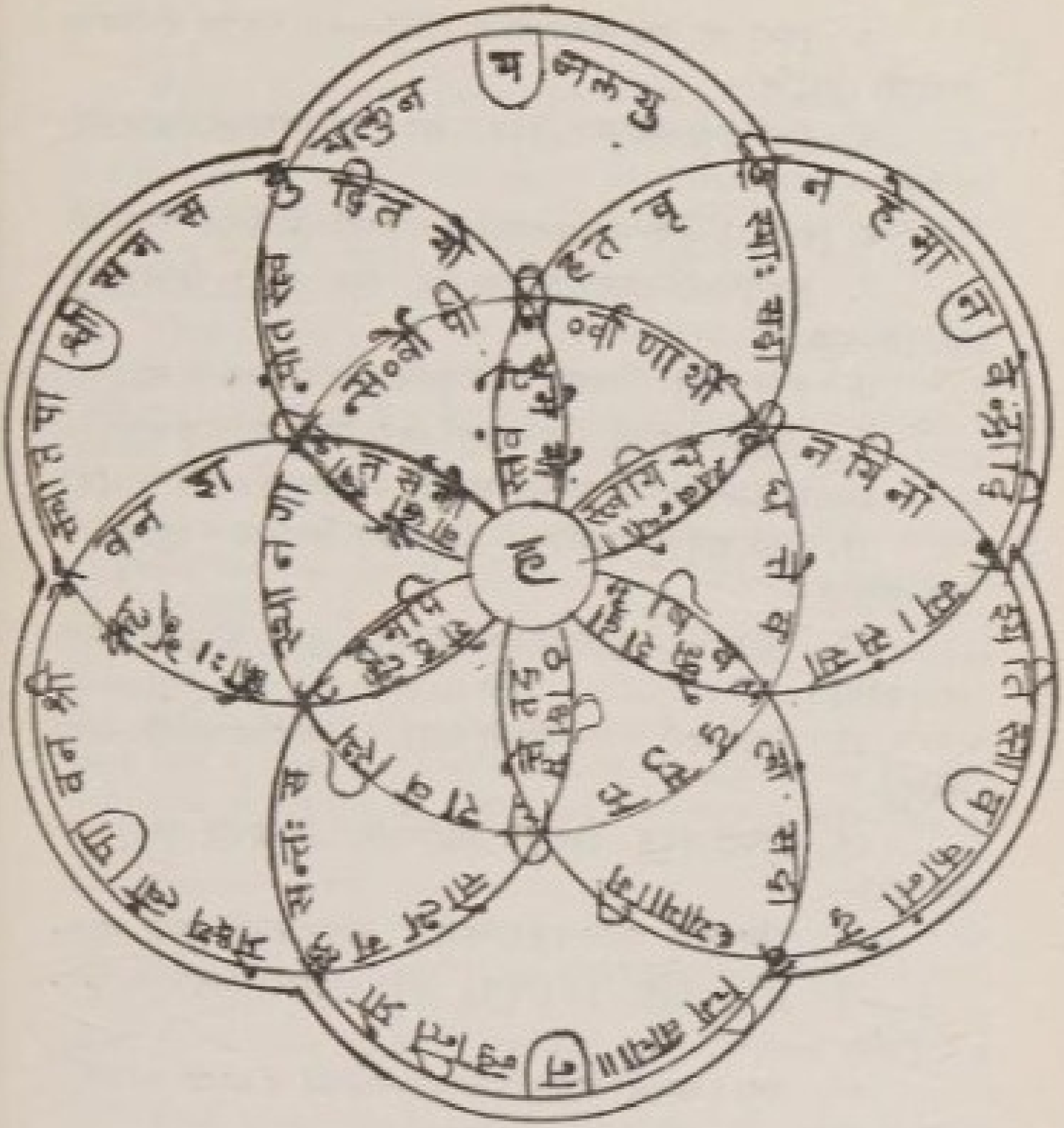
1. Noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. B. 473.

of men. This verse in *double entendre* (*śleṣa*) embodies the figure of apparent contradiction (*virodhābhāsa*), — 'mātaṅga-gāmini' meaning 'going with a low caste person' and 'doṣa' in 'doṣālakamukhi, meaning 'defects'. The fourth stanza (lines 16-17) describes that by this lady whose glances resemble the waves of the milky ocean, the constancy and courage of the people seem as if washed and swept away.

As has been pointed out above the *Padmabandha* includes in its design the first two stanzas as also the *Kavi-nāmāṅka*. It is interesting to note that the *Padmabandha* designed by our poet is a new type not noticed hitherto.[1] The poet Jinavallabhamuni has displayed his skill in dealing with various aspects of different rasas. The compositions are of striking literary merit. Attention of the readers may be drawn particularly to the stanza about the deer. It is likely that the present author Jinavallabhamuni is the same as the great teacher of that name of Jinadattasuri and who stayed in Citrakūṭa, established caityas there and composed several inscriptions and works like *Piṇḍavi-śuddhi* and Kāvyas like *Śṛṅgāraśataka* and *Citrakāvyastava*.[2]

1. See illustrations of letter diagrams by Prof. Hirlal R. Kapadia, M.A., *Journal of the University of Bombay* (Arts, No. 29) Vol. XXIII, New Series, September 1954, Part 2.

2. See Sanskrit Introduction to Jindadatta's *Apabhramśakāvyatrayi*, GOS, 37.



TEXT[1]

1. [निर्व्वाणार्थी विधत्ते][2] वरद सुरुचिरावस्थितस्थानस्वामिन्सर्व्वौ [घी]–

2 [ह् स्तवं ते] निहतदुरितं हे मानवेन्द्रादिनम्य (।) संसार-क्लेशदाह[स्त्व]–

3. [वि] च विनतिनां नश्यति श्रावकानां देव ध्यायामि चित्ते तदहमृषि–

1. From the ink-impressions.
2. The letters in brackets are damaged.

4. [वर] त्वां सदा वच्मि वाचा [॥*]—१॥ नन्दन्ति प्रोल्लसन्तः सततमपि हठ[क्षि]—

5. [प्तचि]त्तोत्थमल्लं[3] प्रेक्ष्य त्वां पावनश्रीभवनशमितसंमोह-रोहत्कुत—

6. [कर्तुः ।] भूत्वै भक्तवाप्तपार्श्वा समसमुदितयोनिभ्रमे मोहवाढौं

7. [स्वा]मिन्नोलस्त्वमुद्यत्कुनयजलयुजि स्याः सदा विश्ववं(बं)-धौ (॥)२॥[4]

8. नवनं पार्श्वाय जिनवल्लभमुनिविरचितमिह इति नामांक च[के ।]

9. [स]त्सौभाग्यनिधे भवद्गुणकथां सख्या मिथः प्रस्तुतामुक्षिप्तैकत—

10. ०[5]संभ्रमरसादाकर्ण्यंयन्त्याः क्षणात् । गंडाभोगमलंकरोति विश(दं)

11. [स्वे]दांबु(बु)सेकादिव प्रोद्गच्छन्पुलकच्छलेन सुतनोः शृंगारकन्दांकु—

12. [रः] [6]॥१॥ पुरस्तादाकर्ण्यप्रततधनुषं प्रेक्ष्य मृगयुं चलत्तारां चा [रु क्षि]—

13. [य]सहचरीं पाशपतितां(ताम्) । भयप्रेमाकूताकुल-तरल-चक्षुर्मुहु-

14. [र]हो कुरङ्गः सर्वांगं[7] जिगमिषति तिष्ठासति पुनः ॥२[8] सहृत[र]—

15. [न्मद]दया मत्तमातङ्गगामिनी । दोषालकमुखी तन्वी तथा—

16. [पि] रतये नृणां(णाम्) ॥३[9] क्षीरनीरधिकल्लोल-लोल-लोचनया—

17. नया । क्षा(ल)यित्वेव लोकानां स्वैर्यं धैर्यं च नीयते ॥८॥*

3. Meaning not clear.
4. The metre of this and the first verse is *Sragdharā*.
5. The damaged two letters may be restored as *रभ
6. Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
7. Meaning not clear; may be सर्वाङ्गः
8. Metre : *Śikhariṇi*.
9. Metre of this verse and the following is *Anuṣṭubh*.

TRANSLATION

Verse 1. Everyone here who wants (to attain) *Nirvāṇa*, praises you, who resides in the beautiful and exalted abode, who is the giver of boons, the destroyer of all sins, and saluted by kings and others. You destroy the worries of existence of those who are humble and prayerful towards you. Oh lord, I therefore always think of you and praise you.

Verse 2. They, who have reached you through devotion for gaining welfare, and whose minds, originally agitated by fallacious reasoning, but became peaceful on seeing your sacred abode, get permanent delight at seeing you, who have, by force, ...O friend of the world ! you be always the boat for those who are immersed in the ocean of delusion full of the waters of wrong conduct and the whirlpool of births that spring up simultaneously.

"Here is the praise of Pārśva composed by Jinavallabha-muni." Thus the diagram for the name has been designed.

Verse 1. O, rich in real happiness ! When your virtues were told to your lady-love by her friend, she eagerly listened with (one of her brows) raised and horripilation, appearing as sprouts from the roots of love, as if watered by sweat, and decorating prominently the cheeks of her person.

Verse 2. Seeing the hunter with his bow drawn up to his ear, and seeing his beautiful and constant companion (beloved one) with eyes swirling (out of fear), entrapped, alas! the male deer, (with body shrunk?) wants to go away from the place and at the same time wants to remain there !

Verse 3. A damsel, treading the path of virtue (having fine shapely legs), has her gait like that of an elephant (takes to low caste persons) and whose face, though covered with curly hair, dark like night (full of defects), still contributes to the enjoyment of men.

Verse 4. The firmness and courage of men are completely swept away, as if washed off by water, by this lady, whose eyes are like the waves of the milky ocean.

KṢETRAJÑA OF MANU*

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Having set forth in detail the various duties binding on the adherents of the four social and spiritual orders in the first eleven chapters of his *Smṛti*, Manu proceeds to describe the fruits resulting from the performance of acts, good and bad, in the twelfth chapter with a brief prefatory account of the individual, commonly known as *Jīva*, who is the doer and enjoyer of the acts and their fruits, in the following lines.

यो ऽस्यात्मनः कारयिता तं क्षेत्रज्ञं प्रचक्षते ।
यः करोति तु कर्माणि स भूतात्मोच्यते बुधैः ॥१२॥
जीवसंज्ञोऽन्तरात्मान्यः सहजः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
येन वेदयते सर्वं सुखं दुःखं च जन्मसु ॥१३॥
तावुभौ भूतसंपृक्तौ महान् क्षेत्रज्ञ एव च ।
उच्चावचेषु भूतेषु स्थितं तं व्याप्य तिष्ठतः ॥१४॥
असंख्या मूर्तयस्तस्य निष्पतन्ति शरीरतः ।
उच्चावचानि भूतानि सततं चेष्टयन्ति याः ॥१५॥
पञ्चभ्य एव मात्राभ्यः प्रेत्य दुष्कृतिनां नृणाम् ।
शरीरं यातनार्थीयमन्यदुत्पद्यते ध्रुवम् ॥१६॥
तेनानुभूय ता याभीः शरीरेणेह यातनाः ।
तास्वेव भूतमात्रासु प्रलीयन्ते विभागशः ॥१७॥
सोऽनुभूय सुखोदर्कान् दोषान्विषयसङ्गजान् ।
व्यपेतकल्मषोऽभ्येति तावेवोभौ महौजसौ ॥१८॥
तौ धर्मं पश्यतस्तस्य पापं चातन्द्रितौ सह ।
याभ्यां प्राप्नोति संपृक्तः प्रेत्य चेह सुखासुखम् ॥१९॥
यद्याचरति धर्मं स प्रायशोऽधर्ममल्पशः ।

*In his long contribution on Manu in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. II, my Professor draws attention, in the last section of his paper (pp. 357-363) to the treatment of the subject of spiritual quest in Manu and to several contexts in Manu significant for a student of Vedānta. In this paper of mine contributed to the Volume in his honour, I am discussing one of these philosophically important contexts in Manu.

तैरेव चावृतो भूतैः स्वर्गे सुखमुपाश्नुते ॥२०॥
यदि तु प्रादशोऽधर्मं सेवते धर्ममल्पशः ।
तैर्भूतैः स परित्यक्तः यामीः प्राप्नोति यातनाः ॥२१॥
यामीस्ता यातनाः प्राप्य स जीवो वीतकल्मषः ।
तान्येव पञ्च भूतानि पुनरप्येति भागशः ॥२२॥
एषा दृष्टवास्य जीवस्य गतीः स्वेनैव चेतसा ।
धर्मतोऽधर्मतश्चैव धर्मे दद्यात्सदा मनः ॥२३॥

This passage, in spite of its simplicity does not readily lend itself to a proper understanding of its import. The following are the causes of the obscuring of the sense of the passage.

1. Frequent use of demonstrative pronouns whose connection with the substantives which they represent is not clear. The connection of *tau* in verses 18 and 19 with any noun in the immediately preceding verses is unintelligible because of the disparity in the number. The noun referred to by *tam* and *tasya* in 14 and 15 is never mentioned throughout the passage. Again one has to labour in vain, in the preceding verses, to spot out the noun for which *sa*, *tasya*, *sa* and *sa* in 18, 19, 20 and 21 stand.

2. The definitions of *Kşetrajña*, *Bhūtātman* and *Jīva* (12 and 13) are indirect and do not give a concrete picture of the entities they signify. The use of the inflections of the relative pronoun *yat* only aggravate the vagueness of the definitions. In 14 *mahat* is brought in abruptly; but it is qualified by *tāmasam* as if it is already well known.

3. Further the terms *kşetrajña*, *Bhūtātman*, *Jīva* and *Mahat* are not employed in their well-known senses.

4. Remote connections of the verbs with their subjects. The agent of the action conveyed by *vedayate* (13) is to be located in the previous verse as *JĪVA* (13) plays the role of an instrument in accomplishing the action, *vedana*. Once again obscurity and uncertainty veil the agent of *praliyante* (17). The actions *pralaya* and *anubhava* must have a common agent[1]. The common agency cannot be ascribed to *śarīra* (the subject of the previous verse) as it is in singular; as such the agency has to be bestowed upon something else. But *pralaya* (dissolution) with reference either to *Jīva* or to his subtle or gross bodies on the eve of his

1. Vide Pāṇini समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले, III. 4.21

sufferings in the abode of Yama is inconceivable because *jīva* is eternal, the subtle body is persistent till the time of his liberation and the gross body has already perished at his death; it has to be taken only in a secondary sense. It will be more reasonable to take the body specially designed for the occasion, *yātanā-śarīra*, as the agent of merging into (its material cause) the five subtle elements as its evolution from the same subtle elements is spoken of in the previous verse (16). But grammar (rules governing syntax) would not permit such a construing. Medhātithi's is the oldest among the commentaries on the *Manu-smṛti*.[1] *Kṣetrajña*, according to Medhātithi, is *liṅgajīva*, i.e., the *jīva* as qualified by the subtle body[2] and he is the prompter of the *Bhūtātman*, the gross body, of the *Jīva*[3]. *JĪVA*[4] is the subtle body of beings, as distinct from *Kṣetrajña* and *Bhūtātman*. The subtle body is the instrument by means of which *Kṣetrajña* enjoys (*vedayate*) happiness and sorrow during his transmigratory career. The instrumentality of the subtle body is only indirect; it consists in that it is the support of the gross body which is directly connected with the enjoyment of pleasure and pain. The instrumentality, holds Kullūka, is direct because it is the *antaḥ-karaṇa* and the senses (the doors of knowledge) that constitute the

1. That Medhātithi is later than Vācaspati Miśra can be seen from the following. In his commentary on Manu XII. 19 occurs the following statement. तथा च शारीरके दर्शितं, यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददाति न च तस्येश्वरत्वमपैति. This word Śārīraka, though generally applied to Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtra* cannot be taken as such in the present context. The example of the King is not found anywhere in Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*, though the spirit of the passage is seen there twice. But it is found in the *Bhāmatī* under II.1.34, न हि सेवादिकर्मभेदापेक्षः, फलभेदप्रदः प्रभुः अप्रभुर्भवति and also under III.2.41, न हि राजा साधुकारिणं अनुगृह्णन् निगृह्णन् वा पापकारिणं भवति द्विष्टो रक्तो वा. Again under II.3.42. *Bhāmatī* cites the verse अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः। ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत्स्वर्गं वा श्वभ्रमेव वा ॥ Medhātithi cites only the second hemistich under XII. 19.

2. लिङ्गजीवश्च क्षेत्रज्ञः

3. अस्य शरीरस्य क्रियापरिस्पन्दात्मिका क्रिया स्वयं प्रवर्तयिता

4. This word occurring in 13 is written in capitals to avoid confusion. तद्धि स्थूलभूतानामाश्रयः। तस्यैव शरीरस्यबाह्यभूताश्रयत्वात्। शरीरे च सति आत्मनः सुखदुःखभोक्तृत्वम्। अतो येनेति करणविभक्त्योच्यते।

subtle body experiencing pleasure and pain.[1] The pronouns *tam* (14) and *tasya* (15) refer to the Supreme Being (*Paramātman*) and *mahat* to the subtle body denoted by *JĪVA* in 13.[2] *Mahat* is taken as the first evolute of the Sāṁkhyan *prakṛti* and is identified with the subtle body in as much as it is the material cause of which the subtle body is constituted.[3] *Tam* therefore would stand for the subtle body (*mahat* or *JĪVA*) and the *Jīva* conditioned by the subtle body (*linga-jīva*). *Bhūtāni* (15) refer to the gross bodies of all living beings of the higher and lower orders of creation and they are prompted to action by *Kṣetrajñas* (*Jīvas* conditioned by subtle bodies) that emanate from the Supreme Being.[4] *Pralīyante* (17) is taken in its most familiar sense and accordingly *śarīra*, the agent of *utpatti* (16), is considered as the agent of *pralaya*, of course with a change in the number to suit the verb *pralīyante*.[5] But Kullūka would take *nṛṇām* (16), effecting the necessary modification in the inflection, as the agent of *pralīyante* and accordingly *pralīyante* in a secondary sense, viz., 'stand in conjunction (with the subtle elements that would go to make the future body)'.[6] In 18 *tau* refers to *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* (of 14) and *sa* also to *kṣetrajña*. The absurdity of one and the same becoming the agent and object (locus) of the action conveyed by *abhyeti* is obviated by drawing an imaginary distinction between *kṣetrajñas* as agents and object of *abhyeti*.[7] As for *tau* and *tasya* in 19, the views of those who would take *tau* as referring to *mahat* and *paramātman* or *antaḥkaraṇa* and *paramātman* are refuted in order to reinforce the meanings assigned to them in 18. i.e., *tau* referring to *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* and *tasya* also to *kṣetrajña*. The inflections of *tat*

1. येनाहंकारेन्द्रियरूपतया परिणतेन कारणभूतेन क्षेत्रज्ञः प्रतिजन्म सुखं दुःखं चानुभवति

2. महानिति 'येन वेदयते' इत्युक्तः

3. महदादिभूतसूक्ष्मपरिवेष्टितं लिङ्गम्

4. शरीरेन्द्रियविज्ञानैर्विना चेष्टाया अभावात् चेष्टयन्तीत्युच्यते

5. तानि शरीराणि पुनः प्रलीयन्ते तासु सूक्ष्मासु भूतमात्रासु

6. दुष्कृतिनो जीवाः.....आरम्भकभूतभागेषु यथास्वं प्रलीयन्ते । तत्संयोगिनो भूत्वावतिष्ठन्त इत्यर्थः ।

7. क्षेत्रज्ञमभ्येतीति प्राप्तम् । तच्च विरुद्धं । स एव प्राप्यः प्रापकश्च । सत्यम्, औपचारिको भेदोऽभिप्रेतः ।

in the singular in 20 and 21 and also *jīva* in 22 and 23 are taken as referring to *kṣetrajña* i.e. *liṅga-jīva*.

Kullūka on the other hand takes *tat* in 18 and 19 as referring to *mahat* and *paramātman* and *sa* and *tasya* to *jīva* i.e. *kṣetrajña*.[1] In addition to the difficulties pointed out by Medhātithi the coupling of *mahat* with *paramātman* is open to more serious objections. *Paramātman* is mentioned in none of the preceding lines. By implication it is only understood that *tat* and *tasya* (14 and 15) stand for *paramātman*. Pronouns do not generally refer to a word that is neither proximate to them nor explicitly mentioned. It may be pointed out here that in the same passage the author consistently uses the pronouns *tānyeva*, *taireva*, *taiḥ* and *tānyeva* (in 17, 20, 21 and 22) to mean the very same entities mentioned in the first instance (16) i.e., the five elements. The couple *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* has been specified already (14) by the same pronoun *tat*. The word *eva* is purposely used to preclude the connection of *tat* with any word other than *mahat* and *kṣetrajña*. Therefore there is absolutely no justification for Kullūka to maintain the stand he has taken.

Medhātithi considers these verses as forming a homogenous unit and as such attempts to offer a consistent interpretation of the passage as a whole. But in spite of his best efforts his interpretation is open to the following objections.

1. The Sāṅkhyan evolute *mahat* has no direct connection with *kṣetrajña* and so it cannot serve as an instrument in the action of *vedana*. The instrumentality of *mahat* is sought by taking *vedana* as *anubhava* (experience) and accordingly *mahat* as *liṅga-śarīra*. It is obvious that the instrumentality is far-fetched and indirect. There is no evidence to ignore the familiar meaning of *vedana*, viz., knowing or cognising. To take *mahat* as the Sāṅkhyan evolute is unwarranted as there is nothing Saṅkhyan in the whole section.

2. The return of the vicious man to *mahat* (subtle body) and *kṣetrajña* is described in 18. *Sa* is taken as *kṣetrajña* and the uninelligibility of *kṣetrajña's* return to himself is removed by drawing an imaginary distinction between the returner and the locus to which he returns and by taking *abhyeti* to mean

1. सः शरीरी भूतसूक्ष्मादिलिङ्गशरीरावच्छिन्न.....तावेव महत्परमात्मानौ । .....तस्य जीवस्य ।

'remains only as much as the subtle body and *jīva* as defined by the subtle body.[1] As *kṣetrajña* is a composite whole of the subtle body and the self, it follows that *mahat* enters into the texture of *kṣetrajña*. The return of *kṣetrajña* towards *kṣetrajña*, then, would mean return to the self and to its attribute *mahat* (subtle body) and therefore there is no necessity to mention *mahat* as a separate entity to account for the dual in *tau*. The dual thus becomes redundant and it amounts to say *tam abhyeti*. Nor is there any authority to believe that *kṣetrajña* possesses two subtle bodies of which one enters his constitution and the other remains aloof so that the use of dual could be justified. To presume that *sa* also refers to *kṣetrajña* is supported by neither the context nor any authority; on the other hand it worsens the situation by giving rise to the additional burden of reconciling the oneness of the agent and object (locus) of *abhyeti*. Again the same difficulties are to be countenanced in interpreting 19 also. The very mention *sa* (18) and *tasya* (19) in contradistinction with *tau* establishes beyond all doubts that *sa* signifies some entity other than those signified by *tau* (*kṣetrjña* and *mahat*). In the succeeding verses also Medhātithi contends that the inflected forms of *sa* and *jīva* refer to *liṅgajīva* (*kṣetrajña*) in order to be consistent throughout. Perhaps the fact that gross bodies vary from birth to birth and the subtle body is the only constant entity enduring till the attainment of liberation and that the gross body does not take part in movement, *gati*, from one body to the other had led Medhātithi to conceive *jīva* as the self qualified by the subtle body alone. Needless to say that Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's performance also is not free from the above criticisms.

One will not fail to note that both Medhātithi and Kullūka interpret not only this passage but the whole of *Manusmṛti* in the light of Advaita, making free use of the Advaitic doctrines to the fullest advantage. Following the ancient commentators we shall offer a more convincing and a rational interpretation from the viewpoint of Advaita by a critical analysis of the passage, collating it with other sections of *Manusmṛti* and deriving corroboration from the ancient authorities such as

1. अभ्येतीत्ययमर्थः । एतावन्मात्रशेषो भवति यदुत क्षेत्रज्ञतया प्राणादिसंघातात्मकेन महानिति व्यपदिष्टेन फलेषु तावन्मात्रः परिशिष्यते ।

the Upaniṣads, *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas, the *Vedānta Sūtra* and Śankara's gloss thereon and even from the commentators on Śankara as and when required.

Jīva. In 22 the act of freeing oneself from sin by suffering punishments inflicted by Yama is spoken of with reference to *jīva*. As the same is predicated to the entity signified by *sa* in 18, *sa* has to be taken as standing for *Jīva*. Besides, return to *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* and incarnation in (the new body constituted of) the five elements are described in 18 and 22 respectively. Naturally the agency of return to *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* devolve upon *Jīva* who is the agent of the act of 'freeing oneself from sin etc.', because the agency of both the acts must belong to one and the same.[1] As such both 18 and 22 must be considered as a single unit and by reading 18 and 22 together we have a complete description of the plight of *Jīva* undergoing suffering, returning to *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* and incarnating in the new body.

Again suffering punishment (18), doing good and bad acts (19-21) and enjoying happiness and misery (19-20) are assuredly characteristics of *Jīva*. Therefore the inflected forms of *sa* in the singular in verses 18-21 will have to be taken as referring to *Jīva*. Further in 23 it is explicitly stated that the vicissitudes described above (i.e. from 16-22) are of the *Jīva*.

Again, this 12th chapter of *Manusmṛti* is the *Karmaphalādhyāya* as is evident from the initial (1) and concluding (82) verses[2] and therefore the mention of any act and enjoyment of the rewards resulting therefrom has to be taken as referring to *Jīva* even in instances, where only pronouns are to be met with. In XII. 53 also it is stated in clear and unambiguous terms that it is *Jīva* that incarnates in bodies of higher and lower order of beings as a result of his actions.

To sum up : *Jīva* does acts good and bad, enjoys pleasure and pain consequent upon his actions, possesses one or the other body, inhabits and presides over the body and, every time

1. Vide Pāṇini, समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले, III. 4.21.

2. XII. 2 has to be taken as the concluding verse of the topic *Karmaphala* because the running verses of the chapter are devoted to *Ātmajñāna*.

cf. एष सर्वः समुद्दिष्टः कर्मणां वः फलोदयः ।
तं दक्षेयसकरं कर्म विप्रस्येदं निबोधत ॥

he dies, undergoes punishment for his unholy conduct and animates a fresh body.

आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः[1] ।

जीवो हि नाम चेतनः शरीराध्यक्षः प्राणानां धारयिता तत्प्रसिद्धेः निर्बंधनाच्च[2] ।

जीवाख्यः शरीरपञ्जराध्यक्षः कर्मफलसम्बन्धी[3]

The Advaita conceives *Jiva* as a complex whole constituted of the self (intelligence), mind, senses, the five subtle elements and gross body; he is the enjoyer of acts and their produce and he presides over the body.

One cannot afford to miss the identity of the accounts of *Jiva* in Manu and Advaita.

Manu analyses the *Jiva* into its constituents and traces the various activities of the *Jiva* to the agency of their respective constituents and also their mutual relationship. Three components of *dehin* (the indweller of the body) i.e. *Jiva*, viz., *Kṣetrajña*, *Bhūtātman* and *JĪVA* (*antarātman*) are mentioned and defined too.

Bhūtātman is the one who performs acts. From actual experience it is seen that the body is the doer of acts. As the body is composed of the five elements (*bhūtas*) and as it is indispensable for the self in carrying out its worldly mission (i.e. enjoyment of pleasure and pain), it is significantly referred to by the word *bhūtātman*.[4] Śaṅkara says that *bhūtātman* denotes the body by secondary implication.

चेतनविषय एव मुख्य आत्मशब्दः, चेतनत्वोपचारात् भूतादिषु प्रयुज्यते, भूतात्मा इन्द्रियात्मा चेति[5] ।

Patañjali also uses the word *śarīrātman* in the sense of body.

द्वावात्मानौ—अन्तरात्मा शरीरात्मा चेति । अन्तरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येन शरीरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति । शरीरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येनान्तरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति[6] ।

Further the statement that *kṣetrajña* is the prompter (*Kārayitā*) of the *Ātman* implies that *Ātman* is the doer. As *bhūtātman*

1. *Kathopaniṣad*, I. 3.4.
2. Śaṅkara's *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, I. 1.6.
3. Śaṅkara's *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, II 3.17.
4. आत्मशब्दस्य शरीरे वृत्तिः, तस्यापि आत्मार्थत्वात् ....भूतविकार आत्मा भूतात्मा
5. *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, I.1.7.
6. *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 3.67.; cf. Kaiyata's gloss thereon.

is the doer (*yaḥ karoti*) it is to be understood that *Ātman* is none other than *bhūtātman*, i.e. body. Usage of *Ātman* in this sense, without any attributive, is not of rare occurence in the Upaniṣads.

आत्मैवास्य कर्म आत्मना हि कर्म करोति[1]

अथ कर्मणामात्मेति एतदुक्थम् अतो हि सर्वाणि कर्माणि उत्तिष्ठन्ति.... एतद्धि सर्वाणि कर्माणि बिभर्ति[2]

आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः[3] ।

From a consideration of the above it is obvious that *Bhūtātman* and *Ātman* refer to the same entity, i.e., body.

JĪVA is another internal constituent of *dehin* (*jīva*) and it is congenital (*sahaja*) with *Jīva*; it operates as the instrument for *Kṣetrajña*, in cognising happiness and sorrow. The body cannot be the agent of cognition as it is inert by nature and therefore *Jīva* cannot be the instrument of the body (*Bhūtātman*).

Adherents of diverse schools of thought unanimously hold that *antaḥkaraṇa* or *manas* is the instrument in the perception of pleasure and pain.

साक्षात्कारे सुखादीनां करणं मन उच्यते[4] ।

Manas is congenital (*sahaja*) with *Jīva* in that it persists in all the bodies into which the *Jīva* transmigrates and lasts until the liberation of *Jīva*. The context makes it clear that *JĪVA* cannot be taken to mean anything other than *manas*[5] (*antaḥkaraṇa*); but the usage of this word in this sense is rather queer and requires corroboration as such.

Fortunately we come across this rather strange usage of this word in the *Mahābhārata*.

व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः मनो व्याकरणात्मकम् ।
कर्मानुमानाद्विज्ञेयः स जीवः क्षेत्रसंज्ञकः ॥[6]
ज्ञानाधिष्ठानमव्यक्तं बुद्ध्यहंकारलक्षणम् ।
तद्बीजं देहिनामाहुः तद्बीजं जीवसंज्ञितम्[7] ॥

In the first verse *JĪVA* known as *kṣetra* has been described as possessing two phases, *buddhi* and *manas*, whose existence is

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*,, I.4.17.
2. *Ibid.* I. 6.3.
3. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, I. 3.4.
4. *Kārikāvalī*. 85.
5. Hereafter we use the word *manas* in its wider sense, i.e. *antaḥkaraṇa*.
6. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 252.11. Gita Press, Gorakhpur, First Edn.
7. *Ibid.*, XII. 213. 12-13.

to be inferred from their unique functions, viz., determining and analytical faculties. The second one characterises *JĪVA* as possessing four phases—retention (*jñānādhiṣṭhāna*, container of cognitions), doubt (*avyakta*, indeterminate as opposed to *buddhi*, the determinate), determination and egoity. Śaṅkara's conception of *manas* (*antaḥkaraṇa*) is exactly the same as that of the *JĪVA* as enshrined in the *Mahābhārata*.

तच्चात्मन उपाधिभूतमन्तःकरण मनो बुद्धिर्विज्ञान चित्तमिति चानेकधा तत्र तत्राभिलप्यते । क्वचिच्च वृत्तिविभागेन संशयादि-वृत्तिकं मन इत्युच्यते, निश्चयादिवृत्तिकं बुद्धिरिति[1] सर्वार्थविषय त्रैकाल्यवृत्ति मनस्त्वेकमनेकवृत्तिकम् । तदेव वृत्ति-भेदात् क्वचिद्भिन्नवद्व्यपदिश्यते—मनो बुद्धिः अहंकारः चित्तं च इति[2] ।

मन इति संकल्पविकल्पात्मकमन्तःकरणम्[3] ।

A comparison of the passages cited above from the *Mahābhārata* and Śaṅkara unmistakably point to the fact that *JĪVA* and *kṣetra* are synonymous with *antaḥkaraṇa* (*manas*) and that Manu also understands *antaḥkaraṇa* by the word *JĪVA*.

Mahān is referred to by *tau* (14) along with *kṣetrajña* as if the reader is well acquainted with the meaning of the word. *Kṣetrajña* has been defined already and the mention of *mahat* coupled with *kṣetrajña* and reference to it by the pronoun *tau* lead to the legitimate inference that *mahat* must be expressive of one among the entities defined in the preceding verses and it must be synonymous also with the words expressing those entities. In other words it must refer either to *bhūtātman* or *JĪVA*.

Mahat cannot stand for *bhūtātman* for the following reasons. Having experienced the punishment imposed by Yama the *jīva* is said to remain as *mahat* and *kṣetrajña* (18). *Jīva* has abandoned his body at the time of death. If *mahat* were to be taken as referring to *bhūtātman* there would crop up the absurdity of the *jīva* remaining once again as *kṣetrajña* and the body (that had perished already).

Therefore *mahat* has to be taken as referring to *JĪVA* which is none other than *manas*. The mention of *mahat* with *kṣetrajña* and frequent references to it by the dual ending *tau* clearly

1. *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, II. 3.32.
2. *Ibid.* II. 4.6.
3. *Taittirīyopaniṣad-bhāṣya*, II.3.

disclose the fact that *mahat* is considered on a par with *kṣetrajña* and that its connection with *kṣetrajña* is very intimate. It is a well-known fact that *manas* is more proximate and intimate to the self than any other entity that constitutes the *Jīva*.

इन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः[1]

इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः[2]

In this connection it is worthwhile to consider the following verse cited by Śaṅkara in his *Śārīrakabhāṣya*.

मनो महान् मतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्बुद्धिः ख्यातिरीश्वरः ।

प्रज्ञा संविच्चितिश्चैव स्मृतिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥[3]

This verse brings to light the fact that *mahat* is synonymous with *manas*. This is also a sufficient evidence to show that during the time of Manu the words *JĪVA* and *mahat* signified *manas* and that is why he employs them as if they are too well known to require any explanation.

As observed already the Sāṁkhyan principle *mahat* has no relevancy in the context. The connection of *mahat* with *kṣetrajña* is not so immediate as to deserve this kind of treatment. As in the *Kaṭha* and the *Śvetāśvatara* Upaniṣads, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, Manu freely uses the terms that are current in the technical expression of the Sāṁkhyas.[4] On that score it is not binding on Manu that he should use them with the same denotation. Manu does not subscribe to the doctrine of the evolution of the universe from the insentient *pradhāna*. On the contrary he upholds the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the origination of the universe from the sentient Supreme Being.[5] As such the terms of the Sāṁkhya philosophy will not neces-

1. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, II. 3.7.

2. *Bhagavadgītā*, III. 42.

3. *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, I. 4.1. It may be of interest to note here that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī cites the first hemistich of this verse in his commentary on *Bhagavadgītā* III. 42 and gives its source as *Vāyupurāṇa*. This is *Vāyupurāṇa* I. 6.25; but the second hemistich reads differently :

प्रज्ञा धितिः स्मृतिः संवित् त्रिपुरं चोच्यते बुधैः ।

4. The first chapter of Manu is replete with Sāṁkhyan terms.

5. Kullūka on I.8. आभिध्यानपूर्विकां सृष्टिं वदतो मनोः प्रकृतिरेवाचेतना स्वतन्त्रा परिणमत इत्यय पक्षो न सम्मतः, किन्तु ब्रह्मैवाभ्याकृतदेहात्मना जगत्कारणमिति.....एवाभिमतः प्रतिभाति ।

sarily have the same significance in Manu, they are to be interpreted in conformity with the Upaniṣadic doctrines.

In fact Bādarāyaṇa has established that words like *avyakta*, equally current in the Upaniṣadic texts, do not carry the denotation of the Sāṁkhya philosophy and that they have to be interpreted independently of the Sāṁkhya notions.[1] It is doubly significant to note that in the case of *mahat*, Bādarāyaṇa had taken special care to refute the Sāṁkhya denotation of the word by devoting a separate sūtra, महद्वच्च[2]

Kṣetrajña. The word *Kṣetrajña* is of very frequent occurrence in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas in the sense of *Jīva*. Śaṁkara also employs the word profusely in his *bhāṣyas* with the same significance.

क्षेत्रज्ञो हि कर्तृत्वेन भोक्तृत्वेन च प्रतिशरीरं बुद्ध्याद्युपाधिसम्बद्धः[3]

In the famous Kṣetrajñadhyāya[4] of the *Gītā* the Lord uses the word with the same denotation.

इदं शरीरं कौन्तेय क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ।
एतद्यो वेत्ति तं प्राहुः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति तद्विदः॥[5]

Kṣetra comprises the entire universe of inert matter including the mind, senses and the body[6] and the one who cherishes the notion that he is the owner of the *kṣetra* is the *Kṣetrajña*. i.e., *Jīva*.

एतच्छरीरं यो वेत्ति विजानाति आपादतलमस्तकं ज्ञानेन विषयीकरोति स्वाभाविकेन औपदेशिकेन वा वेदनेन विषयीकरोति विभागशः तं वेदितारं प्राहुः कथयन्ति क्षेत्रज्ञ इति[7] ।

In the present context it is not possible to interpret *Kṣetrajña* as *Jīva* on the following grounds. The analysis of *Jīva* (*dehin*) clearly shows that *Jīva* is a complex of three elements, viz., *Kṣetrajña*, *Manas* and *Bhūtātman*. As such to take *Kṣetrajña* as *Jīva* will be tantamount to identifying the part with the whole. —i.e. *Kṣetrajña* (one of the constituents) with *Jīva* (the complex whole). We have already established that in 18 and 19 the entity conveyed by the pronouns *sa* and *tasya* must be entirely

1. *Śārīraka Sūtras*, I.4. 1-10.
2. *Ibid.*, I. 4.7.
3. *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, I. 3.7.
4. Chapter XIII.
5. *Bhagavadgītā*, XIII, 1.
6. *Ibid.*, XIII, 5-6.
7. Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on *Bhagavadgītā*, XIII. :

different from *Kṣetrajña* and *mahat* (represented by *tau*) and that it is *Jīva*.

The *Mahābhārata* sometimes denotes the *antaryāmin* or *Īśvara* by the term *Kṣetrajña*.

अशरीरः शरीरेषु सर्वेषु निवसत्यसौ ।
वसन्नपि शरीरेषु न स लिप्यति कर्मभिः ॥
समान्तरात्मा तव च ये चान्ये देहिसंज्ञिताः ।
सर्वेषां साक्षिभूतोऽसौ न ग्राह्यः केनचित् क्वचित् ॥
विश्वमूर्धा विश्वभुजो विश्वपादाक्षिनासिकः ।
एकश्चरति क्षेत्रेषु स्वैरचारी यथामुखम् ॥
क्षेत्राणि हि शरीराणि बीजं चापि शुभाशुभम् ।
तानि वेत्ति स योगात्मा ततः क्षेत्रज्ञ उच्यते ॥[1]

This meaning of *Kṣetrajña* also does not suit in present context for the following reasons. *Jīva* is said to remain as *Kṣetrajña* (18) and his acts, sacred and sacrilegious are perceived by *Kṣetrajña* in conjunction with *manas* (*mahat*). Neither the wicked person could remain as *Īśvara* by merely suffering punishments for his sinful acts nor does *Īśvara* perceive things in conjunction with *manas* since He is omniscient. He neither possesses a mind of his own nor does require the help of a *Jīva*'s mind.

Sometimes *Kṣetrajña* signifies the pure unqualified Being (*Paramātman*) also.

पर ब्रह्म धाम क्षेत्रज्ञमुपेति[2]

This sense also is of little help in the present instance. For, one cannot, by merely suffering punishments levied by Yama, return to the Supreme Being. The knowledge of the self (*ātmajñāna*) is the only road that leads one to *Brahman*. Further, *Brahman* is devoid of action (*niṣkriya*) and so its possibility of *seeing* the acts of *Jīva* is completely ruled out.

Now what does this word *Kṣetrajña* denote? *Kṣetrajaña* is one among the three constituents of *Jīva* and he perceives happiness and sorrow through the operation of *manas* (*JĪVA*). The perception of *manas* as well as its qualities—cognition, doubt, pleasure, pain, desire, faith etc. is known as *sākṣipratyakṣa* in Advaita. It is so-called because they are directly per-

1. *Mahābhārata*, XII. 351. 3-6.
2. *Brahmopaniṣad* 1.

ceived by the self (*sākṣādikṣaṇa*), i.e. without the instrumentality of the senses.

यत्र सामग्र्यभावेऽपि आपरोक्ष्यं दृश्यते तत्र साक्षित्वप्रत्यक्षतेति हि वेदान्तमर्यादा[1] ।

In the perception of external objects the self needs the operation of the senses. *Kṣetrajña* therefore has to be taken as *Sākṣin*.

In the 8th chapter of Manu we come across the word *Kṣetrajña*.

यस्य विद्वान् हि वदतः क्षेत्रज्ञो नाभिशङ्कते ।
तस्मान्न देवाः श्रेयांसं लोकेऽन्यं पुरुषं विदुः ॥[2]

This verse extols the truthfulness of one who bears witness in a court of law. In the statement, "the *Kṣetrajña* of one who speaks (witness) does not entertain any doubt etc.," *Kṣetrajña* is spoken of as different from the one (*Jīva*) who speaks. Suspicion is a quality of the mind and the one who cognises his suspicion is therefore the *sākṣin* to be distinguished from the one who speaks, the *Jīva*. As such Manu uses the word *Kṣetrajña* in the sense of *sākṣin*. If may be interesting to consider, in this connection, a verse from the *Mahābhārata* whose purport is almost identical with that of the above verse, save for the difference that *Kṣetrajña* is explicitly characterised as the *sākṣin* dwelling within the heart of the *Jīva*.

यमो वैवस्वतस्तस्य नियतिर्यति दुष्कृतम् ।
हृदि स्थितः कर्मसाक्षी क्षेत्रज्ञो यस्य तुष्यति ॥[3]

In another verse occurring in the same context Manu distinguishes 'one's own inner self' from the 'one who commits sins'.

मन्यन्ते वै पापकृतो न कश्चित्पश्यतीति नः ।
तांस्तु देवाः प्रपश्यन्ति स्वस्यैवान्तरपूरुषः ॥[4]

The one's own inner self mentioned here is evidently the *sākṣin*.

The other attribute of the *Kṣetrajña*, viz. that he is the impeller of the body, also points to the same conclusion. That the self is the impeller of the body is too well known to require any elucidation. When dissociated from the self, the body and

1. *Vivaraṇaprameyasaṃgraha*, p. 297. Acyutagranthamālā, Kashi, Samvat. 1996.
2. Manu, VIII. 96
3. *Mahābhārata*, I, 74-31.
4. Manu, VIII, 85.

the senses cease to function. The self is impeller in the sense that its mere presence causes the body and the senses to act.

यः प्राणेन प्राणिति स त आत्मा सर्वान्तरः, योऽपानेनापानिति स न आत्मा सर्वान्तरः...एष त आत्मा सर्वान्तरः[1]

Kṣetrajña, in as much as he prompts the body, must necessarily be different from the body without participating in the opera- of the body. It is the *sākṣin* and not *Jīva* that satisfies this condition. *Kṣetrajña* therefore is *sākṣin*.

The foregoing study reveals that Manu considers *Jīva* as a complex constituted of the three entities-self (*Kṣetrajña*), body (*bhūtātman*) and *manas* (*JĪVA*) and that he is the agent of cognising, doing and enjoying. He has intentionally dropped the subtle body (*liṅga-śarīra*), the other constituent of *Jīva*, as its mention would serve no purpose in the present context. The subtle body has no connection whatsoever with the agency of cognising, doing and enjoying.

The gross body (*bhūtātman*) on the other hand, as we have seen, is the agent of doing and enjoying. *Jīva's* characterisation as doer and enjoyer therefore becomes intelligible only if the gross body enters into the constitution of *Jīva*. In fact the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad declares that *Jīva* is incomplete without the body (gross).

स यावदप्येतेषामेकैकं न प्राप्नोति अकृत्स्न एव स तावन्मन्यते तस्यो कृत्स्नता, मन एवास्यात्मा, वाग्जाया, प्राणः प्रजा, चक्षुर्मानुषं वित्तम्, चक्षुषा हि तद्विन्दते; श्रोत्रं दैवं श्रोत्रेण हि शृणोति; आत्मैवास्य कर्म; आत्मना हि कर्म करोति[2]। It follows therefore that the gross body is an essential constituent of the *Jīva*. There is no justification for the commentators to equate *Kṣetrajña* with *Jīva* and to take both as a composite of the self and the subtle body excluding totally the gross body. The significant use of the word *dehin* (13), 'the possessor of the gross body' also points to the fact that Manu holds the gross body as an indispensable component of *Jīva*. In fact the subtle body is not competent to do and enjoy and that is the reason why the *Jīva* is endowed with the gross body.

संसरति निरुपभोगं भावैरधिवासितं लिङ्गम्[3]

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, III, 4.1.
2. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, I, 4.17.
3. *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, 40.

In this context it is necessary to bestow some attention on the Advaitic concepts of *Sākṣin* and *Jīva*. Advaita makes a sharp distinction between *Sākṣin* and *Jīva*. *Jīva* is the self who is *qualified* by *manas* (*antaḥkaraṇa-viśiṣṭa-caitanya*). *Jīva* cannot be conceived without the *manas*. *Manas* enters into the composition of *Jīva*. *Manas* is the viśeṣaṇa (attribute) for *Jīva*. *Sākṣin* is the self *conditioned* by *manas* as *upādhi* (adjunct). *Sākṣin* is independent of *manas* and can be conceived as such. *Manas* does not enter into the texture of *Sākṣin*; it only serves as a mark of distinction to the *Sākṣin* without participating in the deliberations of the *Sākṣin*.

कार्त्स्न्यन्वयी व्यावर्तको वर्तमानश्च उपाधिः[1]

In short *Sākṣin* is an impartite, homogeneous and simple whole of the nature of pure intelligence *conditioned* by *manas*, whereas *Jīva* is a complex whole of intelligence and matter.

When this distinction between *Sākṣin* and *Jīva* is borne in mind, there is no room for any difficulty in interpreting 18 and 19. The *Jīva* returns to *mahat* and *Kṣetrajña* after abandoning the *pāñcabhautikaśarīra*. As *Jīva* is already rid of his gross body at death, it amounts to say that *Jīva remains* as *mahat* and *Kṣetrajña*, i.e., *mahat* and *Kṣetrajña* are the residue of the *Jīva*. At this stage the *Jīva* cannot perceive any external object because he has been deprived of the gross body through which alone the senses (the instruments of external perception) could operate. The only entity that could fall within the purview of his cognition is the *manas*. As cogniser of *manas* and also as distinct from the cognised in his capacity of cogniser, *Kṣetrajña* could be none other than *Sākṣin*. The conjunction of *manas* with *Ātman* is endurable until liberation. The statement that *Jīva* remains as *manas* and *Kṣetrajña* becomes intelligible only when *Kṣetrajña* is taken as *Sākṣin* because in *Sākṣin* the two entities, the self and the *manas*, stand independent of each other without loosing their conjunction, whereas in *Jīva* they become a complex and lose their independence and individuality.

With rapt attention *manas* (*mahat*) and *Kṣetrajña* jointly perceive the acts, virtuous and sinful, of the *Jīva* (19). *Sākṣin* can perceive only those objects that are in contact with him.

1. *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, p. 80. Venkteśvara Steam Press, Bombay, Samvat, 1985.

Mental activities are directly cognised by *Sākṣin* because the mind is always in direct contact with the *Sākṣin* by virtue of its being the *upādhi* to *Sākṣin*. As *Sākṣin* is conditioned or delimited by *manas*, he does not come in contact with those that are over and above the *manas*. *Manas* flows out through the senses to the object and effects a conjunction between the *Sākṣin* and the object. This conjunction is only mediate. Without the aid of *manas*, *Sākṣin* cannot be in contact with objects and therefore perception of objects becomes inpossible. Because the *Sākṣin* can perceive objects only when *manas* is in conjunction with the object it is said that *both manas* and *Sākṣin jointly* behold the virtuous and vicious acts.

Verily it is the *Sākṣin*, being of the nature of pure intelligence, that actually perceives and the *manas*, being inert, is not competent to perceive. The role that *manas* plays in effecting the conjunction of *Sākṣin* with the object is that of an instrument. It is only to stress the unavoidability of *manas* in bringing about perception it is elevated to the position of the agent of seeing. *Jīva's* mind and its activities are immediately cognised by the *Sākṣin* as conditioned by *manas*, whereas the body and bodily activities are perceived by the *Sākṣin* with the aid of the *pramāṇas* (senses etc.) i.e. qualified by *manas*. In other words the perceiver is *Pramātmā* (or *Jīva*). On this account *manas* and its properties are known as *kevala-sākṣivedya* and anything, other than *manas*, present in the valid cognition is *pramātṛcaitanyavedya*.

The use of the compound word *tau* with a dual ending with reference to *mahat* and *Kṣetrajña* can be justified only when it is taken as standing for *Sākṣin* and his adjunct *manas*, because the members of the compound—whether considered as an *ekaśeṣa* or a *dvandva* of the *itaretarayoga* type for which it stands— must be expressive of entities which are independent and enjoy equal status even when they enter into an aggregate.

It may be pertinently remarked here that to think of coupling *manas* with *Sākṣin* looks rather strange while such twin *terms* like *jñāna-jñeya*, *prakṛti-puruṣa*, *kṣara-akṣara*, *vidyā-avidyā*, *cid-acit*, *satya-anṛta*, *kṣetra-kṣetrajña*, *vyakta-avyakta* and *mūrta-amūrta* are very familiar in Vedānta.

On the authority of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *guhā-*

dhikaraṇa[1] we may say definitely that the twin terms *manas* and *Sākṣin* are as well known as any others of this class mentioned above. In his bhāṣya on the *guhādhikaraṇa* Śaṅkara cites a passage from the *Paingirahasya-brāhmaṇa* which runs as follows :

तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्तीति सत्त्वं, अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीतीति अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिपश्यति क्षः, तावेतौ सत्त्वक्षेत्रज्ञौ । तदेतत्सत्त्वं येन स्वप्नं पश्यति, अथ योऽयं शारीर उपद्रष्टा स क्षेत्रज्ञः । तावेतौ सत्त्वक्षेत्रज्ञौ । न ह वा एवविदि किंचन रज आध्वंसते[2] ।

This extract from the *Paingirahasya-brāhmaṇa* not only serves the purpose of a word-for-word commentary of the famous mantra of the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*., viz. द्वा सुपर्णा[3] etc. but has a direct bearing on the issue we are now concerned with. The mantra refers to two entities, not by their names, but through the distinct characteristics abiding in them—enjoyer and silent spectator—and the Brāhmaṇa settles the identity of the enjoyer as well as that of the spectator with reference to dream cognition. The enjoyer of the fruits (proceeding from his own action) is *sattva* and the spectator is *Kṣetrajña*. *Sattva* is that by means of which one (*Kṣetrajña*) sees the dream world and *Kṣetrajña* is one who remains as a silent witness within the body. The dream objects are the projections of the *manas*. In other words the *manas* transforms itself into the diverse objects that are presented to the experience of the dreamer.

Sattva is the instrument responsible in producing the dreamer cognition. The diverse objects presented in dream are products of *manas*. *Manas* also becomes the object (*viṣaya*) of dream cognition on account of its being the material cause of the variety of objects. Again *manas*, because it undergoes transformation while assuming the form of the dream objects, assumes the role of an instrument (*pramāṇa*) in producing dream cognition.

स्वयं निर्माय स्वेन भासा स्वेन ज्योतिषा प्रस्वपिति अत्रायं पुरुषः स्वयं ज्योतिः[4]

1. *Śārīraka Sūtra*, I. 2.11-12.
2. *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*, I. 2-12.
3. *Muṇḍaka*, III. 1.1.
4. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, IV. 3.9.

In the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* itself *sattva* is used in the sense of *manas*.

ज्ञानप्रसादेन विशुद्धसत्त्व:[1]

विशुद्धसत्त्व: कामयते यांश्च कामान्[2]

सन्न्यासयोगाद्यतय: शुद्धसत्त्वा:[3]

Evidently the *Paingirahasyabrāhmaṇa* conveys the sense of *manas* through the word *sattva*.

Kṣetrajña, the seer of the dream, is characterised as *śārīra*, *upadraṣṭā*, i.e., witness residing within the body. It is of significance to note that the *Gītā* also uses the very same expression.

उपद्रष्टानुमन्ता च...देहेऽस्मिन् पुरुष: पर:[4] ।

and Śaṅkara's observation thereon—

उपद्रष्टा समीपस्थ: सन् द्रष्टा स्वयमव्यापृत:

Upadraṣṭā is one who keeps vigil over the deliberations of others without himself participating in their deliberations. The *Nṛsiṁha-uttaratāpanīyopaniṣad* also employs *upadraṣṭā* in the same sense :

उपद्रष्टानुमन्तैष आत्मा[5]

Upadraṣṭā is therefore the *Sākṣin* who remains within the body as an indifferent spectator beholding the activities of the mind and the body. The references we have just now made to the Upaniṣadic usages amply substantiate Śaṅkara's statement.

सत्त्वक्षेत्रज्ञशब्दयो: अन्त:करणशरीरपरतया प्रसिद्धत्वात्[6]

It may be seen that Śaṅkara's explanation of द्वा सुपर्णा etc., on the lines of the *Paingirahasyabrāhmaṇa* is offered only as an alternative to the one he has suggested in the wake of his interpretation on ऋतं पिबन्तौ.[7] While noticing that Śaṅkara has his own predilections towards the first interpretation, as is

1. *Muṇḍaka*, III. 1.8.
2. *Ibid.*, III. 1.10.
3. *Ibid.*, III. 2.6.
4. *Bhagavadgītā*. XIII, 22.
5. *Nṛsiṁhottaratāpanīya*, 9.
6. *Śārīraka-bhāṣya*. I. 2.12. Cf. Brahmavidyābharaṇa thereon : इह बुद्धिविशुद्धसाक्षिणी प्रतिपाद्येते and *Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi* on I. 3.7 : अत्र नश्वतो: अन्त:करणशुद्धजीवपरतया
7. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*. I. 3.1.

evident from 'गुहां प्रविष्टावात्मानौ हि' इत्यत्राप्येतदुपरिष्टात्, 'द्वा सुपर्णा' इत्यस्यामृचि ईश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञावुच्येते इति,[1] one cannot overlook the fact that he considers the alternative interpretation also as authoritative as the first, यद्यपि पैङ्गलोपनिषत्कृतेन व्याख्यानेनास्यामृचि सत्त्वक्षेत्रज्ञौ उच्येते तदापि न विरोधः[2]. Even in his gloss on the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* Śaṅkara has taken sufficient care to record the alternative interpretation.

प्रेरयिता ह्यसौ उभयोः भोज्यभोक्तृयोः नित्यसाक्षित्वसत्तामात्रेण । स त्वनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति पश्यत्येव केवलम् । दर्शनमात्रं हि तस्य प्रेरयितृत्वं राजवत्[3] ।

But on the contrary all the commentators beginning with Vācaspati declare that the interpretation based on the *Paingirahasya-brāhmaṇa* is the one that is really acceptable to Śaṅkara and maintain that the first one is simply hypothetical.

It may be asked : The *manas* is after all an instrument meant for the use of the self; how does it deserve this preferential treatment over the other senses on a par with the self? Manu indicates the answer by employing a suggestive attribute. He describes *mahat* and *Kṣetrajña* as possessing infinite potency. What does this infinite potency (*mahaujasau*) consist in ?

Manas is eulogised as God and the dream world is a manifestation of his glory.

अत्रैष देवः स्वप्ने महिमानमनुभवति[4]

Manas (*vijñāna*) is the first among God's creation and all the senses adore him as Brahman.

विज्ञानं देवाः सर्वे ब्रह्मज्येष्ठमुपासते[5]

The one who worships *manas* (*mahat*) as Brahman is assured of victory over the world.

यो हैतं महद्यक्षं प्रथमजं वेद सत्यं ब्रह्मेति स जयतीमान् लोकान्[6]

1. *Sārīrakabhāṣya*, I. 3-7.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad-bhāṣya*, III.1.1.
4. *Praśnopaniṣad*, IV. 5.
5. *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, II. 5.
6. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, V. 4.1.

Manas reigns supreme over the senses. The senses cease to operate when the *manas* is not alert; but it operates even when the senses cease to function.

चक्षुः पश्यति रूपाणि मनसा न तु चक्षुषा ॥
मनसि व्याकुले चक्षुः पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ।
तथेन्द्रियाणि सर्वाणि पश्यन्तीत्यभिचक्षते ॥
न चेन्द्रियाणि पश्यन्ति मन एवात्र पश्यति ।
मनस्युपरते राजन् इन्द्रियोपरमो भवेत् ॥
न चेन्द्रियव्युपरमे मनस्युपरमो भवेत् ।
एवं मनःप्रधानानि इन्द्रियाणि प्रभावयेत् ॥
इन्द्रियाणां तु सर्वेषामीश्वरं मन उच्यते ।
एतद्विशन्ति भूतानि सर्वाणीह महाप्रभः ॥[1]

Manas wields control over every one of the senses; but it never comes under the control of any thing else.

मनोविशेऽन्ये ह्यभवन् स्म देवा मनश्च नान्यस्य वशं समेति ।
भीष्मो हि देवः सहसः सहीयान् युङ्ज्याद्वशे तं स हि देवदेवः ॥[2]

That *manas* accompanies the self (destined for *krama-mukti*) in its journey to *Brahmaloka* is a fact acceptable to all the ancient teachers of Vedānta whereas the accompanying of the senses is the centre of a heated controversy.[3] Further *manas* possesses the faculty of discrimination whereas the senses do not :

यस्माच्चक्षुषो ह्यगोचरे पृष्ठतोऽनुपस्पृष्टः केनचित् हस्तस्थाय स्पर्शः वानीरयमिति विवेकेन प्रतिपद्यते । यदि विवेकहृन्मनो नाम नास्ति तर्हि त्वङ्मात्रेण कुतो विवेकप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् ? यत्तद्विवेकप्रतिपत्तिकारणं तन्मनः ।[4]

Manas is competent to comprehend things of all times whereas senses can comprehend only things of the present.

साम्प्रतकालं बाह्यं त्रिकालमाभ्यन्तरं करणम्[5]

That *Sākṣin* (pure self) is infinitely potent requires no

1. *Mahabhārata*, XII. 311. 17-21.
2. *Bhāgavata*, XI. 23.48. Śridhara in his gloss on this verse cites a verse from the *śruti* which runs as : तथा च श्रुतिः—मनसो वशे सर्वमिदं बभूव नान्यस्य मनो वशमन्विदाय । भीष्मो हि देवः सहसः सहीयान्—इति । This citation could not be traced to its source.
3. *Śārīraka sūtras*, IV. 4. 10-14
4. Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, I. 5.3.
5. *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*. 33.

proof. The entire universe is only the *Sākṣin* (pure self).

इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा[1]

आत्मैव देवताः सर्वाः सर्वमात्मन्यवस्थितम्[2]

The source to which *mahat* and *Kṣetrajña* owe their existence and from which they derive sustenance is said to be the one being that dwells in all beings, higher and lower (14) and to the same source is ascribed the origination of infinite number of beings that actuates the bodies they inhabit. The source is not mentioned by name; but is referred to by the pronominal case-endings *tam* and *tasya*. The statement that "*mahat* and *Kṣetrajña* rest on him who, etc.," immediately reminds us of the Upaniṣadic verse,

एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गूढः सर्वव्यापी सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा ।

कर्माध्यक्षः सर्वभूताधिवासः साक्षी चेता केवलो निर्गुणश्च ॥[3]

The description "infinite number of beings spring up from his body etc.," is strongly reminiscent of the famous analogy of the fire and sparks frequently employed in the Upaniṣads with a view to bring home the fact that the pure self (Supreme Being), the one without a second, manifests itself as infinite number of beings and a variety of objects.

यथाग्नेः क्षुद्रा विस्फुलिङ्गाः व्युच्चरन्त्येवमेवास्मादात्मनः सर्वे प्राणाः सर्वे लोकाः सर्वे देवाः सर्वाणि भूतानि सर्व एत आत्मानो व्युच्चरन्ति[4] ।

Manu mentions only the phenomenon of the one appearing as many and chooses to omit the analogy of fire and sparks. Perhaps he would have thought that the analogy was so well known as a mention of it would become superfluous.

A consideration of the above Upaniṣadic passages show that *tam* and *tasya* stand for the pure self (Supreme Being).

The dependency of *manas* (*mahān*) on the Supreme Being in regard to its existence and sustenance is intelligible as the Supreme Being happens to be its material cause. The dependency of *Sākṣin* (*Kṣetrajña*) has to be understood in a secondary sense since *Sākṣin* is not essentially different from the Supreme

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, II. 4.6.
2. Manu, XII. 119.
3. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, VI. 11.
4. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, II. 1.20.

Being. *Sākṣin* could be considered as a dependant on the Supreme Being in so far as the adjunct (*manas*), that secures the name *Sākṣin* (for the Supreme Being), is a dependant on the Supreme Being.

The contact of the *bhūtas* with *Sākṣin* and *manas* (14) is nothing but their encagement in one and the same body composed of the five *bhūtas*.

One cannot resist here the temptation to mention the striking parallelism that this section of the *Manusmṛti* offers to the 3rd chapter of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* which also opens with an enquiry into the nature of the being who is subjected to innumerable tortures as a result of his past actions. The identity in language, plan, execution, contents, definitions and analogy between the two cannot be a matter of accidence. Perhaps this chapter of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* might have been the main source for the 12th chapter of Manu.

The concept of *Sākṣin* occupies an exalted position in Advaita. It finds full expression in the language of the Upaniṣads. The term *Sākṣin* stands for the concept as also its synonyms *upadraṣṭṛ* and *prekṣaka*[1] with a lesser frequency. Sometimes the concept is implicit in the teachings of the Upaniṣads. More often we come across complete descriptions of the *Sākṣin* where the term is conspicuous by its absence, as in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*[2] where Yājñavalkya arrives, by a series of arguments, at the real nature of the self. Yājñavalkya's statements such as, "he constructs the dream objects out of his own mind and perceives them with his own light" (i.e. without deriving any help from external lights such as the senses, the sun, the moon etc.), "not affected in the least by whatever he sees, as the Puruṣa is unstainable", "he merely witnesses his own actions". (i.e., he is not the agent of his dream-activities), and "the vision of the seer is never lost", clearly unfold the fact that the self is self-luminous, it directly illumines objects and it requires no intermediaries such as the senses etc. In other words, the self directly perceives objects and it is the seer of the mind and its mutifarious manifestations and it is with reference to this aspect that it is designated as *Sākṣin*. The preceptors of Advaita

1. *Maitrāyaṇīyopaniṣad*, II.7.
2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV. 3.

have understood the concept exactly in the same sense Tha the self perceives objects even when the senses are not at work and that it cognises objects that are beyond the comprehension of the senses are undeniable facts of experience and thus the concept of *Sākṣin* is based on facts of experience and not a mere hypothesis or gratuitous assumption. It remains a matter for great wonder as to how a profound scholar like Medhātithi, whose mastery over Pūrva Mīmāmsā and Advaita is unrivalled, as evidenced in his commentary, could afford to overlook the concept of *Sākṣin*.

VĀCASPATIMIŚRA'S NYĀYAVĀRTTIKATĀTPARYA-ṬĪKĀ AND THE VAIŚEṢIKA SYSTEM

Prof. Anantalal Thakur Patna

We have seen elsewhere how Vātsyāyana Pakṣilasvāmin[1] and Bhāradvāja Uddyotakara[2] utilised the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and Vaiśeṣika tenets in the *Nyāyabhāṣya* and the *Nyāyavārttika* respectively. Chronologically Vācaspatimiśra's *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā* (TT) comes next. It is well known that Vācaspati was an independent writer on all the orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy and his commentaries and independent treatises on all these systems are available. But the significant exception is the Vaiśeṣika. No commentary nor any tract on this system is known to have been written by him. But this does not show any apathy of this author to the Vaiśeṣika system as he is found to quote Vaiśeṣika Sūtras and Vaiśeṣika tenets to support his views in his works, especially in the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*.

Generally Vācaspati refers to the views of Kaṇāda or his followers with the epithet Vaiśeṣika (TT, pp. 287, 358, 589, 637, 1167). The word Aulūkya has once been used (845). The Vaiśeṣika has again been called Pailuka (with Pailukaṇṭha, a variant, p. 719). Durvekamiśra also uses the term Pailuka[3] for the Vaiśeṣika. The views of the Vaiśeṣika and his śāstra are found to have been referred to as *Aulūkyamata* (845) and the *Vaiśeṣikatantra* (358).

At one place Vācaspati is found to remark that a study of the *Vaiśeṣikatantra* alone does not make one a Vaiśeṣika. If one adept in this darśana is found to accept any tenet that goes against the Vaiśeṣika view, he is not to be called a Vaiśeṣika as he does not take this Śāstra as authoritative (282).

1. Vātsyāyana and the Vaiśeṣika System, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. I, 1963.
2. Uddyotakara as a Vaiśeṣika, *Proceedings, A.I.O.C.*, Bombay Session.
3. Vide, *Dharmottarapradīpa*, p. 229.

Like the ancient Vaiśeṣikas, Vācaspati also counts the categories as six (385 ff). But primarily a Naiyāyika, he cannot ignore *abhāva* (96), which received distinct treatment in the hands of his predecessors—Vātsyāyana (24ff) and Uddyotakara (27ff).

Vācaspati seems to accept the division of entities into *dṛṣṭa* — philosophically explained and *adṛṣṭa* — not so explained. He was not fond of referring to the latter when the former could serve the purpose (136).

He explains the origin of an entity as inherence in its cause—*svakāraṇasamavāya* or the inherence of generality in itself (1002).

While explaining the expression *anekadharmopapatteḥ* in NS I.i.23, Uddyotakara quotes some sectarian scholar who expounded *anekadharmaḥ* in a twofold way : *anekasya anekaśca dharmaḥ*. By way of illustration this scholar is said to cite the instance of *saṃyogajatva* — being produced from contact — as a common attribute to substance, quality and action. Again as an instance of many attributes inhering in one entity, he cites the case of sound in which, being produced from contact, having no quality or action and being momentary in character—all inhere (240). Vācaspati explains this position in detail: *śabdo hi saṃyogajaḥ, saṃyogajatvam hi kārye dravye guṇe ca śarīrādikriyāyām cā'stī'ti dravyaguṇakarmaṇām samānam, tasmād anekasya dharmaś caritārthaḥ, evam śabdagato 'neko 'pi dharmaḥ samānatayaiva dravyatvādisandehahetus triṣu, saṃyogajatvaṃ sādhāraṇaṃ sattvādinā nirbhaktasya, nirguṇatvaṃ guṇakarmaṇoḥ. evam kṣaṇikatvam dravyaguṇakarmaṇām iti samānadharmopapattyā gatārtham iti* (240).

Needless to say that the illustrations come from the Vaiśeṣikas and Vācaspati refers to VS I.i.7 in this connection.

The Vaiśeṣika does not accept contact between limitless substances and the theory is known as *ajasaṃyogābhāvavāda*. Thus, says Vācaspati, in the Vaiśeṣika view, space, time, ether and the souls co-exist but have no mutual contacts. Contact is possible when either or both of the components have limits. In this connection Vācaspati further refers to the peculiar character of generality which co-exist with everything but inheres only in a limited number of entities. Thus at a locus where an individual is born, both generality and inherence do exist, though they have neither contact nor inherence with the locus. Birth is here defined as limitation by generality and inherence (512).

Earlier Vācaspati is found to give the view of the opponent who does not accept generality as a category. The opponent enquires : 'Where does generality exist? Is it in the individuals alone or everywhere? If everywhere, every individual should be called a cow for cowness is then present in cows as well as non-cows. If again cowness is present only in a few individuals, the Vaiśeṣika will have to explain how and from where cowness came to it. It was not there before the birth of the individual cow. Nor does it come from another cow. In the latter case action should inhere in generality also which the Vaiśeṣika cannot accept. Again if the calf inherits cowness from its mother, the mother ceases to be a cow'. This would an absurd position. As generality is held eternal it cannot be born at the birth of the calf. It will be an uncommon situation indeed if the cowness in the calf is born and still it is held as eternal as the Vaiśeṣika does (1511-2). This bears close resemblance with Dharmakīrti's refutation of generality as given in his *Pramāṇavārttika* III:—

> na yāti na ca tatrā'sid asti paścān na cā'ṃśavat /
> jahāti pūrvaṃ nādhāram aho vyasanasantatiḥ //
> anyatra vartamānasya tato 'nyasthānajanmani /
> sthānād acalato 'nyatra vṛttir ity atiyuktimat // 154-6
> yatrāsau vartate bhāvas tena saṃbadhyate na tu /
> taddeśinaṃ ca vyāpnoti kim apy etan mahādbhutam //
> 151-154

Vācaspati's defence of the Vaiśeṣika position has just been given.

The destruction of an effect according to the Vaiśeṣikas is due to the destruction of the material cause (*samavāyikāraṇa*). Thus the destruction of one or more limbs in a body means the destruction of the body. What remains is the part-body (*khaṇḍa-deha*) which is different from the original. Again, the destruction of the non-inherent cause (*asamavāyikāraṇa*) also brings about the destruction of the effect. When the mutual contacts of the different limbs in the body give way, the effect, i.e., the body cannot remain intact. But Vācaspati has twice cited a case of the destruction of an effect from that of the auxiliary cause (*nimittakāraṇa*). In the origination of numbers like duality, etc., the notion of addition (*apekṣābuddhi*) serves as the

auxiliary cause. Its destruction also brings about the destruction of the resultant numbers—duality etc. (634, 883). This has been reproduced in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* also (p. 334). Śrīdhara cites a separate instance, — that of the destruction of the final true knowledge at emancipation by the destruction of the body.[4]

As regards the destruction of the qualities Vācaspati has to add that the advent of an opposite quality in the substratum, or the destruction of the substratum itself or of the non-inherent cause destroys qualities. In some cases, this destruction is effected by that of the auxiliary cause (833). Śrīdhara seems to follow Vācaspati here.

Vācaspati is found to oppose the non-acceptance of qualities like remoteness (*paratva*) and proximity (*aparatva*) arising out of the notion of addition (*apekṣā-buddhi*) on the ground that they are of immense importance in our mundane affairs (984).

Besides the Vaiśeṣikasūtras to which we shall refer hereafter, Vācaspati has quoted the aphoristic sentence *jātaḥ sambaddhaś ca 'tyekaḥ kālaḥ* (p. 476), presumably from some ancient Vaiśeṣika work. This looks like *niṣṭhāsambandhayor ekakatvāt* which has been attributed to the lost Vaiśeṣika work, *Vākya* by Siṃhasūri.[5]

Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* has been quoted as an authority in the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*. Here Praśastapāda has been designated as *Padārthavit* — one conversant with the Vaiśeṣika categories. The quotation gives the definition of pleasure as is found in the *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* (Chowkhamba edn., p. 624). Again Vācaspati quotes the definition of time (*kāla*) from the same work. Uddyotakara refers to *parāparādipratyayas* in connection with his explanation of NS II.i.39. This refers to VS II.ii.6. Vācaspati does not touch this *sūtra* but prefers to explain the corresponding proposition in Praśastapāda's work. It runs as: *kālaḥ parāparavyatikarayaugapadyacirakṣiprapratyayaliṅgam*. Without quoting it Vācaspati first explains *parāparapratyaya* referred to by Uddyotakara (Cf. *parāparādipratya-*

4. *Dṛṣṭo guṇānāṃ nimittakāraṇavināśād api vināśo yathā mokṣaprāptyavasthāyāṃ antyatattvajñānasya śarīravināśāt*—*Nyāyakandalī*, p. 118.

5. Cf. *Daśapadārthaśāstra*, ed. Śri Jambuvijayaji, p. 508. *jātaḥ saṃbaddhaś ca'tyekaḥ kālaḥ* is found quoted in the *Nyāyavārttika* (p. 494) and the *Nyāyamañjarī* (p. 285) also.

yānāṃ ca sanimittatvāt kālapratiṣedho na yuktaḥ—NV.p. 518). He then refers to the other items mentioned by Praśastapāda — *evam yaugapadyāyaugapadyacirakṣipraprapratyayā api kālalingaṃ* (p. 519).

In connection with the explanation of *dveṣa* (aversion), Vācaspati seems to have referred to the same work. His *dveṣaḥ krodho manyur ity anarthāntaram, prajvalanātmako hi sa bhavati* can be compared with *prajvalanātmako dveṣaḥ. krodho droho manyur akṣamā marṣa iti dveṣabhedāḥ.*—PDS, Chowkhamba edn., pp. 626f.

Uddyotakara refers to some Vaiśeṣika work in *nirakṣam gurutvam karmakāraṇam iti hi śāstram* and explains this in *nā'yam nirapekṣārtho gurutvam na kiñcid apekṣata iti, api tu caramabhāvi nimittāntaram nā'pekṣata iti nirapekṣam karmakāraṇam iti nā'sti vyāghātaḥ tathā ca śāstram — saṃyogābhave gurutvāt patanam* (VS, V.ii.3) *iti* (595 f.). Here Vācaspati brings out the significance of the expression *nirapekṣa*. He says, in order to cause a fall *gurutva* (gravity) no doubt depends upon its material cause—the substance. But it requires no further help from any additional and positive auxiliary cause (595). This is an echo of NV, I.i.12.

The VS I.i.7 *sad anityam dravyavat kāryam kāraṇam sāmānyaviśeṣavad iti dravyaguṇakarmaṇām aviśeṣaḥ* has first been hinted at in the *Nyāyabhāgya*. The *Nyāyavārttika* refers to it in I.i.23. Here Vācaspati quotes it in full (241).

In VS *ubhayathā guṇaḥ* I.i.12 Kaṇāda seeks to show that a quality destroys its cause as well as its effect. His commentators present sound as an instance. They say one sound produced at a locus produces similar sounds around it and each new sound in its turn will produce others around itself. The process will go on till the last sound in each series is destroyed. The Vaiśeṣika holds that the succeeding sound destroys the preceding one in the same series. Here Vācaspati adds that the last sound in each series produces no further sound. It destroys its predecessor and is itself destroyed by it. Thus the last and the last but one sound destroy each other. About the rest, there is no fixed rule (596). Udayana in the *Tātparyaparisuddhi* adds here that the last sound has neither the capacity to produce another sound nor does it receive any external aid. Hence it is impotent (*ārambham prati svarūpaśaktisahakāriśaktivaidhuryam antaḥ tadbhave 'ntyaḥ. svarūpaśaktisahakāriśaktivirahavān ity arthaḥ*).

The Vaiśeṣika definitions of *karman* and *guṇa* as given in VS I.i.15 and 16 maintain that both are devoid of qualities. This has been referred to in *nirguṇatvaṃ guṇakarmaṇoḥ* (TT, 240). It may also refer to *guṇādīnām pañcānām api nirguṇatvaniṣkriyatve* (PDS, p. 120). Here Vācaspati in the Vaiśeṣika fashion adds that momentariness is found in common in substance, quality and action.

The *Tātparyaṭīkā* I.i.23 refers to the expression *viśeṣapratyakṣāt* in some Vaiśeṣika definition (p. 254). This evidently refers to the definition of doubt in the *Vaiśeṣikadarśana—sāmānyapratyakṣāt viśeṣāpratyakṣād viśeṣasmṛteś ca saṃśayaḥ* (II.ii.19.)

While explaining NS.I.i.5 Vācaspati incidentally remarks—*dvividham eva hi dravyam — adravyam anekadravyaṃ ca. adravyam paramāṇvādi. anekadravyam ca ghaṭādi* (155). This seems to be a quotation from some earlier work. Vyomaśiva quotes a *vacana* presumably of an earlier authority to the same effect — *tathā adravyam dravyam anekadravyam ca dravyam iti vacanavyāghātaḥ. tathā hi na vidyate janyam janakam ca dravyam ity adravyam. paramāṇūnāṃ janakam nāsti ākāśādīnām janyaṃ nāpi janakam ity adravyam. nityadravyam iti yāvat. anekadravyam tu anekadravyam janakam asye'tyanena svarūpeṇa dvividham. evam dravyam adravyam nityam. anekadravyajanyam kāryam iti* (*Vyomavatī*, p. 231). The *Nyāyamañjarī* also refers to *adravya* and *anekadravya dravyas*: *adravyam vā bhavati dravyam, ākāśaparamāṇvādi anekadravyam vā dvyaṇukādi kāryadravyam* (NM. I, p. 210). Similarly Vādirāja in the *Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa* (p. 367) refers to the same: *adravyam dravyam, anekadravyam ca dravyam.* The dictum possibly comes from some lost Vaiśeṣika work. The *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* refer to *adravya* (II.i.11, 13 & IV.i.7) and *anekadravya* (IV.i.6 & 9).[6] Candrānanda (II.i.11) quotes *dravyam hy adravyam anekadravyaṃ ca* and illustrates the same in *dravyam hi adravyam paramāṇvādi. anekadravyam ca ghaṭādi.* This may be a distant echo of Vācaspati.

Vācaspati (278) follows Uddyotakara when he reads VS.II.ii., 34 as *Kāraṇato vikārāt.* Here Abhayatilaka and Candrānanda follow this old reading. But Śaṅkaramiśra divides it into two sūtras, *anityaś cāyam kāraṇataḥ na cā'siddham vikārāt* (II.ii.28-9). It may be added here that *anityas cā'yam* and

6. The *Yuktidīpikā* (p. 87) also refers to this Vaiśeṣika-division of *dravya* into *adravya* and *anekadravya*.

na cā'siddham have come down from some earlier *Vṛtti* in Śaṅkara's version.

In the above connection Uddyotakara uses: *kāraṇato vikārād ity evamādeḥ*. Here Vācaspati (278) discloses the significance of the expression *ādi* in *ādiśabdena ca sataḥ śabdasya abhivyaktau doṣād ity evam ādayo grāhyāḥ*. Here *abhivyaktau doṣāt* is VS II.ii.55. Vādīndra omits *abhivyaktau* (M.I.Edn., p.32). Candrānanda (GOS Edn.) reads *abhivyaktau tu doṣāt*. But the editor took *abhivyaktau tu* as part of the *Vṛtti*. Śaṅkaramiśra here preserves the reading of Vācaspati (VS, Bibl. Ind. ed. II. ii. 30).

Vācaspati (95) refers to a very widespread philosophical tenet accepted by the Vaiśeṣikas and some non-Vaiśeṣikas alike when he says that sound is the specific attribute of ether (*ākāśa*). The same view is there in the *Niruktapariśiṣṭa* as well as in the *Raghuvaṃśa* XIII.1 of Kālidāsa. Vācaspati adds that the ear is actually a portion of ether (*ākāśa*) inside the ear-cavity. Here he gives the current Vaiśesika view.

VS. II. ii.36 (*saṃyogād vibhāgāt śabdāc ca śabdaniṣpattiḥ*) counts the three sources of sound, *viz.*, conjunction, disjunction and sound. Here Vācaspati adds that the first sound in the series alone can be produced by conjunction and disjunction (*ādyasyaiva śabdasya saṃyogavibhāgajatvam* (95). He implies thereby that the subsequent sounds in the series are all produced from other sounds. Again he adds that sound spreads in all the directions in various series and some sound in one of the series is produced in the ear-cavity which is nothing but *ākāśa*. It is transient and during its short existence it inheres in that *ākāśa* (*santānena śrotre śamutpādaḥ samavāyaḥ* (95).

Śaṅkaramiśra enumerates three kinds of contradictory (*virodhi*) signs which lead to valid inference in

1. *virodhy abhūtam bhūtasya* III.i.11.
2. *bhūtam abhūtasya* III.i,12.
3. *Bhūto bhūtasya* III.i,13.

Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra adds a fourth—*abhūtam abhūtasya* (MI Edn., III, i, 16) and this addition is justified by Candrānanda by counting all of them as parts of the same sūtra (III. i.8). Vācaspati accepts all the four and incidentally preserves brief comments on each from some earlier commentary: *api ca bhūtaṃ varṣam abhūtasya vāyvabhrasaṃyogasya katham virodhi? taddhi tadanukūlam*

eva. evam abhūtam api varṣaṃ bhūtasya vāyvabhrasaṃyogasyāpratikālam. evam bhūto nakulajayo na bhūtasya sarpaparājayasya virodhi, nāpi abhūto 'sau abhūtasya virodhī. yeṣām punar virodhas teṣām anyatamad anyatamasya na liṅgam api tu pratikṣepakam eva (138). In *Tātparyaṭīkā* II, ii, 7 Vācaspati refers to the opposite sign of inference as given in the Vaiśeṣika śāstra. He says that the idea of non-occurrence of a shower can serve as the sign for the inference of a contact between air and the clouds. This clearly refers to VS II.i.11 given above.

In VS IV. i. 1, the readings vary in the different recensions. Śaṅkaramiśra (Bibl. Ind. Edn. p. 193) and Bhaṭṭavādīndra (M.I. edn. p. 43) read *sad akāraṇavan nityam*. It is supported by the *Hetubinduṭīkā* (77 & 144), *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* (p. 514) on Brahmasūtras, *Āptaparīkṣāṭīkā* (p. 4), *Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa* I (p. 413), *Sanmatiṭīkā* (pp. 647, 656, 731), *Patraparīkṣā* (p. 4), *Dharmottarapradīpa* (p. 196), *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* (p. 269) and *Nyāyāgamānusāriṇī* (p. 523). One ms. of Candrānanda's *Vṛtti* accepts this reading while the other gives *sad akāraṇavat tan nityam* (GOS Edn., p. 32). Vācaspati refers to this sūtra in the *Tātparyaṭīkā*, III. ii. 7. and reads *sad akāraṇaṃ nityam* (p. 915) and again refers to it in IV.i.21 *sadakāraṇavattayā*.... (p. 953). But he does not seem to give the exact reading in either case.

NS 1.i.4 mentions contact between the sense-organ and its object as a condition of perception (*indriyārthasannikarṣotpannam* etc.). Vātsyāyana finds the definition inadequate though it gives the most significant condition of sense-perception (Cf. *nedam karaṇāvadhāraṇam etāvat pratyakṣe kāraṇam iti* —NB. 1.i.4). Uddyotakara here counts the remaining conditions. They are soul-mind contact, mind-sense contact, object-light contact, colour in the object, colour in the eye as well as in the light itself, big size of the object, its being composed of many components and having manifestness in its colour (NV, p. 98). Here the last three conditions come from VS IV. i. 6. Vācaspati adds that either of the expressions *mahattva* or *anekadravyavattva* will suffice and both are not required. For, having parts composed of many units is possible in the case of a big object. No binary (*dvyaṇuka*) nor atom (aṇu) has parts each of which is composed of many units. Hence one expression is required and the other necessarily follows. The eye-ball of the cogniser made of tejas-particles have all the conditions except mainfest

colour. Still it is not visible to him. Hence having manifest colour and touch is an indispensable condition in occular perception (98). — *mahattvam vā anekadravyavattvam vā. anekadravyā avayavās tadvattvam avayavino mahata eva na dvyaṇukasya. tasmād anyonyanirapekṣitvam mahattvānekadravyavattvayor iti vikalpa eva nyāyya iti. satyˀ apy evaṃlakṣaṇatve cakṣuravayavinas taijasasya na cākṣuṣatvam ity ata uktam — upalabdhiphalaḥ saṃskāra iti dharmādharmanimitta udbhavasamkhyātaḥ saṃskāra upalabdhiphalaḥ. na cāsau cakṣuṣi. tasyā ˀdṛṣṭavaśenānudbhūtarūpasparśavattvāt ity arthaḥ* (98). Vācaspati refers to this Vaiśeṣikasūtra in *Tātparyaṭīkā* IV. i. 11: *nanu bhavatu śarīraṃ pṛthivyādi ca vyaktam mahatvānekadravyavattvarūpa-viśeṣebhyaḥ* (933). Again we find him quoting the sūtra in full in *Tātparyaṭīkā* I.i.5 (165). Perception of action also has been described in *Tātparyaṭīkā* I.i.5: *Karmaṇo hi mahattvāropaviśeṣaikārthasamavāya upalabdhilakṣaṇaprāptiḥ pratyakṣopalabdhiyogyatā.* Here Vācaspati had *saṃkhyāḥ parimāṇāni pṛthaktvaṃ saṃyogavibhāgau paratvāparatve karma ca rūpidravyasamavāyāc cākṣuṣāṇi* (VS IV.i.12) in his mind.

A reference to *pratyakṣāpratyakṣāṇām apratyakṣatvāt saṃyogasya pañcātmakatvam na vidyate* (VS IV.ii.1) is made when Vācaspati says *pratyakṣāpratyakṣavṛtter vāyvanaspatisaṃyogād apratyakṣatvaprasaṅgād dehasya* in the *Tātparyaṭīkā* I.i.11 (196). The same Vaiśeṣikasūtra is again hinted at in *na ca pratyakṣāpratyakṣavṛttiḥ saṃbandhaḥ pratyakṣaḥ* (41).

Uddyotakara refers to Vaiśeṣikasūtra V. ii. 3 *apāṃ saṃyogābhāve gurutvāt patanam* in *vidhārake vāyvabhrasaṃyoge sati gurutvapratibandhād apām pātaḥ pratiṣiddhaḥ* (*apātaḥ prasiddhaḥ*—variant) in NV. II.ii.1. Vācaspati explains this in *apām pātapratyanikasya apātasya grahaṇāt tadvirodhinaḥ pātavirodhino vāyvabhrasaṃyogasya grahaṇaṃ pramiyate hi meghodaye ˀpi toyapātābhāvena vāyvabhrasaṃyoga iti* (574).

VS VII.ii.31 in Candrānanda's text stands as *taittvaṃ ceti*. Śaṅkaramiśra reads *tattvam bhāvena*. The latter seems to follow Uddyotakara who reads it as *tattvam bhāvena vyākhyātam* (NV I.i.5, p. 160). Vācaspati explains it in *tattvam ekatvam samavāyas bhāvena sattayā vyākhyātam* (1. i. 5. p. 160).

As regards the reading of VS IX.18, authorities differ. Śaṅkaramiśra along with Śrīdhara (*Kandali*, pp. 210 f.) reads— (a)*asye* ˀ*dam* (b) *kāryaṃ karaṇam* (c) *saṃyogi* (d)*virodhi* (e) *samavāyi*

ce 'ti laiṅgikam. Here (a) *asye'dam* is omitted by Jayantabhaṭṭa (*Nyāyamañjarī*, I. p. 106).

(b) Pārthasārathi changes the order and reads *kāraṇaṃ kāryam* (*Śāstradīpikā*, p. 73; *Nyāyaratnamālā*, p. 325).

(c) *Saṃyogi* is changed into *saṃbandhi* by Candrānanda, Pārthasārthi and Vācaspati.

(d) *Virodhi* is replaced by *ekārthasamavāyi* in Candrānanda, Pārthasārathi and Vācaspati's (p. 138) readings and by *samavāyi* in the *Nyāyakumudacandra* (p. 460) *Nyāyakusumāñjalibodhinī* (II. p. 365) *Vyomavatī* (p. 572), *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* (of Guṇaratna), *Prakaraṇapañcikā* (pp. 68, 96), *Nyāyamañjarī* and the *Nyāyāvatāraṭīkās* of Siddharṣi and Devabhadra. (Vaidya's Edn., p. 35).

(e) *Samavāyi* is changed into *virodhi* in the *Nyāyakumudacandra*, *Nyayakumāñjalibodhinī*, *Vyomavatī*, *Śāstradīpikā*, *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, *Tātparyaṭīkā*, *Nyāyamañjarī* and the *Nyāyāvatāraṭīkās* of Siddharṣi and Devabhadra.

This shows that Udayana's readings support Śaṅkaramiśra, while Vācaspati supports Candrānanda's reading. Pārthasārathi slightly differs from Vācaspati in changing the order in *Kāryaṃ Kāraṇam*. Śalikanātha also is in agreement with Vācaspati except in the change of *saṃyogi* for *saṃbandhi*. Most of the changes are due to an admixture of two sūtras — viz., *saṃyogisamavāyy ekārthasamavāyi virodhi ca* III, i. 9 (Bibl. Ind. edn. p. 146) and *asye'dam kāryam kāraṇam saṃyogi virodhi samavāyi ceti laiṅgikam* IX.ii, 1. Candrānanda explains *saṃbandhi* as *saṃyogi* and thus seems to have shown that Śaṅkara preserves the correct sūtra tradition here.

Vācaspati adds an interesting discussion on the sūtra in question. According to him the Vaiśeṣika definition of invariable concomittance as given here is open to objection. The Vaiśeṣikas of his time accepted four marks only whereas the sūtra counts five, viz., (1) *kārya* (2) *kāraṇa* (3) *saṃbandhi* (4) *ekārthasamavāyi* and (5) *virodhi*. Of these the third one, viz., *saṃbandhi* alone counts as the rest are covered by it. It cannot be said, adds Vācaspati, that the mention of the additional marks is justified in as much as they restrict the unwarranted stretch (*atiprasakti*) of the term *saṃbandhi*. In that case the four additional marks should constitute the definition and the mark *saṃbandhi* with a wider connotation could be spared (138). It is not clear how and when the theory of fourfold mark was

accepted in the Vaiśeṣika school. The *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* of Praśastapāda, it may be mentioned here, took *asyedam* alone as the definition and all the other marks mentioned in the Sūtra were taken as illustrative. *Śāstre kāryādigrahaṇam nidarśanārtham kṛtam, nāvadhāraṇārtham. kasmāt ? vyatirekadarśanāt.* (*Padārthadharmasaṃgraha*. Chowkhamba edn. p. 562).

We have seen before that Vācaspati knows Praśastapāda and quotes him. It is difficult to say why there is this difference and why Vācaspati kept silent on Praśastapāda's contention.

In *aśvo 'yam viṣāṇitvāt* (297) Vācaspati seems to refer to VS *viṣāṇī tasmād aśvaḥ*. iii. i. 12.

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KĀLIDĀSA AND THE DHVANI THEORY

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The dhvani theory was formulated in the 9th century A.D. several centuries after the works of Kālidāsa had gained recognition for their literary value. It is, therefore, to be expected that the most outstanding critical work in the theory of Sanskrit poetics should have dealt with the style and literary technique of the best Sanskrit poet. The practice of critics evaluating the known literature was, however, not a very accepted one in Sanskrit literary history till later times and it dates back to the period of Vāmana, who was the first to examine the existing literature of the time critically about a century earlier than Ānandavardhana. It is, indeed, surprising that renowned theorists of poetics such as Bharata, Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha made no attempt in their treatises to inquire into and formulate their principles of literary evaluation on the basis of the writings of their contemporaries or even earlier authors, although their observations seem to be based on some tradition[1] which cannot be recognised from the available literary sources.

The relationship between writers and critics has an important bearing on the standards of criticism and the evolution of poetical theory and this is no less true of Sanskrit literature. The reticence on the part of the earlier theorists (excepting of course Yāska, who analysed the language and stylistic devices of the *Rgveda* in certain aspects) leaves us with the impression that Sanskrit literary critics either speculated without any reference to the existing usages in literature or ignored such works as existing in their time for their contemporaneity. Theoretical concepts thus formulated appear to be lacking in a practical literary bias and this has led many scholars to believe that Sanskrit poetics is merely a theoretical discipline. At least, in the case of Kālidāsa, the scrutiny of his works by Sanskrit critics is of a substantial nature for us to study the impact of his

1. Both Bharata and Daṇḍin refer to previous theorists whose identity is not known.

art and literary technique on the evolution of critical standards especially in respect of the dhvani theory.

Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*, refers to the genius of Kālidāsa in glowing terms[2] and takes up for analysis certain passages, descriptions, idioms and images from the full range of his writings to elucidate and illustrate the various aspects of the dhvani theory. For instance, Ānandavardhana alludes to the description of the Himālayan scenery in the *Kumārasambhava*, and the life of the sages in this setting as invested with distinct charm and novelty (*apūrvatva*)[3] by Kālidāsa's narrative technique whereby the inexhaustible resourcefulness (*pratibhānantya*) of the poet is combined with increasing freshness of diction (*navatva*) in the handling of even a very common theme.[4] He cites from the same poem to illustrate how poetic ability (*śakti*) can make up for any alleged impropriety (*anaucitya*) which some may conceive as lack of good taste (*ayutpatti*) in the portrayal of the nuptial scene of Śiva and Pārvatī. He also criticises the inordinate use of images for their own sake and not as an element (*aṅga*)[5] to subserve and heighten the emotion. To exemplify the role of the image in this respect, he quotes a very appropriate verse from the *Śākuntala* (Act.I.v.21). He also cites from the *Meghadūta* to show how the main divisions of dhvani, i.e., *avivakṣitavācya* (suggestiveness of meaning not conveyed by the expressed sense)[6] and *asaṁlakṣyakrama* (imperceptible process of suggestive meaning)[7] function effectively in poetry. He goes to the extent of finding in the *Śākuntala* and the *Meghadūta* examples for the denotative power of words,[8] declensions,[9] and prefixes,[10] as furthering the suggested sense.

Mallinātha's commentaries throw further light on the suggestive function of Kālidāsa's language and imagery. For in the interpretation of Kālidāsa's poetry he shows that he is not

2. *Dhvl.* I, Vṛtti p. 93 (K.S.S.135)
3. Ibid. IV. Vṛ. p. 539
4. Ibid. ,, ,,
5. Ibid. I. Vṛ. p. 131
6. Ibid. III. Vṛ. p. 511-13
7. Ibid. II. Vṛ. p. 232-33
8. Ibid. III. Vṛ. p. 289
9. Ibid. III. Vṛ. p. 351
10. Ibid. III. Vṛ. p. 353

a mere commentator (*bhāṣyakāra*) cast in the traditional mould, but a literary critic as well, who could delve into the thought of the poet with great insight and bring out the hidden meanings and nuances of words. In the elucidation of the thought and image-content of the *Meghadūta*, Mallinātha makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the poem because he is able to sift the suggestive meanings of words and idioms or allude to the symbolic uses of language in his glosses. In the characterisation of the hero and the heroine and in describing their mutual reactions put in the form of imaginative thoughts of the hero, and, especially, in conveying the undertones of meaning associated with 'word-pictures' of rivers,[11] mountains,[12] winds[13] and even womenfolk[14] with whom the cloud is brought into close relationship in its journey, Kālidāsa demonstrates the suggestive power of poetry with a skilful blend of the visual and auditory effectiveness of words. We are indebted to Mallinātha for bringing out these elements of Kālidāsa's poetic technique in a mature work which reflects a fresh approach to the evaluation of literature by an authoritative commentator.

Perhaps the originality of its theme and presentation merited the penentrating analysis of the language and imagery of the *Meghadūta* by Ānandvardhana and Mallinātha. The *Śākuntala*, too, the best of Kālidāsa's dramas, illustrates equally effectively the suggestiveness of the poet's language, especially, in the verses put into the mouths of the hero and the heroine at significant points in the dialogue. These have also come within the scope of Ānandavardhana's analysis of the constitutents of suggestive expression. The *Kumārasambhava*, the *Raghuvaṃśa* and the remaining dramas are also examined by him for the material they furnish for elucidating relevant aspects of the dhvani theory.

Ānandavardhana's analysis of Kālidāsa's poetry in its suggestive function and the supplementary observations of the poet's language in Mallinātha's interpretations make it possible to assume that the dhvani theory or even an incipient form of it was not unknown to Kālidāsa. His dramas indicate a thorough

11. *Meghadūta*, I. 25, 29, 30, 43-44
12. Ibid. I. 17
13. Ibid. I. 32
14. Ibid.I. 28

knowledge and recognition of the *rasa* theory as formulated by Bharata whom he acknowledges as an authority in the field of dramaturgy. He is also conscious of the applicability of the *rasa* theory to drama which he brings out by introducing certain episodes and scenes illustrative of the close connexion between dance, song and music on the one hand and poetry and drama on the other. If, therefore, the works of Kālidāsa seem to testify to his knowledge of the rasa theory and if, also, the structure of his poems and dramas give striking confirmation of its validity, no less can we see in his use of imagery with a variety of functions, the variations of style and above all the choice of idiom and language, the data for the new principles of literary evaluation put forward after his time. To this period belongs the concept of dhvani which emerged among the linguistic and grammatical schools but later found its true role as the criterion of evaluating literature.

Kālidāsa, as indicated by the examination of several aspects of his language and style in the *Dhvanyāloka*, forms an important link between kāvya and poetical theory, a link which seems to have given the necessary impetus to the growth of a healthy style of literary criticism in Sanskrit. Abhinavagupta, who wrote the commentary to the *Dhvanyāloka*, called the *Locana*, gave this style the required stability and enriched it further by defending the aesthetic concepts against the criticisms levelled at them by the contemporary logicians and philosophers on the one hand and by a clear analysis of the aesthetic experience based on a study of the theory and the writings of a large range of writers including Kālidāsa[15] on the other. Upto the later decadent stages in the history of Sanskrit poetics this critical outlook on literature, for which these two critics are largely responsible, prevailed and exerted a tremendous influence on the techniques of critical evaluation. Viewed in the context of the dominant role the dhvani theory played in the new trends of criticism, deriving from it and even opposed to it, the impact of Kālidāsa's poetry on the clear formulation of the fundamentals of the dhvani theory must be considered to be more significant than is generally assumed.

15. J. Tilakasiri "Abhinavagupta—The Literary Critic and Commentator (An Assessment)", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XLVII, p. 6.

RĀMĀNANDA AND HIS TEACHER RĀMENDRAVANA

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§1. A collection of Indian manuscripts (mss.) is of importance for the various branches of Indology. Many texts, which are thought to be lost or are as yet unknown, may still be expected to come to light; even the mss. of a known and published text might contain new information. The colophons, scribal remarks, etc. deserve minute observation. The value of a collection manifests itself in a catalogue,[1] more effectively if it is a descriptive catalogue (Cat.) with one or more indices revealing the wealth of the available information. It was only on the basis of catalogues that Theodor Aufrecht could compile his monumental *Catalogus Catalogorum*.[2] Since then many catalogues and lists have appeared, increasing to a great extent the material at our disposal. Hence the progressing project of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC),[3] edited by Professor Dr. Padmabhūṣaṇa V. Raghavan (to whom these lines are respectfully dedicated), deserves appreciation and co-operation.

§2. The collection of the Indian mss. in the erstwhile Prussian State Library at Berlin (PrStB) is rich in every

1. For a detailed list of the published catalogues etc. see Klaus Ludwig Janert: *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*, Part 1 (Wiesbaden, 1965) = Verz. d. Orient. Hss. in Deutschland, hrsg. W. Voigt, Supplementband 1. This pioneer work is an indispensable tool in the field of Indian Manuscriptology. It is abbreviated here as ABCIM, its numbers 1-334 are referred to, which may be consulted for further bibliographical details.

For an earlier detailed list of published Catalogues and unpublished lists of Mss., see V. Raghavan, *Mss., Catalogue, Edn.*, Govt. of India, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 1963 Ed.

2. Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum* (CC), Vol. (1), 2, 3. Leipzig, 1891-1903; reprinted Wiesbaden, 1962. See also ABCIM, no. 6.

3. *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC), an alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors, ed. V. Raghavan, publ. by the University of Madras.

Vol. I. (revised ed.), 1968; II. 1966; III. 1967; IV. 1968, and V. 1969. (Madras Univ. Skt. Ser. 30, 26, 28, 29, 30).—

For Fasc. 1 (1937) and Vol. I (1949) see ABCIM, nos. 230 and 231 respectively.

respect and its value was highly enhanced through the epoch-making Catalogue prepared by Albrecht Weber in his *Verzeichniss*.[4] The Jaina mss. numbering 770, acquired after 1891 by the PrStB, were catalogued by the late Walther Schubring in his *Die Jaina-Handschriften der PrStB*[5]. This German tradition of cataloguing mss. is presently being carried on further in the Indian section of the voluminous undertaking "Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland" edited by Walfgang Voigt. Many parts of this *Verzeichnis* have already been released. Its volume 2, carrying the title *Indische Handschriften* (*Ind. Hss.*), is reserved for the "Indian" Mss. and its volume 10 describes the Sanskrit mss. from "Turfan".[6]

§3. *Ind. Hss., Part* 1, prepared by Dr. Klaus Ludwig Janert[7], now Professor of Indology at Cologne, describes 333 Indian mss. of the collection of the PrStB[8] in a systematic arrangement yielding Serial Nos. 1-492. Ser. Nos. 493-495 treat the *Nachlass* of A. Weber—and has three alphabetical indices. The second index (called 'Register B. Personen') records on p. 274 b:—

"Bhagavatpūjyapāda-śiṣya Rāmendravana : 105, 253". This entry implies that there was a person named Bhagavatpūjyapāda and his pupil was Rāmendravana. The sources for this entry are the colophons in Ser. Nos. 105 and 253 as interpreted by the author of the catalogue.

§4. In this entry the reference to Ser. No. 253 is evidently out of place. The colophon in Ser. No. 253 (*Ind. Hss.* 1, p. 124) runs[9]: iti śrīmat-paramahaṃsa-parivrājakācārya-Rām(e)ṃdravana-bhagavatpūjyapāda-śiṣyeṇa Rāmānaṃdena Caitanya-

4. A. Weber, *Verzeichniss*...Vol.(1):2.1,2,3 (Berlin, 1853-1891). For details see ABCIM, no. 6.

5. Leipzig, 1944, ABCIM, no. 24. This catalogue is but seldom utilised in the NCC.

6. Vol. 10 is called "Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden", ed. E. Waldschmidt and others. Part 1. 1965, and 2. 1968.

7. *Indische Handschriften*. Teil 1, herausgegeben von Walther Schubring (und) beschrieben von Klaus L. Janert (Wiesbaden, 1962). ABCIM, no.217 (where read Band 2. 1).

8. During the second world-war the Library was removed from Berlin and for some time the mss. were deposited at Marburg/Lahn and Tubingen (cf. *Ind. Hss.* 1, pp.286-9). Their transfer to Berlin is presently under consideration, a new building for the Library is being constructed.

vanāparaparyāyeṇa kṛtāyāṃ Kāśikhaṃḍa-ṭīkāyām ekonatriṃśattamo 'dhyāyaḥ.

Thus this colophon does not use the expression of the entry, it writes Rāmendravana-bha° (sic) and conforms to the common usage which is noted below. It may further be noted that this colophon has Rāmānandena Caitanyavanāparaparyāyeṇa.

Moreover, the entry as such is seemingly based on a misunderstanding. A comparision on parallel basis of the colophon in Ser. No. 253 with that in Ser. No. 105 would surely suffice to detect an apparent scribal error in the colophon in Ser. No. 105 and would allow us to read[9] it as follows:—

iti śrīmat-paramahaṃsa-parivrājakācārya-śrīmad-bhagavatpūjyapāda-[śiṣya]-śrī-Rāmeṃdravana-śi(ṣ)yeṇa[10] Caitanyavanāparaparyāyeṇa Rāmānaṃdena kṛtā Kāśikhaṃḍa-ṭīkā samāptā.

This means that in this colophon we have to *delete* the word śiṣya after the term bhagavatpūjyapāda. Note also Caitanyavanāparaparyāyeṇa Rāmānandena in a reversed sequence.

§5. As regards the erroneous writing in the colophon in Ser. No. 105 we have to admit that it occurs also in some other Mss. of the Uttarārdha (i.e. Adhyāya 51-100) of the *Kāśikhaṃḍaṭīkā* by Rāmānanda. In the catalogues at hand we meet with the following mss. of the same :

9. The transcript of the *Ind. Hs.* 1 has been changed a little; [] enclose superfluous akṣaras, () the corrections. See op. cit. p. xii.

10. **Ms.** : —śikhyeṇa.

Catalogue, its number	A[11]	+	B[11]	Folios
1) Janert, Ind. Hss. 1, No. 105	653		351	
2) Weber, Verzeichniss,[12] No.489/91	653		257	
3) Oxford,Bodl.Libr.,[13]No.120/22	629		252	
4) Eggeling, Cat. 10,[14] No. 3639/40	453		252	[705]
5) Ibid, No. 3635/36	413		252	[665]
6) Ibid, No. 3637/38	413		251	[664]
7) Velankar, Cat. BBRAS,[15] No. 903	[413]		[251]	664
8) R. Mitra, Notices,[16] No. 2191			151	[251 ?]

This tabular information would sufficiently demonstrate the close relationship of the enlisted mss. In the case of the mss. of the Pūrvārdha (see column A) the existence of *two*

11. A stands for the Pūrvārdha (i.e. Adhyāyas 1-50) of the Ṭīkā, B for the Uttarārdha (Adhyāyas 51-100); the figures in these columns for the number of folios. The third column gives in some cases the total number of folios.—The first three Mss. are divided into three parts (for binding?).

12. Janert (*Ind. Hss.* 1, p. 49) noted that the folios of the parts a-b of Ser. No. 105 correspond to those of A. Weber's *Verz.* No. 489/90 (sic) as regards their contents. In other words one ms. is an exact mechanical copy of the other.

13. Unfortunately I could not consult Th. Aufrecht's *Cat.*, see ABCIM, no.238. The Index to this by A.B. Keith (Oxford, 1909), where the mss. are described again, supplied the required data. No. 120 (ii +318 +ii) and 121 (ii +309 +ii) have original foliation 1-629; No. 122 (ii +252 +ii) is dated saṃvat 1848.

14. Julius Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Skt. Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, Part 6 (London, 1899), pp. 1330-32. For this important Cat. see ABCIM, no.164.—Eggeling, op.cit. p. 1331b cites the five verses of the Praśasti. No. 3640 has an additional sixth verse in the Praśasti (Kāśyāṃ etc., cf. fn. 15) and a scribal verse :

Bhāgīrathī-miśravareṇa sūriṇā śrī-Vīrasiṃhasya nṛpasya sūnunā /
vilekhito 'yaṃ kila Kāśikhaṇḍaḥ saṭīka, āstāṃ pramude budhānāṃ. //

15. H. D. Velankar, *A descriptive Catalogue of Skt. and Pkt. Mss. in the Library of the BBRAS* (Vol. 1-4, Bombay, 1925—30), pp. 278-9, No. 903. See ABCIM, no. 33.—It may be added here that in this ms. there is a post-colophon verse :

Kāśyāṃ śrī-Puruṣottamena viduṣā Bhaṭṭena.....
Rāmānanda-muīndravarya-kṛtayā Gūḍhārthayā ṭīkayā
samyaksaṃkalitaṃ hitāya viduṣāṃ śrī-Kāśikhaṇḍaṃ mahat.

This verse occurs also in Cat. IO, No. 3640 (see fn. 14), thus pointing to a closer relationship between these two mss.

16. Rājendralāla Mitra, *Notices of Skt. MSS*.....Vol. 6 (Calcutta, 1882), pp. 255-6, No. 2191. For other volumes of this Cat. see ABCIM, no. 219.—The figure 151 (in *Notices*) is most probably a misprint. Read 251.

original sources, one having 653 folios[16], the other having 413 ones, is evident. The seven mss. of the Uttarārdha (see column B, 2-8) are still more interesting; they have the concluding colophon under consideration and a remarkable consistency as far as the number of the folios is concerned. On the basis of this nearly constant figure of the folios (252 and 251 each occuring thrice, 257 only once) we can with confidence reaffirm the judgement of J. Eggeling that "it can, indeed, scarcely be doubted that all these mss. were ultimately derived from the same original ms."[17] This opinion was supported also by A.B. Keith in his *Index* (p. 16a)[18]. Even the ms. described by Janert (*Ind. Hss.*1, Ser. No. 105; see column B, 1) seems to belong to the same group as it agrees with these seven mss. in exhibiting the peculiar scribal oddity.

§6. The two colophons in Ser. No. 105 and 253 (see 4) tell us that the author of the commentary in the respective Ms. is Rāmānanda, who calls himself also Caitanyavana.[18] He shortens his name as Rāma in the fifth verse of the Praśasti,[19] wherein he gives also his genealogy. The verse runs:

āsīt Kaśyapa-vaṃśa-bhūṣaṇa-maṇir mānyo Mukunda-priyo
viprōdāra-Gadādharasya tanayaḥ Śuklāmbaraḥ sanmatiḥ
Gandharvī-jaṭhare tataḥ samabhavac chrī-Rāma-nāmā sutas
teneyaṃ vihitā hitāya viduṣāṃ ṭikā budhair vīkṣyatām.

Some words of this verse have been interpreted differently by modern scholars. V. Raghavan (*NCC* IV, p. 122b) says : "Rāmānanda alias Caitanyavana, son of Gandharvī and Śuklāmbara, .. grandson of Gadādhara".[20] Aufrecht,[21] Weber,[22] and Janert[23] take Mukundapriya to be the name of his father, Janert[22] con-

17. J. Eggeling, *Cat.* 10, p. 1331a.

18. Aufrecht (*CC* I, p. 190a) takes Caitanyavana to be a title of Rāmānanda (*ibid.* p. 520b he omits Cai.). See now *NCC* IV, p. 122b.

19. The full Praśasti (vss. 1-5) is quoted in *Cat.* 10, p. 1331b. *Ind. Hss.* 1, p. 40 drops vss. 2-3 The ms. described by Velankar (*Cat. BBRAS*, No. 903) omits the fifth vs., but adds the additional vs. after the colophon, see fn. 15.

20. Only Aufrecht (*CC* I, p. 520b) understands Rāmānanda to be a grandson of Rāmendravana; perhaps wrongly.

21. Aufrecht, *CC* I, p. 458b and p. 520b.

22. Weber, *Verzeichniss* 1. 1853, p. 145,fn..**.

23. Janert, *Ind. Hss.* 1, p. 40.

sidering Śuklāmbara as its adjective. According to some of the authorities[24] Rāmānanda had a teacher (*ācārya*) whose name was Caturbhuja (*NCC* : C. Bhaṭṭa).

§7. In the first verse of the Praśasti another teacher named Devendra or Surendra is referred to, he is identified by Eggeling and Aufrecht (*CC* I, p. 262a) with Rāmendravana. The colophons under consideration do mention Rāmendravana, they call him bhagavatpūjyapāda. The term bhagavatpūjyapāda (or, bhagavatpāda) usually follows the name of the person concerned (see above the colophon in Ser. No. 253) and is an honorofic title, it occurs as such in some other cases too. Compare for instance in the same catalogue (*Ind. Hss.* 1):-

(1) Govinda-bhagavatpūjyapāda in the colophons in Ser. Nos. 27 and 393, 394, 395, 396, and 397;
(2) Śaṃkara-bhagavatpāda in the colophon in Ser. No. 390; and
(3) Śaṃkara-bhagavat in the colophon in Ser. No. 27.

Under these circumstances one would better drop the entry "Bhagavatpūjyapāda-śiṣya Rāmendravana", the starting point of our reflections.

§8. This is not to deny the fact that in some cases an honorific title gets currency as if it were the name of an author. We can cite here an instance from the Jaina literature. Pūjyapāda, which is a similar title, is often taken to be the name of the author of

(1) the *Samādhi-śataka* (or,- *tantra*)[25],

(2) the *Sarvārthasiddhi*, a commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra*[26],

(3) the *Jainendra-vyākaraṇa* (or, *Pañcādhyāyī*)[27] etc.

His real name was Devanandi (also spelt Devanandī, °nandin), and he was also called Jinendrabuddhi. A verse occuring in an inscription dated śaka-saṃvat 1085 refers to the supposed origin of this usage :

24. Weber, *loc. cit.* (see fn. 21). Eggeling, *op. cit.*, p. 1330b. Aufrecht, *CC* I,P. 178a and p. 320b. Raghavan, *NCC* IV, p. 122b.

25. See H. D. Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa* 1 (*JRK*), Poona, BhORI, 1944. p. 421a. See ABCIM, no. 330.

26. See *JRK*, pp. 155-6, and W. Schubring, *Jaina-Hss.* PrStB (see fn.5), No. 684.

27. See *JRK*, p. 146a and *CC* I, p.208.

yo Devanandi-prathamābhidhāno
buddhyā mahatyā sa Jinendrabuddhiḥ /
śrīpūjyapādo 'jani devatābhir
yat pūjitaṃ pādayugaṃ yadīyaṃ // (10)
..sa Pūjyapāda-munipaḥ pūjyo munīnāṃ gaṇaiḥ/(11).[28]
For further details one may refer to the Hindi article "Devanandi kā Jainendra vyākaraṇa" by Pt. Nāthūrām Premī.[29]

9. After this digression we may return to our starting point. *Ind. Mss.*1, Ser.No. 253 [Gangā-sahasranāma-(stotra)[30]] is a ms. of the 29th Adhyāya of the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* belonging to the *Skandapurāna* which is available in Ser. No. 105, both of these mss. containing a commentary[31] by Rāmānanda, alias Caitanyavana. They could have been equally assigned adjacent serial numbers. Hence we may be allowed to conclude with a query.

Is the systematic arrangement of a catalogue of such compelling nature that the mss. containing the whole and the part of one and the same text have to be registered in different sections corresponding to their respective contents?

Or, is the homogeneousness of the text to be given preference above other considerations which arise while arranging a catalogue of mss.?

28. See *Jainasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, bhāga 1, ed. Hīrālāl Jain (Bombay, Māṇik. Dig. *Ser.* 28. 1928), p. 25 (and also bhūmikā, p. 141).

29. See Nāthūrām Premī, *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihās* (Bombay, 2nd ed., 1956), pp. 22-55.

30. See *CC* I, p. 104, p. 140b, and p. 520b. See now *NCC* IV, pp. 121-4, for Gangā-sahasranāmastotra p. 123b.—Rāj. Mitra, *Notices* 8, 1886, No. 2565 registers a commentary on this 29th Adayāya; its ascription to Govindarāma is most probably wrong.

31. Rāj. Mitra, *Notices* 6, p.256 *Cat.* 10, p. 1331b; *Cat. BBRAS*, p. 279; and *Ind. Mss.* 1, p. 49 reproduce the fourth Praśasti verse. Its first line runs, with some variations: sakośā ca vikośā ca dve ṭīke likhite mayā.
Instead of vikośā we find also akośā.
This means that Rāmānanda wrote *two* commentaries on the *Kāśikhaṇḍa*, one *with*, the other *without* lexicographical citations. None of the catalogues consulted by us has specified whether the ms. described contains the one or the other. For editions of Rāmānanda's *Kāśikhaṇḍa-ṭīkā* see now *NCC* IV, p. 122a (Ptd. 1, 3-5).—
Cat. IO, No. 3641 (an incomplete ms.) has a commentary bearing the title *Bhāvārthadīpikā* or *Dīpikā* by Rāmānanda, who is also called Rāmaśarman or Rāmanātha. Is this author identical with our Rāmānanda? *NCC* IV, p. 123a does not draw any distinction.

A POINT FOR THE TEXT CRITIC

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Hariṣeṇa has the following verses in the Praśasti of his *Bṛhat-kathākoṣa*[1] :

नवाष्टनवकेष्वेषु स्थानेषु विषु जायतः ।
विक्रमादित्यकालस्य परिमाणमिदं स्फुटम् ॥११॥
शतेष्वष्टसु विस्पष्टं पञ्चाशदधिकेषु च ।
शककालस्य सत्यस्य परिमाणमिदं भवेत् ॥१२॥
संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे वर्तमाने खराभिधे ।
विनयादिकपालस्य राज्ये शक्रोपमानके ॥१३॥
एवं यथाक्रमोपेतेषु कालराज्येषु सत्सु को ।
कथाकोशः कृतोऽस्माभिर्भव्यानां हितकाम्यया ॥१४॥

Their meaning is obvious. The author composed, for the benefit of the Bhavyas, i.e., the pious souls, this *Kathākoṣa* at the time, i.e., in the year 989 of the Vikramāditya Era and in the year 853 of the Śaka Era while the Saṁvatsara was Khara and in the kingdom of Vinayādikapāla. It was already shown by me that the contemporary ruler was Vināyakapāla of the Gurjara Pratihāras.

The point before the Text Critic is how to get the meaning Vināyakapāla out of the available reading Vinayādikapālasya.

Dr. G. C. Choudhari[2] suggests 'that the reading, i.e. Vinayādikapālasya should be corrected as Vināyakādipālasya instead of the correction Vināyādikapālasya which is certainly more meaningful in the light of the History of the Pratihāras of Kanauj.' Likewise, Dr. H. L. Jain, rather

1. *Bṛhat-kathākoṣa*, Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, 17, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay, 1943., see pp. 355-6, Intro. pp. 101, 121 ff.

2. *Political History of Northern India from Jaina Sources*, Amritsar 1963, pp. 43 f.

summarily, observes thus : 'In my opinion, the text should be corrected as Vināyakādipālasya which removes all difficulty.[3]

No additional ms. material is produced by either of these scholars for the proposed correction. The available mss. uniformly read Vinayādikapālasya. 'The aim of a critical editor is to give as far as practicable the original form of a text, i.e., the form in which it was originally brought forth by its author.'[4] Secondly, an editor cannot have a drastic change in any reading simply because he is bent on getting some meaning he wants. Thirdly, if, as these scholars propose, the author's reading was Vināyakādipālasya, they do not explain why any copyist should have changed such a 'meaningful' reading into Vinayādikapālasya.

The emendation suggested by me, namely, the author's reading might have been Vināyādikapālasya, is nearer the available reading Vinayādikapālasya than the proposed 'meaningful' correction Vināyakādipālasya. The copyist did not catch what is implied by Vināyādikapālasya; and, as is well known, he is more for recording (what he understands as) correct individual words than correct expressions. Obviously the word Vinaya had a better familiarity with him than Vināya which, if so detached in that expression, means nothing for him.

Then the reading Vināyādikapālasya rightly contains the name of the king Vināyakapāla (=Vināya+ādi+kapāla), as already suggested by me. The difficulties faced by the editor were quite satisfactorily solved by an emendation which has minimal variation from the available reading.

Further, Hariṣeṇa has a confirmed habit of dividing proper names etc. in this manner by inserting *ādi*, *anta*, *pūrva* etc. For instance: *anunagaraṃ Giripūrvakam* (127.206) for Girinagara; *candrāntaṃ Śrutasāgaram* (11.64-5) for Śrutsāgaracandra; *Jina-Vasvādikau dattau* (49.4) for Jinadatta and Vasudatta; *pūrvottarapadāyukta Mathurā* (12.125) for Uttara-Mathurā; *mālāntā Kanakādikā* (5.4) for Kanakamālā; *Rājopapadaṃ gṛham* (9.1) and *Rājapūrvagṛham* (9.2) for Rājagṛham. Such usages of Hariṣena go to confirm the editor's emendation. Its variation from the

3. 'Identification of Vardhamānapura and the Ruler of Avanti in Śaka 705', *Madhyabhārati*, No. III, Jabalpur 1965, p. 13, footnote 3.

4. H.D. Velankar: *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXVI, Bombay 1966, p. 11.

available reading is very little; and it gives us the name of the contemporary king Vināyakapāla (Vināya+ādi+kapāla).

It is for the Text critic to see whether the author's reading was Vinayādikpālasya or Vināyakādipālasya in the light of the evidence available.

PHONOLOGY OF SANSKRIT LOAN-WORDS IN MODERN TAMIL[1]

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The influence of Sanskrit on Tamil is found since the early centuries of the Christian era. In Modern Tamil (Mod. Ta.) we find higher percentage of Sanskrit (Skt.) loans being used in all the dialects of Tamil.

In this paper is treated the phonology of the consonants of the Skt. loans, which occur in Mod.Ta.[2] The vexed problem of the phonology of Tamil, is the variations that exist between the literary and colloquial varieties of the language. There is no difference in the spelling system of the language, and the literary variety is considered to be the Standard Tamil (STa.).

The consonants of the Mod.Ta., and STa., are as follows:

Mod. Ta.	STa.
k, c, ṭ, t, p	k, c, ṭ, t, p
g, j, ḍ, d, b	ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m, ṁ[3]
ṇ, ñ, ṇ, n, m	y, r, l, v, ṛ, ḷ, ṛ
y, r, l, v	s, ṣ, h[4]
ś, ṣ, s, h	

The consonants of Skt. are—

Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless aspirated	Voiced aspirated
k	g	kh	gh
c	j	ch	jh
ṭ	ḍ	ṭh	ḍh
t	d	th	dh
p	b	ph	bh

Semi Vowels	y, r, l, v
Nasals	ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m
Sibilants	ś, ṣ, s
Aspirate	h (voiced)

When compared with the sound system of Skt. we find that in Skt. both aspiration and voicing are distinctive features of the language, whereas in STa. such features do not exist. On the other hand, in Mod.Ta., we have both voiced and voiceless qualities as distinctive features.

The loan-words that are presented here, do have either an Indo-European etymology (Skt. rājan—, >Mod.Ta. rājā 'king') or can be explained from Skt. (Skt. akrama—, >Mod. Ta. əkremʒ 'injustice'. Skt. a—, 'a negative prefix' Skt. krama, 'order'), or they occur in the Vedic and/or classical Skt. literature. (Skt. megha—,>Mod.Ta. mēhʒ 'cloud').

Skt. pustaka—,[5] 'book' [*Harivaṁśa*]>Mod.Ta. 'pustəhʒ' book.

The chart given below shows the phonemic correspondences of the loan-words in Mod.Ta.[6]

	Skt.	Mod.Ta.		
		Initial	Intervocal (between vowels)	after nasal
1.	k	k	h	g
2.	kh	k	k	g
3.	g	g	h	g
4.	gh	g	h	g
5.	ṅ	none	ṅ	none
6.	c	c	none	j
7.	ch	c	none	j
8.	j	j	j	j
9.	jh	none	none	none
10.	(MIA) ñ	ñ	ñ	none
11.	ṭ	none	ḍ	none
12.	ṭh	none	ḍ	none
13.	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ
14.	ḍh	none	ḍ	none
15.	ṇ	none	ṇ	none
16.	t	t	d	d
17.	th	t	d	none
18.	d	d	d	d
19.	dh	d	d	d
20.	n	n	n	none
21.	p	p	b	b
22.	ph	p	b	none
23.	b	b	none	b
24.	bh	b	b	b
25.	m	m	m	m
26.	y	y	y	none

Skt.	Mod.Ta.			
	Initial	Intervocal (between vowels)		after nasal
27. r	r	r		none
28. l	l	l,l		none
29. v	v	v		none
30. ś	s[7]	ś		none
31. ṣ	ṣ	ṣ		none
32. s	s	s		none
33. h	h	h		none

Examples for the above-mentioned correspondences are as follows:—

	Skt	MIA	Mod.Ta.	STa.	Meaning
1.	kārya-,	> >	kāryʒ	kāriyam	'work, favor'
	adhikāra-,	> > >	ədihārʒ	atikāram	'power'
	aṅkuśa-,	> > >	əŋguśʒ	aṅkucam	'iron rod'
2.	khaṇḍana-,	> >	kəɳḍnʒ	kaṇṭanam	'protest'
	nakha-,	> >	nəhʒ	nakam	'finger-nail'
	śaṅkha-,	>	śəng+	caṅku	'conch-shell'
3.	gaṅgā,	>	gəŋge	kaṅkai	'the river Ganges'
	agaurava-	> >	əgəwrəvʒ	akauravam	'dishonour'
	nāgarīka-,	> >	nāhərīhʒ	nākarīkam	'civilization'
4.	ghana-,	> > >	gənʒ	kanam	'heavy'
	megha-,	> >	mēhʒ	mēkam	'cloud'
	samgha-,	>	śəngʒ	caṅkam	'academy, union, club'
5.	iṅgita-,	> >	iŋgidʒ	iṅkitam	'opportune'
6.	candra-,	> > >	cəndrʒ	cantiran-	'moon'
	ruci-,	> > >	ruji	ruci	'taste'
	pañcāṅga-,	> >	pəñjangʒ	pañcāṅkam	'Almanac'
7.	chāya-,	>	śāyəl	cāyal	'resemblance'
	bhikṣā-, > bhicchā > picce			piccai	'alms'
8.	janma-,	>	jənmʒ	janmam	'birth'

Skt.	MIA	Mod.Ta.	STa.	Meaning
9. nija-,	>	nejʒ	nijam	'truth'
añjali,	>	əñjali	añcali	'pray with folded hands'
10. jñāna-,	>ñāna>	ñanʒ	ñānam	'knowledge'
ajñāna-,	>añāna-,>	əñāṉʒ	aññānam	'ignorance'
11. śāṭa-,	>	āḍe	āṭai	'clothes'
12. pāṭha-,	>	pāḍʒ	pāṭa	'lesson'
13. ḍambha-,	>	ḍəmbʒ	ṭampam	'pomp' 'show'
āḍambara-,	>	āḍəmbərʒ	āṭamparam	'pomp'
khaṇḍana-,	>	kəṇḍənʒ	kaṇṭanam	'protest'
14. mūḍha-,	>	mūḍʒ	mūṭan	'fool'
vṛddhi-,	>vaḍḍhi >	vəḍḍi	vaṭṭi	'interest on money invested'
15. śrāvaṇa-,	>	āvəṇi	āvaṇi	'name of a Tamil month'
16. tīrtha-,	>	tīrtɪ[ə]	tīrttam	'drinking water'
niti-,	>	nidi	niti	'justice'
danta-,	>	dəndʒ	tantam	'ivory'
17. sthūṇa-,	>thūṇa	tūṇ	tūṇ	'pillar'
vīthī-,	>	vīdi	vīti	'street, road'
18. dāha-,	>	dāhʒ	tākam	'thirst'
nadī-,	>	nədi	nati	'river'
ānanda-,	>	ānəndʒ	ānantam	'happiness'
19. dhānya-,	>	dānyʒ	tāniyam	'grains'
nidhi-,	>	nidi	niti	'donation'
bandha-,	>	bəndʒ	pantam	'relation-ship'
20. nakha-,	>	nəhʒ	nakam	'finger-nail'
manas-,	>	məṇʒ	manam	'mind'
21. pāpa-,	>pāva>	pāvʒ	pāvam	'sin'
kopa-,	>	kobʒ kovā	kopam	'anger'
sampādya-,	>	səmbādyʒ	campāṭti-yam	'earning'

	Skt	MIA.	Mod.Ta.	STa.	Meaning
22.	phala-,	>	pəlʒ	palan	'result'
	saphala-,	> >	śəbəlʒ	capalan	'fruitful'
23.	bali-,[9]	>	bəli	pali	'human sacrifice'
	abala-,	>	əbəle	apalai	'an orphan'
	kambala-,	> >	kəmbəlʒ	kampalam	'wool'
24.	bhadra-,	> > >	bədrʒ	pattiram	'safety'
	abhiprāya-,	> > >	əbiprāyʒ	apippirāyam	'opinion'
	sambhava-	> > >	səmbəvʒ	campavam	incident'
25.	mithuna-,	>	midunʒ	mitunam	'Gemini of the Zodiac'
	svāmi-,	> >	sāmi	cāmi[10]	'God'
	sammata-,	> >	səmmədʒ	canmatam	'acceptance'
26.	yācaka-,	> >	yājəhʒ	yācakam	'begging'
	bhaya-,	> > >	bəyʒ	payam	'fear'
27.	rātri-,	> > >	rātri	rāttiri	'night'
	bhāra-,	> > >	bārʒ	pāram	'load'
28.	lābha-,	> > >	lābʒ	lāpam	'profit'
	jala-,	> >	jəlʒ	calam, jalam	'water'
	kambala-,	> >	kəmbeḷi	kampali	'wool'
29.	vega-,	> > >	vehʒ	vekam	'speed'
	kavi-	> > >	kəvi	kavi	'poet'
30.	śani-,	> >	śəni	cani	'the planet Saturn'
	pāśa-,	> >	pāśʒ	pācam	'affection'
31.	bhāṣā-,	> > >	bāṣe	pāṣai	'language'
32.	sarpa-,	> >	sərbʒ	carppam	'cobra'
	māsa-,		māsʒ	mācam	'month'
	sreṇī-,	> seni. >	eṇi[11]	eṇi[11]	'ladder'
33.	heṣya-,	>	heṣyʒ	heṣyam	'rumour'
	rahasya-,	>	rəhəsyʒ	rakaciyam	'secret'

We find in Mod.Ta. that the single aspirated stops of the loans are replaced by the unaspirated stops. Intervocally and after nasals, all the stops are not only replaced by the unaspira-

ted stops, but become voiced stops. This is an instance of the assimilation of the loan phonemes into the phonemic system of Mod.Ta.

Unlike Old Tamil, the semi-vowels, r and l do occur in the initial position of a word in Mod.Ta.

Some of the consonant clusters of the Skt. loans do occur in Mod.Ta. Such clusters are:

	Skt.		Mod.Ta.	STa.	Meaning
-pt-	tṛpti-,	>	tripti	tiruptī	'satisfaction'
-st-	pustaka-,	>	pustəhʒ	pustakam	'book'
-ṣṭ-	kaṣṭa-,	>	kəṣṭʒ	kaṣṭam	'difficult'
	naṣṭa-,	>	nəṣṭʒ	naṣṭam	'loss'
-ṣy-	heṣya-,	>	heṣyʒ	heṣyam	'rumour'
-nm-	janma-.	>	jənmʒ	janmam	'birth'
-rk-	tarka-,	>	tərkʒ	tarkkam	'argument'
-rg-	mārga-,	>	mārgʒ	mārkkam	'way, via'
-rtt-	kārttikā-,	>	kārttihe	kārttikai	'the 8th month of the Tamil year'
-rv-	garva-,	>	gərvʒ	karvam	'arrogance'

Skt.-kṣyā- and -kṣ- are replaced by -ṭṣ- in Mod.Ta., and by -ṭṣ- in STa.[12]

kakṣyā-,	>	kəṭṣi	kaṭci	'team, political party'
sākṣin-,	>	sāṭṣi	cāṭci	'witness'

Unlike in Mod.Ta., the initial and medial consonant clusters of the loan-words in STa., are split up by an intrusive vowel a, or i, or u.

The intrusive vowel 'a' occurs if the consonant cluster has the semi-vowel 'r'.

cakra-,	>	ʧəkrʒ	cakkaram	'wheel'

The intrusive vowel 'i' occurs if the consonant cluster has the semi-vowel 'u' or 'r'.

nyāya-,	>	nyāyʒ	niyāyam	'justice'
kārya-,	>	kāryʒ	kāriyam	'work', 'favour'
priya-,	>	priyʒ	piriyam	'affection'
tantra-,	>	təndrʒ	tantiram	'trick'

The intrusive vowel 'u' occurs if the consonant cluster has the semi-vowel 'r' or 'v'.

krodha-,	> krodʒ	kurotam	'enmity'
dveṣa-,	> dveṣʒ	tuveṣam	'hatred'

We find in the examples given above, that in Mod.Ta. medially also the consonant clusters do occur, whereas in STa., they are split up by the intrusive vowels—a tendency found in the history of the language since the early centuries of the Christian era.

FOOT-NOTES

1. This paper was presented for discussion in the Linguistics Section of the 177th Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society held in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., in March, 1967.

By the term Modern Tamil is meant the colloquial variety of the language. The data given here in phonetic transcription are representative of a dialect spoken in South Arcot District, Madras State, India.

I am grateful to Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Professor of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, and Prof. Dr. F.B.J. Kuiper, Director, Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland, who read this paper and made valuable comments.

2. The entire data will appear in the forthcoming monograph on the "Indo-Aryan Loan-words in Modern Tamil".

3. In Mod. Ta. the dental nasal (n) and the alveolar nasal (ṉ) have coalesced into one phoneme, i.e., dental nasal.

Also the alveolar lateral trill (r) and flap (ṟ) have coalesced into one phoneme—(r) alveolar flap.

4. The symbols for j, ʒ, ṣ and h, for the first time in Tamil literature occur in the hymns of Tâyumânavar (1800 A.D.).

5. In the STa., some people do introduce words such as puttakam, 'book', which are neither colloquial nor formal varieties of the language. It has exclusively literary usage, which can be explained as an instance of regressive assimilation (Skt.-st. > MIA.—tth- > Mod.Ta.-tt-).

6. For the convenience of discussion, the single phonemic system—disregarding the allophones of the language—is accepted here.

7. In Mod.Ta. /ʃ/ is found to be in higher frequency than /c/.

8. The brahmin when he talks to another brahmin—whether or not he is educated—uses his own caste dialect. In this environment, a brahmin would use the expression tirtʒ or tũtʒ—'drinking water' as against jalʒ or taṇṇi, 'water for washing purposes'.

Mod. Ta. tũtʒ is probably from MIA.*tũttha—, (possibly even Skt. tũrtha—,—tirtha—,) See, R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* , item 5903.

9. F.B.J. Kuiper considers this word as a foreign word in Skt. See his "Rig-Vedic Loanwords" in *Studia Indologica*, Festschrift fur Willibald Kirfel von Otto Spies, Bonn. 1955. p. 183.

10. Cf. M. B. Emeneau and T. Burrow, *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962.p 33. item 162.

11. This is an early borrowing in Tamil, found to have occurred in Old Tamil (*Perumpāṇārruppaṭai*. line 245).

12. Skt.-kṣyā- > STa.—ṭc—is found in Old Tamil. (Skt. kakṣyā,-> Old Tamil. kaṭci (*Narrinai*. verse 13. line 7), 'nest').

PRĀCĪNĀMALAKA — ITS TRUE MEANING REDISCOVERED

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There have been misconceptions about the meaning of the word prācīnāmalaka used by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*. An attempt has been made in this paper to clear these misconceptions and to decide what it precisely denotes.

Earlier explanations

The context of the usage by Bāṇa is the feeding of the parrot Vaiśampāyana by the queens of king Śūdraka, soon after his arrival in his court. The parrot gives a glowing description of the rich and sumptuous fare that he was served with, in highly polished language worthy of the master poet. Enumerating the delicacies offered to him, the parrot mentions among other things, the prācīnāmalaka, which forms the subject of the present paper. The full text of the speech of the parrot runs thus[1] :

"देव, किं वा नास्वादितम् ? आमत्तकोकिललोचनच्छविर्नीलपाटलकषायमधुरः प्रकाममापीतो जम्बूफलरसः । हरिनखरभिन्नमत्तमातङ्गमुक्तरक्तार्द्रमुक्ताफलवीपि खण्डितानि दाडिमीबीजानि । नलिनीदलहरिन्ति द्राक्षाफलस्वादूनि च चूर्णितानि स्वेच्छया प्राचीनामलकीफलानि । किं वा प्रलपितेन बहुना? सर्वमेव देवीभिः स्वयं करतलोपनीयमानममृतायते ।"

Commentators of the past and editors and translators of modern times, whose works I could have access to, have all explained the word prācīnāmalaka here as denoting either *ripe* āmalaka fruits or *old* āmalaka fruits preserved in honey and sugar, familiarly known as "murabā". The latter interpretation, though less frequently committed to writing, is the one that has gained greater popularity.[2] How old these interpretations are and who were the persons who first conceived them, it is hard to ascertain. Suffice it to say that these interpretations — more particularly, the latter one—have gained such wide and almost universal currency that no one has ever thought of pausing to

consider their accuracy or appropriateness or of calling them into question.

The following will serve as illustrative specimens of the errors and inaccuracies into which our commentators and translators have landed, while handling the interpretation of this word:

(1) Bhānucandra's commentary, which has been subjected to much vehement and well-deserved criticism by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhaṭṭaśrī Mathurānātha Śāstrī in his Caṣaka,[3] explains:

नलिनीति । नलिनी कमलिनी तस्या दलानि पत्राणि तद्वद्धरन्ति नीलानि । द्राक्षेति । द्राक्षा गोस्तनी तस्याः फलानि तद्वत्स्वादूनि मिष्टान्येवविधानि प्राचीनामलकी क्षीरधात्री तस्याः फलानि स्वेच्छया स्वाधीनतया चूर्णितानि मर्दितानि ।

This explanation of prācīnāmalakī as kṣīradhātrī turned out to be a puzzle to me. I tried my utmost to track down the word kṣīradhātrī designating a tree with a view to identify the tree of that name. The simple truth of the matter is, no tree of this appellation appears to exist at all ! The word kṣīradhātrī denotes a 'wet nurse', and has nothing to do with āmalaka of any kind. It is patent that the commentator again nods here.

(2) Mr. M. R. Kale might serve as a representative of a modern commentator and translator. In his Sanskrit commentary, *Bālabodhinī*, he has the following on the significance of prācīnāmalaka[4]: प्राचीनामलकीति साभिप्रायं प्राचीनानामेवामलकीफलानां मार्दवोपादनं, नवीनानि तु कषायबहुलानि । It must be conceded, in fairness to Mr. Kale, that he has faced the problem squarely and made an honest effort to explain prācīna in his own way and not skipped it as the ordinary run of commentators are wont to. Two things emerge clearly from Mr. Kale's note. First, that he takes prācīna here not as *old* fruits (i.e. fruits plucked from trees long ago and preserved by means of preservatives) but takes it as referring to *well-ripened* fruits as against *tender* ones. Second, that at the same time, he appears to subscribe to the generally accepted notion that prācīnāmalaka here refers to āmalaka fruits artificially sweetened with honey, sugar etc. It appears his idea is that the word prācīna has been used here by the poet specifically to suggest ripe mellow fruits, as these alone are fit to be used for being sweetened, as the tender ones

(navināni) are extremely astringent and hence unfit for such treatment.

Mr. Kale thus appears to follow a middle course. The parrot is not speaking of old fruits, but of fully ripe fruits. Ripe fruits are mentioned because they alone are fit for preservative treatment. However, in the ultimate analysis, he too does make the sentence convey the sense of sweetened preserved fruits, though not by construing prācīna as literally meaning it.

One more fact deserves to be mentioned in connection with this explanation given by Mr. Kale. It looks very strange that he should have followed a different line of explanation in his English translation. In the latter, he is obviously thinking of *prācīnāmalakī* as a special kind of āmalaka. His translation runs as follows: "I have crushed (i.e. eaten), as much as I wished, the fruits of *prācīnāmalaka*, which are green like lotus leaves and sweet like grapes." Does this mean that Mr. Kale changed his mind after writing the commentary ?

(3) A third line of explanation has also found favour with many modern interpreters of *Kādambarī*. According to these, *prācīna* means *ripe* and the parrot in the context is speaking of ripe āmalaka fruits. This implies obviously, that according to these scholars, fully ripe āmalaka fruits are green like lotus leaves and sweet like grapes. The English translation of Miss Ridding,[5] the Hindi translation "Vidyotinī' of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Mohana Śāstrī[6] and the free Hindi version of Dr. Vasudev Saran Agarawal[7] follow this line.

(4) Śrī Ṛṣīśvara in his Hindi translation of *Kādambarī* translates prācīnāmalaka as "purāṇī imlī"!

(5) There are a few others, who follow Bhānucandra blindly and do not hesitate to explain prācīnāmalaka as kṣīradhātrī. The Sanskrit commentary *Kalpalatā*[8] of Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācharya and the Sanskrit commentary *Candrakalā*[9] of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Mohana Śarmā in the Chowkhamba edition already referred to are instances. The former commentator gives a different interpretation in his Bengali translation, wherein he has explained prācīnāmalaka as "pānī āmlā"!

True Meaning of Prācīnāmalaka :

The foregoing survey of the variety of interpretations—or misinterpretations!—that have gained currency serve at

least one purpose. They make it clear that there is a positive need for a thorough examination of the whole case before arriving at any definite conclusion regarding the true import of the word prācīnāmalaka. The fact of the matter is that most of the explanations so far given are beside the point. A little consideration of the whole context alone is enough to show that neither of the two chief explanations can fit in with the context. I shall revert to this point when I take up the question of the appropriateness of the various interpretations.

It was a passage from the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* of Vācaspatimiśra that provided the first clue to me for comprehending the right meaning of this much-misinterpreted word. Commenting on the kārikā:

कारणमस्त्यव्यक्तं प्रवर्तते त्रिगुणतः समुदयाच्च ।
परिणामतः सलिलवत् प्रतिप्रतिगुणाश्रयविशेषात् ॥[10]

Vācaspatimiśra writes :

स्यादेतत्, कथमेकरूपाणां गुणानामनेकरूपा प्रवृत्तिरिति । अत आह—परिणामतः सलिलवद् इति । यथा हि वारिदविमुक्तमेकरसमपि ततद्भूविकारान् आसाद्य नारिकेलतालतालीबिल्वचिरबिल्वतिन्दुकामलकप्राचीनामलककपित्थफलरसतया परिणमत् मधुराम्ललवणतिक्तकषायकटुतया विकल्पते एवमेकैकगुणसमुद्भवात् प्रधानं गुणमाश्रित्य अप्रधानगुणाः परिणामभेदान् प्रवर्तयन्ति ।[11]

The kārikā refers to two kinds of activity of Prakṛti before the evolution of the cosmos and after it and then explains the possibility of the emergence of the endless diversities in creation from one and the same Prakṛti by means of the dṛṣṭānta "pariṇāmataḥ salilavat". Elucidating this illustration of the identical rain water assuming a variety of forms and tastes when transformed, like the juice of various fruits, Vācaspatimiśra mentions a number of trees, whose fruits are typical examples of different tastes. In this enumeration of trees, he has cited āmalaka and prācīnāmalaka. The mention of prācīnāmalaka side by side with āmalaka in this context provides a strong evidence to conclude that prācīnāmalaka is a tree different from āmalaka, though as the names indicate, both may belong to the same species.

The statement by Vācaspatimiśra cited above was my sole authority for questioning the commonly accepted interpretation of prācīnāmalaka in the passage from *Kādambarī*.

But since then, I have been able to get the support of no less an authority on Medical science than Caraka and Suśruta for my contention that prācīnāmalaka is a special variety of āmalaka tree and not old or ripe āmalaka, as commonly interpreted. Suśruta, like Vācaspatimiśra, mentions āmalaka and prācīnāmalaka separately in the same sentence leaving no room for doubt of any kind. There are two such references in the *Suśruta saṁhitā*. The first of these references is to be found in the chapter on *rasavijñānīya* devoted to an analytical study of different drugs, on the basis of different rasas. The following are extracts from the context relevant to our present purpose:

अतः सर्वेषामेव द्रव्याण्युपदेक्ष्यामः । तद्यथा—काकोल्यादिः क्षीरधृतवसामज्जशालिषष्टिक...कूष्माण्डप्रभृतीनि समासेन मधुरो वर्गः । दाडिमामलकमातुलुङ्गाम्रातककपित्थकरमर्दबदरकोलप्राचीनामलकतिन्तिडीकोषाम्रकभव्यपारावतवेत्रफललकुचाम्लवेतसदन्तशठदधितक्सुराशुक्तसौवीरकतुषोदकधान्याम्लप्रभृतीनि समासेनाम्लो वर्गः॥[12]

The second reference is to be traced in a subsequent chapter dealing with the properties of different fruits. The chapter opens with a list of fruits.

अत ऊर्ध्वं फलान्युपदेक्ष्यामः तद्यथा—दाडिमामलकबदरकोलकर्कन्धुसौवीरसिन्धितिकाफलकपित्थमातुलुङ्गाम्रातककरमर्दप्रियालनारङ्गजम्बीरलकुचभव्यपारावतवेत्रफलप्राचीनामलकतिन्तिडीकनीपकोषाम्रार्मीकाप्रभृतीनि ॥[13]

Later, the properties of āmalaka and prācīnāmalaka are described separately. About āmalaka, Suśruta says:—

अम्लं समधुरं तिक्तं कषायं कटुकं सरसम् ।
चक्षुष्यं सर्वदोषघ्नं वृष्यमामलकीफलम् ॥
हन्ति वातं तदम्लत्वात् पित्तं माधुर्यशैत्यतः ।
कफं रूक्षकषायत्वात् फलेभ्योऽम्बधिकं च तत् ॥[14]

A little further on, we have the following regarding prācīnāmalaka: गरदोषहरं नीपं प्राचीनामलकं तथा ।[15]

In the *Carakasaṁhitā* too, prācīnāmalaka and āmalaka are separately mentioned, while discussing the properties of different fruits under फलवर्ग. About prācīnāmalaka, Caraka has the following verse:—

नीपं सभार्गकं पीलु तृणशून्यं विकङ्कतम् ।
प्राचीनामलकं चैव दीपघ्नं गरहारि च ॥[16]

After this, Caraka devotes a half verse each to iṅgudī and tinduka fruits and takes up āmalaka, about which he says:—

विद्यादामलके सर्वान् रसान्लवणवर्जितान् ॥
स्वेदमेदःकफोत्क्लेदपित्तरोगविनाशनम् ।
रूक्षं स्वादु कषायाम्लं कफपित्तहरं परम् ॥[17]

The manner of the reference to prācīnāmalaka in both the passages cited above clearly shows that prācīnāmalaka is a separate tree. It is rather surprising therefore that the Hindi translator of Suśruta should have translated prācīnāmalaka as "dried āmalaka".

In view of such convincing evidence from many authorities, it would be a travesty of truth to interpret prācīna in prācīnāmalaka in the passage from *Kādambarī* as denoting old āmalaka fruits preserved artificially or ripe āmalaka fruits. The citations from Vācaspatimiśra, Caraka and Suśruta make it clear that prācīnāmalaka is a different tree, probably belonging to the same species as the āmalaka and those who construed prācīna as an adjective of फलानि in Bāṇa's sentence have all started with a wrong premise.

The different trees have been enumerated by Vācaspatimiśra to illustrate how the same water acquires different tastes in them. This obviously implies that the trees selected bear fruits with different tastes. It follows that the fruits of prācīnāmalaka must be of a taste different from that of the fruits of āmalaka. This is also confirmed by Bāṇa's own statement that prācīnāmalaka fruits are as tasty as grapes. Another noteworthy feature about the list of trees selected by Vācaspatimiśra in the present context is that there are groups of trees, which are closely related to each other. For instance, nārikela, tāla and tālī form a group of monocotyledonous trees; likewise, bilva and cirabilva appear to be related to each other and so are āmalaka and prācīnāmalaka. The underlying idea of diversity of tastes thus gains added emphasis. Vācaspati's idea in choosing such groups would seem to be to point out that even when the trees belong to one and the same or closely related families, there is a gulf of difference in their tastes. Āmalaka, for instance, is astringent in taste; but

prācīnāmalaka, if we believe the testimony of Bāṇa, has the delectable taste of sweet grapes.

Other interpretations inappropriate

I hope the evidence adduced above is sufficient to clinch the issue that the word prācīnāmalaka denotes a tree different from the usual āmalaka. In fact, a careful study of Bāṇa's passage itself could convince one that the stock explanations given by the commentators have all gone wide of the mark. Bāṇa has referred to two distinguishing characteristics of the fruits: first that they are *green like lotus leaves* and second, that they are *tasty like grapes*. To my mind, Bāṇa's object in employing the two attributes is clear enough. It is just to distinguish prācīnāmalaka from the usual āmalaka that he has explicitly stated its colour and taste, so that people should *be in no* doubt about what he wants to convey. Āmalaka fruits are *neither green like lotus leaves nor do they bear even a semblance of the taste of grapes*, however ripe they may be. Even the ripe mellow fruits, do not answer such a description. The natural colour of the fruits is faint yellow or whitish yellow with a light tint of green and oftentimes with practically no tinge of green at all. At any rate, their colour is quite different from the colour of lotus leaves and one is not liable to mix up the two colours. What has been said of the disparity in their colours is equally true of the disparity in their tastes.

So much for the interpretation of prācīna as ripe. I now take up the other common interpretation that makes the word refer to old āmalaka fruits, i.e. fruits preserved artificially. This interpretation tells its own tale and does not need much argument to be repudiated.

It would not be out of place here to add a word about the imagery employed by Bāṇa in this context. It is a tribute to Bāṇa's spontaneous art that he made his parrot speak a language that is in perfect unison with his (i.e. the parrot's) nature and nurture. This is the real secret behind the art that makes the parrot accustomed to wild natural forest life describe the fare served to him by comparisons drawn from wild life. Witness, for instance, the upamāna of the eye of the merry cuckoo for describing the colour of the juice of jambūphala,

the lotus leaf to point to the kind of green shade of prācīnāmalaka fruits and the white pearls dyed partly red with the blood from the wild elephant's temples broken open by lions' claws for describing the pomegranate grains with their charming admixture of red and white. I hope nothing more need be said for discarding the older interpretations of prācīnāmalaka once for all.

Why prācīna?

From the foregoing discussion, it may be taken as settled that prācīna in prācīnāmalakīphalāni is not an attribute of phalāni denoting either their ripeness or oldness and that it must be construed as an attribute of the tree āmalakī denoting different species of the tree. But then, it would be quite pertinent to ask, what is the significance of the word prācīna in prācīnāmalakī according to this interpretation? In what sense can the tree āmalakī be called prācīna? An acceptable solution for this has to be arrived at before the problem can be taken as settled.

The answer to this question is not far to seek. The word prācīna in Sanskrit also means eastern. My submission is that prācīna in prācināmalakī has been used in this sense. This would mean that prācīnāmalakī denotes a special kind of āmalaka tree, whose natural habitat is eastern India. Such an interpretation agrees well with the tentative identification of the tree with the variety known as "pūrvyā āmlā" proposed by me in the further section of this paper. The word "pūrvyā" too points to the association of the fruit with the east. Perhaps the appellation "pūrvyā āmlā" is just a distant echo of prācīnāmalaka, preserved by the common folk.

I understand that the variety known as "pūrvyā āmlā" is a product of grafting. It is not impossible that this new variety was first evolved in the eastern part of the country and hence happened to be designated by people in the rest of the country as "prācīna-āmalaka" or eastern āmalaka and the variety ultimately happened to acquire this appellation. Two points are noteworthy in this connection. First, the parrot which makes this reference speaks from Ujjayinī in the western part of the country and hence the reference to eastern āmalakī would

be quite proper. Second, Bāṇa, the author, hailed from the eastern part of the country. It is quite likely that he was very familiar with this superior variety of āmalakas, as is borne out by the precision with which he speaks of its colour and taste.

Identification of prācīnāmalaka

The difficulties inherent in the proper identification of prācīnāmalaka must be already patent from what has been said above. The various conflicting views of commentators and translators set out above clearly prove that the tradition regarding prācīnāmalaka, had long been lost in our country even to our experts. This incidentally explains why Bhāvamiśra, the author of *Bhāvaprakāśa*, who wrote his medical treatise towards the close of the 17th century felt the need to identify the prācīnāmalaka. The very tone of his writing indicates that by his time, people had forgotten what prācīnāmalaka was. He writes:—प्राचीनामलकं लोके पानीयामलकं स्मृतम् ।[12]

When prācīnāmalaka had thus become a sealed book even to our professional experts, it is no matter for surprise that the lay commentators and translators of *Kādambari* of later days should have been unable to understand the passage in its right perspective. It is only versatile geniuses with a penetrating vision of the world around them and encyclopaedic knowledge of and deep insight into things, who could recover the lost tradition and restore the truth to its pristine position. As for Bāṇa, it is admitted on all hands that he had an all-encompassing vision of the world around him comprehending practically everything under the sun in its cosmic sweep, as has been vouchsafed to us in the familiar dictum—बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत् सर्वम्. It is not surprising, therefore, that commentators of inferior mettle could not grasp the nuances of his diction. It is also in the fitness of things that evidence for the right understanding of Bāṇa should have come from the writings of another great versatile genius, who ranks next only to Śrī Śaṅkarabhagavatpāda among our intellectuals and whose encyclopaedic knowledge of the various branches of our ancient learning has very rarely been matched.

The different commentators of Vācaspatimiśra's work and

the commentators of Caraka and Suśruta have added to the prevailing confusion by their conflicting suggestions. The identification proposed by Bhāvamiśra with pānīyāmalaka, does not take our knowledge of prācīnāmalaka even an inch further as there is no knowledge of pānīyāmalaka either. The explanation of Bhāvamiśra's pānīyāmalaka as "pānī āmlā" in Hindi is also extremely suspicious. No one appears to know what this "pānī āmlā" is, though many have repeated it in their commentaries of *Kādambari*, *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumadi*, *Carakasaṁhitā* and *Suśrutasaṁhitā* blindly following the steps of Bhāvamiśra. The equivalents in other regional languages, the description given of this so-called pānīyāmalaka or "pānī āmlā" is all suspect. It has been identified with a drug, which has nothing to do with āmalaka at all. Apart from this, the fruit of this "pānī āmlā" is described as red,[22] which is in direct conflict with what Bāṇa has said about the colour of prācīnāmalaka. On the basis of the twin properties of prācīnāmalaka mentioned by Bāṇa, viz. its colour and taste, I have already proposed that it may be tentatively identified with the variety of āmlā known as "pūrvyā āmlā".

Conclusion:

It is strange that in spite of so many references in medical and non-medical works to prācīnāmalaka, our reputed dictionaries have ignored it. Only the two lexicons *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Vācaspatya* have included prācīnāmalaka. But the explanation given in both is meagre and inaccurate in parts.

The *Śabdakalpadruma* has the following:—

प्राचीनामलकम्—(क्ली) (प्राचीनमामलकमिति नित्यकर्मधारयः । पानीयामलकम् । पानी आमला इति भाषा । तत्पर्यायः वारिबदरम् २ इति त्रिकाण्डशेषः ॥ (यथा महाभारते ।१।२०८।४१। "प्राचीनामलकैर्लोध्रैः रङ्कुलैश्च सुपुष्पितैः ॥") अस्य गुणः । दीपनत्वनगरनाशित्वम् । इति भावप्रकाशः ॥ (यथा च "गरदोषहरं नीपं प्राचीनामलकं तथा ॥" इति सुश्रुते सूत्रस्थाने ४६ अध्यायः ॥)

This is just a jumble of undigested information from *Bhāvaprakāśa*, with an additional synonym from *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. It takes no note of what Bāṇa, Vācaspatimiśra, the commentators of Bāṇa and Vācaspatimiśra or even of authorities on medicine like Caraka and Suśruta have said. The statement attri-

buted to *Bhāvaprakāśa* about its properties is only partially traceable there, the other part is from Suśruta. It appears that the passage from *Bhāvaprakāśa* intended to be cited in the lexicon has been lost in printing.

The entry in *Vācaspatya* is poorer still. We have the following there:

प्राचीनामलकम्—न० नित्यकर्म॰ पार्वतीमलकेत्यमरः ।

It may be observed that *Amara* has not a word to say of prācīnāmalaka, as the *Vācaspatya* would have us believe. It is, however, strange that later under Vāribadara, *Vācaspatya* gives prācīnāmalaka as a synonym and cites *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* in support. It is not known why Vāribadara is not given as a synonym under prācīnāmalaka and why *Amara* is cited there.

Now, I propose an entry on the following lines for prācīnāmalaka in a Dictionary such as is being prepared at the Deccan College:

PRĀCĪNĀMALAKA: A tree belonging to the same species as āmalaka, but different from the ordinary āmalaka and referred to as distinct from it by early medical writers like Caraka and Suśruta and by Vācaspatimiśra. cf.

अतः सर्वेषामेव द्रव्याण्युपदेक्ष्यामः । दाडिमामलकमातुलुङ्गाम्रातक कपित्थकरमर्दबदरकोलप्राचीनामलकतिन्तिडीप्रभृतीनि समासेनाम्लो वर्गः (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Sūtrasthāna).

अत ऊर्ध्वं फलान्युपदेक्ष्यामः । तद्यथा दाडिमामलकबदरकोलबेवकलप्राचीनामलकतिन्तिडीकनीपकोशाम्राम्लीकाम्रभृतीनि ॥ (*ibid.*, Sūtrasthāna.)

प्राचीनामलकं चैव दोषघ्नं गरहारि च । (*Carakasaṃhitā*)
विद्धादामलके सर्वान् रसान्लवणवर्जितान् । (*ibid.*)

यथा हि वारिदविमुक्तमेकरसमपि तत्तद्भूविकारानासाद्य नारिकेलतालतार्वी-विल्वचिरबिल्वतिन्दुकामलकप्राचीनामलकमधुराम्ललवणतिक्तकषायकटुरसा विकल्पते (*Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 16)

Differs from ordinary āmalaka in that its fruits are green in colour and sweet to taste unlike the normal ones, which are light yellow in colour and of astringent taste. cf. नलिनीदलहरिन्ति द्राक्षाफलस्वादूनि च चूर्णितानि स्वेच्छया प्राचीनामलकीफलानि (*Kādambarī*)

Called prācina probably because its early natural habitat was eastern India. Probably identical with the variety known as "Pūrvyā āmlā" widely known in and around Banaras and eastern parts of the country for medicinal and culinary purposes and for being preserved as "murabā". Knowledge of its identity lost to day and even to professional writers by about 17th century and hence erroneously described as kṣīradhātrī by Bhārucandra (17th cent.) and explained as "ripe" or "old" or "dried" āmalaka by 20th century commentators and translators of *Kādambarī*, *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*, *Carakasaṁhitā* and *Suśrutasaṁhitā*. Hence the identification with pāniyāmalaka (translated into Hindi as "Pānī amlī") by *Bhāvaprakāśa* (17th cent.) and quoted approvingly by succeeding commentators appears unreliable.

FOOT-NOTES

1. *Kādambarī* (N.S.P. Ed.), 1940. pp. 37-38.
2. I had myself taken this interpretation as the correct one.
3. *Kādambarī* p. 38
4. *Ibid.* Ed. M. R. Kale, 3rd Ed. 1938. p. 35
5. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*, Translated by C. M. Ridding, Jaico Publishing House, 1956 (First published in 1896 by Royal Asiatic Society, London.)
6. कमल के पत्तों के समान हरे हरे तथा अंगूर जैसे मीठे पके हुए आंवलों को इच्छानुसार चखा है ।

—*Kādambarī*, with Hindi Translation by Pt. Śrī Kṛṣṇa Mohan Śāstri, M.A., Principal, Ranavir Sanskrit Vidyālaya, Kashi Hindu Vishva Vidyālaya, Varanasi (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1961 p. 53).

7. Vide *Kādambarī—Ek Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayan* (1958) p. 33 :

मैंने क्या नहीं खाया ?.....पके हुए द्राक्षा जैसे मीठे आंवले चखे ।

8. *Kādambarī* published with Sanskrit Commentary and Bengali Translation (Śaka 1947). p. 65

"नलिनीति । नलिनीदलवत् पद्मिनीपत्रवत् हरिन्ति हरिद्वर्णानि, तथा द्राक्षाफलवत् स्वादूनि मधुराणि च प्राचीनामलकीफलानि क्षीरधात्रीफलानि, दलितानि चञ्चुपुटेनार्धं भक्षितानि—

9. नलिनीति । नलिनी कमलिनी तस्या दलानि पत्राणि तद्वद् हरिन्ति हरिद्वर्णानि, तथा द्राक्षाफलवत् मृद्वीकासदृशवत् "मृद्वीका गोस्तनी द्राक्षा" इत्यमरः । स्वादूनि सुमधुराणि च प्राचीनामलकीफलानि क्षीरधात्रीसदृशानि स्वेच्छया स्वार्थानतया दलितानि चञ्चुपुटेन मर्दयित्वा खादितानीत्यर्थः । अत्र नलिनीदलहरिन्ति "इत्यत्र "द्राक्षाफलस्वादूनि" इत्यत्र च लुप्तोपमा, अनयोश्च मिथो नैरपेक्ष्येण संसृष्टिः ॥—पृ० ५३. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1961

10. *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 16
11. *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudi*—under Kārikā 16
12. *Suśrutasaṁhitā*—Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 42/11 (p. 186)
13. *Ibid.* Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 46/139 (p. 226)
14. *Ibid.* Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 46/143-144 (p. 227).
15. *Ibid.* Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 46/158 (p. 227)
16. *Carakasaṁhitā*, Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 27/139 (p. 341).
17. *Ibid.* Sūtrasthāna, Adhyāya 27/141-142 (p. 341).
18. *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*—Pūrva Khaṇḍa, Miśra Prakaraṇa 78, (p. 431)

THE MAṬLI CHIEFS OF SIDDHAVAṬAM

N. Venkataramanayya

The Maṭalas or Maṭlis were an important line of Telugu Chōḷa chiefs, who ruled in the eastern part of the present Cuddapah district for more than two centuries and a half before the advent of the British in A.D. 1800. They were Kshatriyas of the solar race and Kāśyapa-gōtra of the lineage of Dēvachōḍa.[1] The appellation Maṭla or Maṭli by which their family is known is derived from the village of that name in the Rāyachōṭi taluk, presumably their original habitat.

The Maṭlis make their appearance for the first time in the 1st half of the 16th century A.D. An inscription on the northern side of the wall surrounding the temple of Saumyanāthasvāmi at Nandalūru in the Rājampēṭ taluk records that in Ś. 1444 Maṭla Kumārayya Dēvachōḍa Mahārāja made a grant to the god Chokkanāthasvāmi of Nelandalūru (Nandalūr).[2] The identity of this chief cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge. Maṭla Varadarāja, another chief of the family, figures in two inscriptions of the time of Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya as the donor of some gifts to the temple of Veṅkaṭēśvara at Tirupati and of Varadarāja at Kāñchi respectively. The former dated Ś. 1465, Śōbhakṛit, introduces him as Maṭla Varadarāja, son of Pōttarāju and grandson of Somarāju, bearing the titles *Kāntrivallabha, Kaṭṭitākkāla-biruḍu, Gāyibiṇḍibiruḍu, Okketturājula-talā-guṇḍu* and *Gandhha-gaja-simha*.[3] The latter dated Ś. 1466, Krōdhi, refers to him as Maṭṭili Varadarāja, son of Maṭṭili Somarāja Pōturāja, and he bears many titles similar to those mentioned in the previous record.[4] Maṭli Vara-

1. 564 of 1915 & Comm.
2. V.R. I. Cd. 832
3. T.T.D.I. Vol. V, No. 11, p. 32
4. 528 of 1919 and comm. ARE. 1920, Part II. para 49, p. 114

The Government Epigraphist ascribes another Epigraph at Pottapi in Rājampeṭ taluk (434 of 1912) to the same chief. The date of the inscription is said to have been lost. As the father of this Varadayadeva Chōḍa Mahārāja of this record is stated to be Pōcharājyyadeva Chōḍa Mahārāja and not Pōttarāju, he could not have been identical with the donor of the Tirupati

darāju mentioned in these inscriptions has been identified with a chief of that name who, according to the *Kakusthavijayamu* of Maṭli Anantarāja, married a daughter of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. This identification seems to be plausible, as the Varadarāja of the *Kakusthavijayamu* like his namesake of the Tirupati and Kāñchī inscriptions was also a son of Pōttarāju or Pōtturāja and a grandson of Sōmarāju.[1]

The Maṭlis rose, however, to prominance only under Maṭli Ellama and his descendants. Ellama, it is said, was a son of Kōnarāja, grandson of Timmarāja, the younger brother of Sōmarāja, who was according to the Tirupati and the Kāñchī inscriptions, also the grandfather of Maṭli Varadarāja.

(Bommarāju)

Sōmarāju	Timmarāju
Pōttarāju	Kōnarāju
Varadarāju, m. a daughter of Kṛishṇadēvarāya	Ellamarāju

Though no record of Ellama has come to light so far, he is mentioned in the inscriptions of his successors and the village *Kaifiyats*, which furnish much valuable information about him. The earliest record which refers to him is the Penagalūru grant of his son, Tirumala or Timma, dated Ś. 1493 Prajōtpatti.[2] Ellama, according to this grant, was the son of Kōnarāju; he had four sons, Tirumala, Varada, China-Timma and Ananta. At the request of Maṭli Timma, Tirumalarāya, his overlord, who was ruling from Penugoṇḍa, granted the village of Penagalūru with its hamlets Yalammapāḍu-Chennapalli and Koṇḍūru-Chennapalli situated in Pottapi-*nāḍu*, a sub division of Siddhavaṭa-sīma to Brahmins as an

and the Kāñchī inscriptions cited above but a different person. The Makenzie surveyors who also copied this inscription give its date as, Ś 1493. Prajōtpatti; moreover, according to the text of the inscription given by them, he had an elder brother Ellamarāju (*mōyana Ellamarājugāru*)

1. T.D. 1 V. p. 32 N. 2
2. E. I. XVI, No. 18

agrahāra naming it afresh Ellama-rājēndra-samudram in honour of his father Maṭli Ellamarāju. An epigraph at Gurrampāḍu in the Cuddapah taluk, dated Ś.1500, Bahudhānya, registers his gift of the village of Gurrampāḍu in Siddhavaṭa-sīma to Siddhāntasārvabhauma Veṅkaṭasōmayājulu, son of Tirumala-Somayajin, and grandson of Vellāla Timmā—Jyōsya of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*, Āśvalāyana-*sūtra* and Rik-*śākha* as an *agrahāra* for the merit of his parents.[1] Siddhavaṭa-*sīma* is said to have been given to him as *nāyamkara* by Śrī Raṅgarāya, his sovereign. These records make it clear that Maṭli Tirumalarāja was holding sway over parts, if not the whole of Siddhavaṭa-*sīma*, between Ś.1493 and Ś.1500.[1] He became involved about the end of this period in a war with Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅga, the ruler of Eṛuva. The circumstances of this war are described by *bhaṭs* attached to Kastūri Raṅga's court in a long *śiva-mālika* which they composed in praise of the prowess of their master. The Koṇḍrāju brothers, Dāsarirāju, Koṇḍrāju, Venkaṭarāju and Timmarāju who were also ruling as the *amaranāyakas* of the Rāya over Siddhavaṭa-*sima* attacked Sāri Obana, a neighbouring chief, and seized his territory. The latter appealed to Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅga and solicited his help. In response to this request, Kastūri Raṅga came with his forces and halted at Kōḍuru in Kāmalāpuram taluk. The Koṇḍrāju brothers summoned to their assistance chiefs of Vāmula, Kāluvapalli, Māchupalle, Pottara, Pottare-Guriginjaguṇṭa and Daṇḍakōna and the heads of Kāṭinēni, Vankara, Kūnapuli, & Pedapōtu, Alanēśa, Challa and Savaram families.[2] Maṭli Timma i.e., Tirumala was also persuaded to join them. A great battle was fought at Kōḍūru on Sunday, Aśvīja, śu.8 of the year Pramādi, Ś. 1501 (1579 A.D.) between the two sides; and Kastūri Raṅga, notwithstanding the heavy odds against him, succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Koṇḍrāju brothers and their allies. Large numbers were killed and several chiefs including Maṭli Tirumalarāju, and his cousin Maṭli Varadarāju Timmaya perished in the fight.

Neither the inscriptions nor the *śiā-mālika* throw any light on Ellamarāju, the father of Maṭli Tirumala. The former refer to him only as the father of Tirumala, and latter ignores

1. V. R. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. I Cd. 36
2. Further sources, Vol. III, No. 201.

him altogether. The village accounts, especially the *Kaifiyat* of Chiṭṭivēli, furnish valuable information about Ellama and his activities. On the death of Śrī Raṅgarāya in A.D. 1584-85, his younger brother, Veṅkaṭapati, i.e., Veṅkaṭa II ascended the throne. Many of the nobles were opposed to him. Some of them like the Koṇḍrāju brothers even attempted to repudiate his authority. Maṭli Ellama and his sons, who were holding the *nāyamkaram* of a few villages such as Pondalūru, Penagalūru, Ponnapalli, etc., in Pottapi-and Siddhavaṭa-*sīmas*[1] joined the side of Veṅkaṭa, who was ruling at that time at Chandragiri and Ponugoṇḍa, as a result of which enmity arose between them and the Koṇḍrāju brothers.[2] The latter, therefore, confiscated the *amaram* villages under the Maṭlis. Moreover, Tirupatirāju, one of the Koṇḍrāju brothers, who was the ruler of the Siddhavaṭa-*sīma* fortified Uṭukūru, a village on the frontier of Pulugula-*nāḍu* and posted a garrison there to prevent attack on his territory from Chandragiri. Veṅkaṭa II despatched an army under Maṭli Ellama, and commissioned him to destroy the fort at Uṭukūru built by Tirupatirāju, and effect the conquest of Pottapi-*nāḍu* and post his own garrisons in important places to keep the conquered territory under control. He also promised that he would bestow Siddhavaṭam and its dependent territory as an *amaram* on Ellama provided that he effected its conquest. When Ellama arrived at Uṭukūru, he was opposed by Tirupatirāju with a strong force. In the engagement which followed, Tirupatirāju was killed; Ellama seized the fort and posted a garrison to hold it. He pursued the followers of Tirupatirāju, fleeing the country by different routes, and overtaking them put them to sword at Pōli, Koṇḍūru, and Neladalūru (Nandalūru). A section of the enemy's army fleeing along the Pottapi road, unable to resist his attack, took refuge on the Nīru Hills to the north of Pottapi. Ellama then advanced upon Siddhavaṭam and captured it without difficulty. A contingent under Tirumalarāju, younger brother of Ellama, proceeded against Chennūru, put to death Koṇḍarāju Venkṭādrirāju, a younger brother of Tirupatirāju, who was governing the place as his brother's deputy, and took possession of it.

1. F. S. (Further Sources), Vol. III. No 214
2. Ibid No. 211

Next, he reduced the *sīmas* of Kāmalāpuram, Duvvūru, Porumāmiḷḷa and Baddevōlu. In one of the fights with some chiefs and *pālegārs*, Tirumalarāju however, lost his life. As a result of these conquests, an extensive tract of territory corresponding to the major part of the present Cuddapah district passed into Ellama's hands. Veṅkaṭa II in accordance with his solemn promise, granted to him Pulugulanāṭi-sīma included in the Chandragiri-*rājya* together with Pottapi-*nāḍu* and Siddhavaṭa-*sīmas* included in the Udayagiri-*rājya*; and appointed him in addition as the governor of Chennūru, Duvvūru, Kāmalāpuram, Pōrumāmiḷḷa and Baddevōlu.[1]

Ellama remained firm in his loyalty to Veṅkaṭa II, and rendered him valuable service in his war on the rebellions Nandyala chief, Kṛishṇamarāja, who threw off his allegiance to the Rāya and attempted to establish himself as an independent ruler. His influence was not confined to Nandyāla and its neighbourhood; it appears to have extended as far as Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Cuddapah district. Since the days of Sadāśiva and Rāmarāja, the Nandyālas who held Gandikōṭa-sīma as *nayamkara* attempted to assert independence, and Nandyāla Kṛishṇamarāja's half-brother Timma was about this time the governor of Gaṇḍikōṭa. Veṅkaṭa II, according to the *Kaifiyat* of Chiṭṭivāli, set out with his army from Chandragiri to suppress his rebellion, and Maṭli Ellama and his son, Ananta, joined him at Siddhavaṭam.[2] When they reached Jambulamaḍaka (Jammalamaḍugu), on their way to Nandyāla, they were opposed by Kṛishṇamarāju with the object of checking their advance; but having been defeated in the battle, he retreated to his capital, Nandyāla. Kṛishṇamarāju held out for three months; but unable to offer further resistence, sued for peace. Through the intercession of Maṭli Ellama, he met Veṅkaṭapatirāya in his camp, and offered his submission.[3] He was not, however, allowed to remain in his place, but had to accompany the Rāya to Chandragiri where he remained in honourable confinement until his death a few years later.

Ellama appears to have died soon after his return from

1. F. S. Vol. I p. 321.
2. F. S. Vol. III, No. 214.
3. Ibid. No. 216 (b)

Nandyāla. He was succeeded by his son, Kōna, who, however, died within a short time, while attempting to put down the rebellion of the *pālegars* who rose up against him immediately after his accession.[1] He was succeeded by his half-brother, Anantarāju, who seems to have been closely associated with his father in his wars as well as the government of his territories. The inscriptions of Maṭli Ananta show that his activities extended over a period of twenty-four years from Ś. 1503 to 1527.

The earliest of them is perhaps the epigraph at Chintarājupalle, dated Ś. 1520 (1503), Vishu[2] in the reign of Śrīraṅgarāya registering a gift of land in the village to a Chinnamanāyaḍu. The Śaka year quoted in the inscription is wrong; for 1) Śrīraṅgarāya died in the year Pārthiva corresponding to Ś. 1507[3] and the ruling monarch in Ś. 1520, was Veṅkaṭa II and (2) the cyclic year corresponding to S. 1520 is not Vishu but Vilambi. Taking into consideration these facts the inscription may be considered to have been set up in Ś. 1503, Vishu (A.D. 1581).

2) Another record in the temple of Raghunāyaka, at Vonṭimiṭṭa, dated Virōdhi corresponding, as pointed out by Mackenzie surveyors, to Ś. 1511 (A.D. 1589) records the settlement of a dispute between the Vaḍla-Karamalavāru (carpenters and blacksmiths) and the Balijas. The latter, it appears objected against the practice of the former sitting in the temple car while it was being drawn in the street of the village during the annual car festival and requested Anantarāja to prohibit them from mounting the car on that occasion. Anantarāja after instituting an enquiry about the practice obtaining at Tirupati decided in favour of the carpenters and blacksmiths and permitted them to sit in the car putting on *pachchaḍas*, with all their ornaments and holding in their hands the implements of their profession.[4]

3) Another inscription near a ruined temple east of the village of Hastavaram in Rājampēṭ taluk, dated Ś. 1522, Śarvari, registers a gift by Anantachōḍa Dēva Mahārāja of 3½ muntas (kuntas ?) of land in the village to Kāśi Viśvanātha.[5]

1. Ibid. No. 216 (b)
2. V.R.I. Cd. 910 Vishu corresponds to Ś. 1503.
3. E. S. Vol. I p.310
4. Ibid. Vol. III No. 225
5. V.R. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. I Cd. 675

4) The latest and perhaps the last inscription of Maṭli Ananta dated Ś. 1527, Vibhavāvasu, during the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirāya, is engraved on the east wall of the old fort near the gate. This is the most important of Maṭli Ananta's inscriptions. It describes almost all the notable events that happened during the reigns of his father and himself. Ananta, according to this inscription,

1) killed in battle Rāvela Velikoṇḍa Veṅkaṭādri,
2) won a victory in the battle of Jambulamaḍaka,
3) instilled fear into the mind of Nandela Kṛishṇamarāja by the strength of his arms;
4) bore the title, 'right-hand' of the lord of the throne of entire Karṇāṭa,
5) destroyed Koṇḍrāju Veṅkaṭādri,
6) captured Chennūru,
7) was the author of *Kakutharājayamu* and other *nibandhana-granthas* which were praised by the learned.
8) constructed a tank called Ellamarājucheṛuvu;
9) offered protection by the strength of his arms to the rapidly marching expeditionary forces against the ruler of Madhura in the Drāviḍa country;
10) put down the pride of the Yavana Pāduśha in the battle at Penukoṇḍa;
11) built a tank in his own name at Siddhavaṭam which his father, Maṭli Ellama, having defeated Keṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju, acquired at the point of his sword; and
12) erected an auxiliary wall around the town of Siddhavaṭam so as to serve as a protection to the temple of Siddhavaṭeśvara.

Maṭli Ananta, it is said, was the son of Raṅgamāmba, and had a son called Tiruveṅgaḷanātha.[1] Of the events enumerated in this inscription Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 11 took place during the time of his father, Ellama. Nos. 2 and 3 refer to the war of Veṅkaṭa II, in which Ellama and his son, Ananta, as pointed out already, played an important part; 5, 6 and 11 relate to Ellama's fight at the instance of his sovereign, Veṅkaṭa II,

1. Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 249-50

against the Koṇḍrāju brothers. The Koṇḍrāju brothers were seven in number, Dāsari, Tirupati, Veṅkaṭa, Kṛishṇa, Koṇḍa, Raghunātha and China-Timma; they were like the Maṭlis Telugu Chōḷas of the Devachōḍa line and trace their descent on the mother's side, from Mangaya Guruvarāju also of the Dēvachōḍa family.[1] Of these Veṅkaṭa and China-Timma were distinguished warriors. They were deputed in Ś. 1506, Tārana, by Śrī Raṅgaraya to expel Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and his allies the Haṇḍe chiefs from Ahōbalam, which they plundered in Bahudhānya (Ś.1500 1578 A.D.) and had been occupying the territory around it ever since. Accordingly they marched to Ahōbalam at the head of their forces, defeated and expelled Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and the Haṇḍes, repaired the damage done to the shrine and restored worship as in former days[2]. Dāsari, Koṇḍa, Veṅkaṭa and (China-) Timma came into conflict, on account of their aggressions with Sari Obana and his ally Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅga and were defeated by them in the battle of Koṇḍūru in Ś. 1501, Pramādi.[3] At the time of the accession of Veṅkaṭa II, Tirupatirāju was ruling in Siddhavaṭam, and Veṅkaṭa at Chennūru. Their revolt against Veṅkaṭa II and their overthrow by Maṭli Ellama have been noticed already. The *Kaifiyat* of Chiṭṭivēli ascribes the victory ever Koṇḍrāju Veṅkaṭarāju and the conquest of Chennūru to Ellama's younger brother, Tirumalarāju;[4] but in the Siddhavaṭam inscription these are attributed to Ananta. Probably Ananta joined his uncle Tirumala in the attack on Koṇḍrāju Veṅkaṭarāju at Chennūru; and that is perhaps the justification for Anantarāja's claim in the Siddhavaṭam record. Koṇḍrāju Veṅkaṭarāju was not merely a warrior but also a patron of letters. At his instance, the poets, Ayyala and Bhāskara translated from Kannaḍa 'the *Reṭṭamata*', a treatise on meteorology and dedicated it to him. Jakkarāju Veṅkaṭa or Veṅkaṭa-rāmakṛishṇa was also attached to his court. He dedicated his *Āndhrakāmandakam*, a work on political science, to his patron. It is evident that Koṇḍrāju Veṅkaṭarāju took considerable interest in Telugu and contributed to its development by encouraging

1. F. S. Vol. III, No. 221
2. Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 233-5
3. F.S. Vol. III No. 210
4. Ibid. p. 330.

men of letters to write on technical subjects such as meteorology and politics.

No. 7 refers to Ananta's literary activities. As he dedicated his *Kakusthavijayamu* to his father, Ellama, it must have been composed during his father's life time. His *nibandhana-granthas* or works perhaps on grammer, prosody, poetics, etc., are now no longer extant. As a man of letters Ananta ranks high, and his *Kakusthavijayamu* is held in great esteem by competent literary critics.

Nos. 8-12, allude to events which had taken place during Ananta's own reign. Of these No. 11, Ananta's victory over the Yavana Pādushāh at Penugoṇḍa must have taken place early in his reign. The *Kumudvatikalyāṇamu* of Maṭli Kumāra Ananta discloses that the Yavana Pādushāh defeated by Ananta at Penugoṇḍa was the Quṭb Shāh. Sultān Maḥammad Quly Quṭb Shāh in the closing years of the 16th century A.D., invaded the Vijayanagar kingdom with the object of effecting its conquest.[1] He crossed the Kṛishṇā at Musalimaḍugu in the Nandikoṭkūr taluk of the Kurnool district, captured Nandyāla, Kalagoor, Jammalamaḍugu, Joodri, Sirvēl, Nunduatcota, Dole (Done), Chennūr and Gaṇḍikōṭa quickly one after another, and finally advanced on Penugoṇḍa and laid siege to it. As Veṅkaṭa II was not in a position to defend his capital, he made a pretence of submission with the object of gaining time, and opened negotiations for settling the terms of submission. Taking advantage of the respite thus gained, Veṅkaṭa II, sent an urgent appeal to all his nobles commanding them to hasten to the capital with all their forces. A large army under Jagadeva Row, Gulraṅga Seṭṭi, Manupa Rāja, Papiah Samywar, Raghunātha of Tanjore, Maṭli Ananta, Velugōṭi Chenna, his son, Veṅkaṭapati and several others gathered together at Penugoṇḍa. Veṅkaṭa II now cast off all pretensions to submission and defied the Mussalmans. Hostilities were soon resumed. A great battle was fought near Penugoṇḍa, in which the Muhammadans sustained a crushing defeat; and Muḥammad Quly Quṭb Shāh beat a hasty retreat and crossing the Kṛishṇā returned to the capital.[2] Veṅkaṭa II's victory at Penugoṇḍa

1. F. S. Vol. III No. 216 (C)
2. Briggs : Ferishta, Vol. III, pp. 454-5

did not immediately result in the restoration of his authority everywhere in his dominions. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the Muslim invasion, some of the feudatories ceased to pay the tribute and attempted to repudiate his authority. Besides, the Quṭb Shāhi garrisons were still in occupation in almost all the important strongholds in the Cuddapah and the Kurnool districts. He was, therefore, obliged to concert measures for the suppression of the rebels and the expulsion of the Mussalamans from his territories. Tammappa Gauḍa who held several forts including Kōlār in the Morasu country demanded immediate attention, owing perhaps to the proximity of his territory to Penugoṇḍa, the capital of the empire[1]. He sent an army under Kastūri Raṅga, Maṭli Ananta, and Raghunātha of Tanjore against him.[2] The progress of the royal army was checked at the Kottakanama pass, where they were opposed by the Tammappa Gauḍa at the head of 25000 *manne* foot. He was, however, overpowered by Velugōṭi Timma and was, therefore, compelled to retreat into the interior of his territory. Maṭli Ananta marched on Kōlār and laid siege to the city. Raghunātha raided the Murasu country, and scattered the Murasas who attacked him from Ballāḷapura and other forts. Tammappa Gauḍa unable to oppose the royal forces submitted and paid the arrears of tribute due from him into the royal treasury.

Veṅkaṭa II next turned his attention to the Muslim garrisons. He first marched to Gaṇḍikōṭa at the head of the Pennēṟu valley and laid siege to it. Sanjar Khān, the Muslim commander in charge of it was a brave and capable officer. He offered stubborn resistance. The forces under Murteze Khan, the military governor of the conquered areas were not adequate enough to succour the beleaguered garrison. Sultān Quly ordered Afzal Khān, the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, to send reinforcements to rescue the garrison defending Gaṇḍikōṭa. Veṅkaṭa II on getting the intelligence of this move, commanded Kuwlananda to frustrate this attempt. The latter sent forces under his son-in-law, Woorias Rāy, who laid waste the Koṇḍavīḍu effectively. Afzal Khān retaliated by inciting the *jāgīrdārs*

1. F. S. Vol. I, p. 318, *Vēṅgīmaṇḍalamukkaḍali*, Intro., p. 53
2. Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 285.

in the districts to devastate the Udayagiri territory. According to the *Kaifiyat* of Chittiveli, a large number of Uriya and Manne chiefs came from the side of Udayagiri with the object of surrounding the Badvēl-*sīma* and halted at Kamalakūru in the Siddhavaṭa-*sīma*. A section of the invaders led by one of the members of the Rāviḷḷa family, of whom Rāviḷḷa Velikoṇḍa Veṅkaṭādri appears to have been the head, penetrated further south and took possession of the fort of Guṟṟamkoṇḍa in the Vāyalpāḍu taluk of the Chittoor district. Veṅkaṭa II commanded Maṭli Ananta and Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅga, the two nobles, who were specially affected by this invasion, to march against the invaders and put the invaders to flight. They left the royal camp with their forces, and marching rapidly reached Kamalakūru within a short time and routed the Pātra and Manne *samantas* of Golkoṇḍa in a fierce battle. Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅga pursued them as far as Kochcherlakōṭa and drove them across the Quṭb Shāhi frontier. Ananta marched to Guṟṟamkoṇḍa and laid siege to the fort. It was well provided with artillery and ammunition; and the Rāviḷḷa chief offered stubborn resistence. Ananta, if the evidence of the *bhaṭ*, who eulogized his master's victory in an ode composed to celebrate the event, can be depended on, showed dogged perseverence in pushing forward the siege operations, notwithstanding the mines of gun powder thundering, cannon vomitting fire of destruction, and the showers of stone falling from the sky like the rains of *Chitta*. He succeeded at last in demolishing one of the bastions, and the garrison unable to defend the fort, surrendered.[1] Ananta appears to have returned to Gaṇḍikōṭa after the capture of Guṟṟmkoṇḍa; for, it is stated in the *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam* that his forces fell on Aśvarāya's (Sultan's) Cavalry and cut them to pieces in the neighbourhood of Gaṇḍikōṭa. This incident must have taken place during the last battle of Veṅkaṭa II with the Quṭb Shāhi army. Sultān Muhammad Quly's attempts to send reinforcements from Koṇḍavīḍu having failed on account of the activities of Kuwlananda and Woorias Ray, be sent five thousand horse from Gōlkoṇḍa under Rustam Khān, whom he appointed supreme commander of his force in the south. The new commander

1. F. S. Vol. I., pp. 315-17

was a vain man, without much experience of warfare in Karṇāṭaka. As soon as he arrived at the headquarters of the army, contrary to the advice of Murtaza Khān, the military governor of the Quṭb Shāhi conquests in Karṇāṭaka, he crossed the Pennēṟu and pitched his tents on the other side of the river on the clay and black cotton soil wet with recent rains. What happened after this may best be described in the words of the Anonymous Historian. "At this time, whether to amuse their own soldiers, or, for what reason is immaterial, the Hindoos dressed up a red bullock with gilded horns painted it with many different colours, and fastened bells to its legs and neck, drove it towards the Mahomedans.[1] Roostoom Khān, who happened to be in front of the army and alone, becoming alarmed at the strange appearance of the animal, galloped off to the rear in dismay, and communicated a panic to his troops. The Hindoos, observing a confusion in the lines of the Mahomedans took advantage of it to surround them with their musketeers, and galled them on all sides. The Mahomedan cavalry, in which their principal force consisted, unable to charge through the heavy black soil, were shot one by one, and might have been annihilated, but for Moortuza Khān, who collecting a small party forced his way through the enemy's ranks, and thus covered the retreat of many of the Mahomedans".[2] It must have been on this occasion that Maṭli Ananta must have cut to pieces the powerful cavalry of Aśvarāya (the Sultān) in the vicinity of Gaṇḍikōṭa. No.9, refers to Veṅkaṭa II's expedition to Madura. The causes for despatching this expedition are not definitely known. It was probably provoked by the attack of Vīrappa, the Nāyaka ruler of the place, upon the territories of Tirumalarāya, the nephew of Veṅkaṭa II, and the ruler of Śrīraṅgapaṭnam. According to the *Kongudēśarājākkaḷin-Charitram*, Tirumalarāya, on hearing that Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura was coming to Śrīraṅgapaṭnam with all his forces, set out at the head of his army accompanied by his Deḷavāy Maṭli Veṅkaṭa Ayya to oppose him. Though he was successful at first and won some victories over the enemy, he was betrayed by his Daḷavāy, who by a cunning trick delivered him

1. Ibid. Vol. III No. 26(c)
2. Brigg's Ferishta Vol. III, pp. 445-59

into the hands of his enemy. The Daḷavāy then returned to Śrīraṅgapaṭnam with the army and began to rule the kingdom himself.[1] It was probably for securing the release of his nephew that Veṅkaṭa II despatched the expedition. Maṭli Ananta seems to have been appointed as the leader; he was accompanied among others by his son Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, Muluvāgalu II Chikkarāya, and Dāmerla Karichenna of Kāḷahasti. The expedition seems to have reached Madura without meeting with any serious obstruction on the way and laid siege to the capital. According to the *Chikkadēvarāya-vaṁśāvali* Vīrappa Nāyaka managed to bribe several of the generals of the imperial army with the object, perhaps of inducing them to retreat. This did not avail him much; for, the Maṭlis who remained firmly loyal to the emperor, seem to have pushed on the siege to its conclusion. Tiru-Veṅgaḷanātha claims to have defeated the Nāyak and captured his fish-banner; and Ananta is said to have actually killed him.[2] As a result of this campaign Veṅkaṭa II's authority was thenceforward recognized at Madura as in the other parts of the empire, Nos.8,11 and 12 recount Maṭli Ananta's works of public utility. Although engaged in warfare throughout the period of his rule, he appears to have evinced keen interest in developing the resources to his territory. He built at Siddhavaṭam a tank in his own name, another in the name of his father Ellamarāja in some place not specified in the inscription. He erected towards the end of his rule a wall around the town of Siddhavaṭam so that it may serve as a protection to the temple of Siddhavaṭēśvara. This wall still survives, though it was transformed later into a fort by the Muhammadans. Maṭli Ananta seems to have died, while the wall was under construction for, according to the Siddhavaṭam village *Kaifiyat*, it was completed by his son and successor Tiruveṅgaḷanātha.[3]

TIRUVEṄGALANĀTHA

On the death of his father in A.D. 1605, Maṭli Tiruveṅgaḷanātha came to the throne. He is represented by a solitary

1. F. S. Vol. III No. 222 (a)
2. F. S. Vol. I p. 323
3. Siddhavatam village *Kaifiyat* Ms. p. 20

inscription[1] at Gaṅganapalle in Cuddapah taluk dated S.1528 (A.D. 1606); and it tells very little about the events of his reign. However, the *Kumudvatīkalyāṇamu* of his son, Kumāra Anantarāja, the *Chāṭu* verses composed by the *bhaṭs* attached to his court, and the village *kaifiyats* furnish much valuable information which renders the reconstruction of the history of his reign possible. In the introduction to his *Kumudvatīkalyāṇamu* Kumāra Ananta states that his father conquered several forts such as Gutti, Enumugoṇḍa Surapura (or Asurapura), Rāyavara, and Rāyavīdu. At Māchavōlu he is said to have defeated the combined forces of the chiefs of Gaṇḍikōṭa and other places in its neighbourhood, scaled the walls of Nandimaṅgalam and Kāmalāpuram, captured Pandiḷḷapalle, Kōkaṭam and Kallūru and reduced the forts of Vellāla and Pōrumāmiḷḷa. Besides, he overthrew Haṇḍeya Kumāra Dēmappa, and the governor of Udayagiri in a battle.[2]

The enemies with whom he fought in most of these places are not known. The chief of Gaṇḍikōṭa whom he defeated together with his allies at Māchavōlu must have been Pemmasāni Timmā Nāyuḍu, who was governing the fort about this time. The outbreak of this war was probably due to a border dispute. During the time of Anantarāja, the son of Tiruvengaḷanātha, the dispute about the common border between the two states resulted in a war; but peace was soon restored, and Chilamakūru in the Duvvūr taluk was marked as the boundary between the two states; and it was agreed that the territory to the west of that village belonged to Gaṇḍikōṭa and to the east of it to Siddhavaṭam. A similar dispute may have also arisen in the time of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha and led to the fight at Māchavōlu. Another enemy who is said to have been defeated by Tiruveṅgaḷanātha was Haṇḍe Dēmappa Nāyaka, the ruler of Narsāpūr and Pōrumāmiḷḷa in the Badvēl taluk. Dēmappa appears to have solicited the help of his neighbour, the governor of Udayagiri, against Tiruveṅgaḷanātha. However, they were both defeated by the latter; and the forts of Narsāpūr and Pōrumāmiḷḷa fell into his hands.[3]

1. 377 of 1938-39
2. E. S. Vol. III No. 224 (b)
3. Ibid.

Though victorious over the petty chiefs in his neighbourhood, Tiruveṅgaḷanātha ultimately met with disaster, and died in a battle with the Bījāpur army near Kurnool. The circumstances in which Tiruveṅgaḷanātha came into conflict with Bījāpur army are described as follows in the Chiṭṭivōli *Kaifiyat*. In Ś. 1541, Siddhārthi, Abdul Hussain, Abdul Muhammad and Abdul Wahāb Khān, three officers in the service of the Ādil Shāh came with an army and laid siege to the fort of Kandanavōlu (Kurnool). Gōpālarāja, the ruler of the place, appealed to the neighbouring Hindu chiefs including the Haṇḍe chief, Dēmappa Nāyaka and Maṭli Tiruveṅgaḷanātharāja for help. They joined him and fought with the Muhammadans for ten days. Unable to continue the fight Haṇḍe Dēmappa and the other Hindu chiefs fled; but Maṭli Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, unwilling to turn back faced the Muhammadans boldly, supported by his younger brother Timmarāja and his followers, but was killed in the fight on Māgha, ba. 11 of the year Siddhārthi (4th March, A.D. 1620).[1]

Kumāra Anantarāja I

On the death of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, his son Kumāra Anantarāja I, whom he entrusted, on the eve of his departure to Kandanavōlu, with the administration of his territory, succeeded him on the throne. Seven inscriptions of his reign have come to light so far. Of these two epigraphs, both dated in the cyclic year Rudrirōdgāri (Ś. 1545/1625 A.D.) have been discovered at Sambaṭūru in Kāmalāpuram taluk and one dated Ś.1557, Bhava, at Bommavaram in Rājampēṭ taluk. The remaining four are found at Tirupati in Chittoor district. One of these in Telugu verse, dated Ś.1550, Vibhava, engraved on the east and the west walls of the Pādālamaṇḍapam at the foot of the Tirumalai hills in Telugu and Tamil characters respec-

1. The date of the conquest of Kandanavōlu is variously given. Ibrāhim Zubirik, the author of Busātin-us-salatin refers the Ādil Shāhi conquest of Kandanavōlu to A. H. 1031 (A.D. 1621-22); but according to the *Kaifiyat* of Kandanavōlu, Gōpālarāja's forces remained in the fort and continued to defend it until Dundubhi (S. 1544/A.D. 1622). The Dutch factory Records explicitly state that a treaty was concluded between the Ādil Shāh and Gōpālarāju in A.D. 1621 and the latter was allowed to rule for a short time longer.

tively, is the most important of Kumāra Anantarāja's inscriptions, as it recounts his activities in war and peace. The remaining records, two in Telugu and one in Tamil refer to some of his constructions at Tirupati.

As soon as Kumāra Anantarāja came to the throne, he had to face a serious rebellion of the *pāḷagārs* of Kalakaḍa, Guṇḍlūru, Vēmpalle, Animela, Pālagiri, Tangēḍupalle, Chappalli, Pigilēṟu, Kumāḷḷakālva and Seṭṭipalle in which his younger brother Ellama, was involved. Kumāra Anantarāja acted quickly. He seized Ellama and cast him in prison. Then he proceeded against the *pāḷegārs* and put them down one after another. According to the *Kumudvatīkaḷyāṇamu* he laid siege to Kalakaḍa with persistence and captured it; acquired fame by his victory over Guḍlūru; led a victorious expedition against Vempalle; tore the enemy to pieces at Animela and Pālagiri; effected the destruction of the enemy's forces at Chappalli; seized Taṅgēḍupalle; broke up the enemy at Pigilēṟu; cut the foes to pieces at Kumāḷḷakālva, put the opponents to death at Mādhavaram; scaled the walls of Seṭṭipalle; and caused fear to Udayagiri-*durga*. After the suppression of the rebellion and the firm re-establishment of his power, Kumāra Anantarāja, on the receipt of an appeal for pardon, from his brother, Ellama, set him at liberty and granted to him five villages, Maiḷupalle, Pondalūru, Guṇḍlūru, Vōrampāḍu and Rāyavaram as *amaram* for his maintenance. Besides the victories enumerated in the *Kumudvatīkaḷyāṇamu*, his inscription in the Pādālamaṇḍapam at Tirupati omits Tangēḍupalle and substitutes in its place Muvvūru. It furnishes in addition much valuable information about the extent of the territory under his rule, his benefactions to temples, Brahmins, and pilgrims and other works of charity. He is said to have been the lord over the tract of country lying between the Veṅkaṭa (Tirupati) and the Ahōbalum hills. Though a devout Vaishṇava, Kumāra Ananta was not a narrow-minded sectarian zealot. He extended his patronage to the Vaishṇava as well as the Śaiva shrines. Besides the presentation of jewels, pleasure-and-flower gardens to the temples of Vishṇu at Udayagiri, Tirupati, Tirumala, Tiruvaḷḷūru, Kāḷahasti, Nelandalūru (Nandalūru), Pushpagiri and Siddhavaṭam, he undertook the construction of religious edifices on a large scale. He built a *gōpuram* to the temple of Chakradhara

(Vishṇu) in the village of Anantarājapuram; *prākāra* walls and *gōpuram* of the temple of Rāmavibhu (Veṅkaṭēśvara) at Cuddapah; four *gōpuras* on the four sides (quarters) and a *sarasi-maṇḍapam* (*maṇḍapam* in the tank) of the temple of Saumyanātha at Nelandalūru (Nandalūru); outer *maṇḍapas* adjoining the *prākāra* walls and two huge *gōpuras* in the north and south of the temple of Raghunātha at Vonṭimiṭṭa; *prākāra* walls and *gōpuram* of the temple of Prasavāchalēśvara at Pushpagiri; the *prākāra* and the *gōpuram* of the Chennakēśava temple at Siddhavaṭam; *gōpuram* to the temple of Kapardi (Śiva) at Sōmaśilā (Nellore district); the *Unnata-Krīḍi-maṇḍapam* (high-sport-*maṇḍapam*), *sōpāna-mārga* (pathway with a flight of steps) *agra gopuram* (the tower on the top of the front hill called *Gāligōpuram*) of the temple of Veṅkaṭēśvara at Tirumala; *Śrīpāda-maṇḍapam* at the Tirupati hill; and *Vasanta-maṇḍapam* (the *maṇḍapam* for celebrating the *Vasantōtsavam*) in the temple of Vīrarāghava at Tiruvaḷḷūru in Chingalpur district). In addition to these, he constructed two more *gōpuras* at Tirupati, one called Kottagopuram near Alipiri at the foot of the hill of Tirupati, and another in the middle of Śrī Gōvindarāja-Sannidhi street in the same town. He also had the two *gopuras* of the temple of Vīrabhadra at Rāchavīḍu (Rāyachōṭi) painted.[1]

Kumāra Anantarāja's benefactions were not solely confined to temples. Brahmins also came in for a good share of it. He established two *agrahāras*, Chenna-māmbāpura and Chennamāmbāsamudra for Brahmins and performed several *mahādānas* such as (*Rajata-suvarṇatulā-mahī-gō-and bahukanyakādānas*) the gifts of silver, gold, precious metals and stones weighed against him in the balance; land, cows and money for the marriages of the Brahmin maids, by means of which he enabled the Brahmins to perform sacrifices and other religious and meritorious acts. Kumāra Anantarāja had profound faith in the efficacy of pilgrimages to holy shrines and *tirthas*. He purified himself every year by a bath in the water of the Gaṅgā brought to him from the holy river; and he established for the satisfaction of the pilgrims passing on foot through his territories *anna-sattras* (free feeding houses) at Āḻvār-tīrtham in Tirupati, Śēshāchalakuruva (path way over the Tirupati hills), Siddha-

1. T. D. : VI-I, Nos. 27, 28 and 31.

vaṭam, Voṇṭimiṭṭa, Pushpagiri, Oramupāḍu, Duvvūru, Guṇḍlūru, Pōrumāmiḷḷa Nelavanūru, Urmiḷḷa and Anantarājapuram. He also constructed tanks at Kuruva and Chennūru. Kumāra Anantarāja I was a doughty warrior, and pious and a benevolent ruler. He seems to have spent the major part of the revenues of his states on temples, Brahmins and pilgrims. As he had no issue, he adopted Kumāra Ananta II, son of one of his younger brothers, probably Chinna Ananta.[1] After ruling for a period of twelve, Kumāra Ananta I died in *A.D.* 1635 or in the following year.[2]

On the death of Kumāra Ananta I his adopted son Kumāra Ananta II succeeded him.[3] He carried on the government of the state for twelve years with the help of his paternal uncle Ellama. During his time the Muhammadans of Gōlkoṇḍa invaded the country and seized a large part of his territory including Pōrumāmiḷḷa, Baddevōlu, Duvvūru, Chennūru and Kāmalāpuram as a consequence of which his authority was confined to a limited area camprising Pottapi-*nāḍu*, Pulugula-*nāḍu* and Siddhavaṭam-*sīma*. He was not, however, allowed to rule in peace what was left of his former territory. Nawāb Mīr Jumala Sayyid Muhammad, the general of Abdullah Quṭb Shāh of Gōlkoṇḍa, after the conquest of Gaṇḍikōṭa, sent an army against him in Ś. 1571, Vikṛiti. Kumāra Ananta II inflicted a defeat on the Quṭb Shāhi army and put to death its commanders. Apprehending defeat and dishonour in another attack which was sure to follow, he abandoned his territory and fled to Ikkēri-Basavāpuram in the western country, accompanied by the woman of his harem and his principal relations.[4] Nawāb Mīr Jumla Sayyid Muhammad marched, as expected, with his army to Siddhavaṭam, occupied the town fortified the *prakāra*-wall of the Siddhēśvara temple built formerly by the Maṭli chiefs by providing it with embrasures and bastions, posted a garrison in it to keep the conquered territory under control, and entrusted its administration to Triambaka Saṅkarāji Pant, one of the Hindu officers in his service.

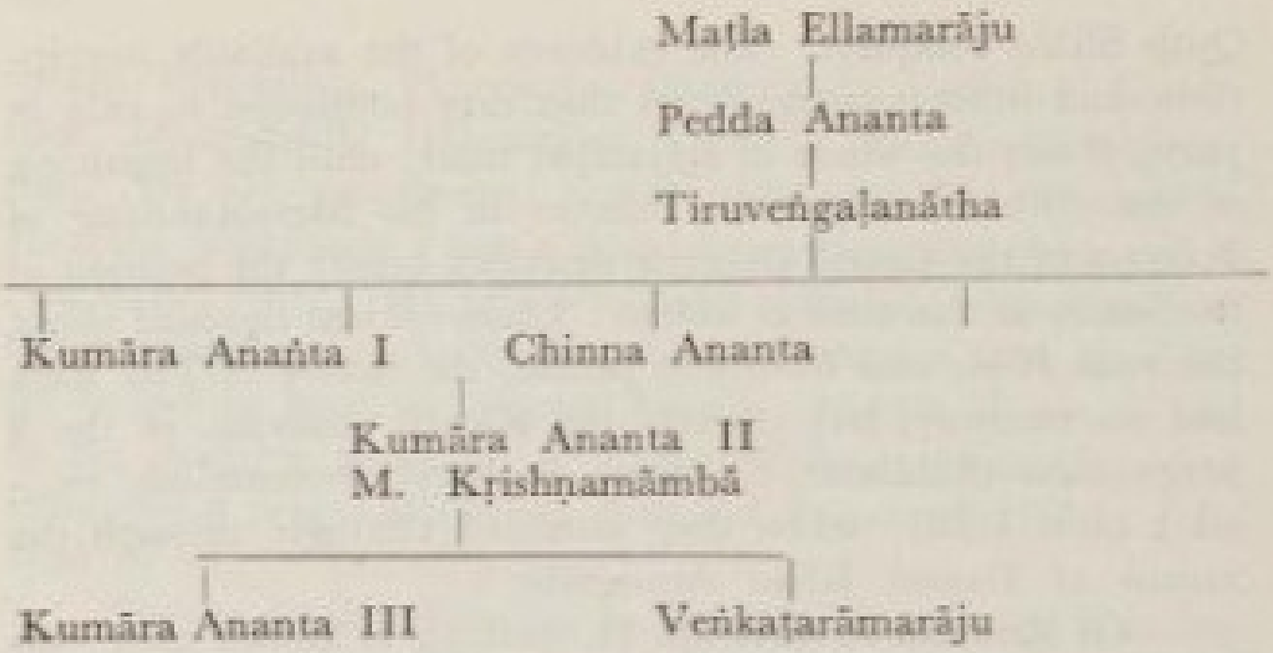
The rule of the Maṭlis did not come to an end with the

1. F. S. Vol. III No. 241
2. Ibid. Vol. III, page 300, 1632A.D.
3. Ibid. No. 241
4. F. S. Vol. III No. 241, Gandikota Kaifiyat Ms. p. 9.

Qutb Shāhi conquest. The evidence of the available inscriptions and other records shows that they continued to rule in parts, if not the whole of Rājampēṭ taluk, until the beginning of the 19th century A.D. Munro in his Memorandum of Poligars of the Ceded Districts describes briefly the position of the family at this time as follows: 'Chitweyl was resumed about the year 1644, and from this period, the family of Tim Raja had no territory, but merely the Kaweli russooms of the 8 pergunnahs (Siddhout, Chinnoor, Budweyl, Permamilah, etc.,-ed); until 1688, when they obtained Chitugle through the means of Daoud Khan Arungzebe'[1].

Of Kumāra Anantarāja II, nothing is known after his flight to Ikkēri-Basavāpuram. His sons, Kumāra Anantarāja III and Veṅkaṭarāmarāja, however, returned to their native country sometime before the Mughal conquest of Gōlkoṇḍa and ruled jointly in parts of Pulugula-*nāḍu* (Rājampēṭ taluk) for some years. Five records which bear testimony to their rule have so far come to light. 1) The earliest acadjan grant from Erragunṭlakōṭa, dated S. 1605, Raktākshi records the gift of land made by Veṅkaṭarāmarāja Deva Chōḍa Mahārāja to a certain Subbā Bhaṭṭa.[2] 2) A.C.P. in the hands of the manager of a temple dated S. 1609, Vibhava, states that during the reign of Maṭli Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, the Brahmins, Reḍḍis and Karaṇams of Pottapi-*nāḍu* and the Karaṇams and people of Puluguru-*nāḍu* made the gift of a *pāṭika* (1/4) in every *ghaṭṭi-varāha* of the *sist* (tax) paid by every village in their *nāḍu* for daily worship and offerings to the temples at Attirāla. 3) A paper grant with the Brahmins of Kampasamudram dated S. 1611, Pramōdūta, records the gift of land to Brahmins in 12 shares made by Maṭli Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, son of Kumāra Anantarāja Dēva Chōḍa-mahārāju 4) A.C.P. in Sanskrit from Pullampet dated S. 1612, Pramōda registers the gift of the villages Mandaram and Kitsamāmbāpuram to 26 Brahmins made by Veṅkaṭarāmarāja Dēvachōḍa Mahārāja.[3] It gives the following genealogy of the donor's family.

1. Fifth report of E. I. Co., II. p. 510.
2. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. I Cd. 663
3. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. I Cd. 656 and 657, Cp. No. 3 of 1907-8.



The charter concludes with the signature not of the donor but of his elder brother Kumāra Anantarāja. 5) Another C.P. in Sanskrit with the Brahmins of Anantarasupuram dated Ś. 1619, refers to the foundation of the village Anantapura by Maṭli Kumāra Anantarasu and his brother Veṅkaṭarāmarasu, and the gift of it to 18 Brahmins as an *agrahāra*.[1]

These records show that Maṭli Kumāra Anantarāju and Veṅkaṭarāmarāju in keeping with the traditions of their family patronised Brahmins liberally and fostered learning, notwithstanding the limited extent of their territory and resources. Several chiefs of the Maṭli family who came after Kumāra Anantarāja and Veṅkaṭarāmarāja are mentioned in their records; but no connected account is possible, as the information furnished by them is mostly disjointed and incoherent. A Maṭla Tiruveṅgalanātha Dēvachōḍa Mahārāja figures as the donor in a paper grant dated Ś. 1629, Sarvadhāri; he is perhaps identical with Maṭla Tiruveṅgaḷanātha and Veṅgaḷanātha mentioned in two other paper grants both dated Ś. 1632, Virōdhi[2]. Similarly, Maṭla Veṅkaṭarāmarāju Dēvachōḍa Mahārāju figures as the donor in a paper grant dated Ś. 1530 Śukla.[3] It cannot be ascertained whether he was identical with or different from Maṭli Veṅkaṭarāmarāju mentioned above. An epigraph at Lēpāka dated Ś. 1634, Nandana discloses the names of Maṭla Veṅkaṭa kṛishṇamrāju and his

1. Ibid Cd. 644
2. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. I Cd. 697, 892 and 897
3. 430 of 1911 and Cd. 705

son, Perumā||arāju.[1] The latter is said to have built the sluice to the tank originally constructed by a certain Bācharasu-Timmarasu. Then comes a Maṭla Anantarāju or Kumāra Anantarāju Dēvachōḍa Mahārāju who is represented by seven records ranging in date from Ś. 1636, Vijaya, to Ś. 1642, Vikāri.[2] These include a C.P. grant, three epigraphs and three paper grants. Maṭla Deva Mahārāja is referred to in a paper grant dated Ś. 1648, Śōbhakrit[3] and he is followed by Anantarāju Dēvachōḍa Mahārāju, who made a gift of land to Sarasvati Sarvatōmukhavyājulu in Ś. 1654, Parīdhāvi,[4] then comes Maṭli Veṅkaṭarāmarāju II, who made a free gift of the village, Chintakunṭa to Sarasvati Sarvatōmukha Mahāvratayājulu in Ś. 1662, Raudra.[5] Maṭli Tiruveṅgaḷanātha II who came after him is represented by a single paper grant dated Ś. 1677, Yuva.[6] His son, Veṅkaṭarāmarāju III, who succeeded him in the same year is represented by five paper grants.[7] He appears to have ruled for about five years from Ś. 1678, Yuva, to Ś. 1682 Vikrama; Maṭla Kumāra Tiruveṅgaḷanātha mentioned in a paper grant dated Ś. 1678, Yuva, is probably his son, and is perhaps identical with Kumāra Dēva Chōḍa Mahārāju who made in Ś. 1679, Īśvara, the gift of land to Sarasvati Pauṇḍarīka-Yājulu and Somēśvara Yājulu.[8] Tiruveṅkaṭanātha III appears to have succeeded his father about Ś. 1687, Pārthiva and ruled until Ś. 1692, Vikriti.[9] A gap of nearly thirty years separates him from Veṅkaṭarāmarāju IV, the next chief represented by the paper grant. Munro, however, mentions some events which happened during the intervening period. 'The Poligar, Triwengu gulnat Apparauz (Tiruveṅgalanātha Apparaju), he informs us, 'was carried by Hyder, in 1870, into the Carnatic, where he died in 1782.[10] According to the *Maṭlivāriyamśāvali* Tiruveṅgalanātharāju alias Apparaju was the son of a Peda Veṅkaṭarāmarāju and his son, Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, who was

1. Cd. 483, 859, 856 (436 of 1911) 706, 871, 872 and 870
2. Cd. 875
3. Cd. 875
4. Cd. 883
5. Cd. 881
6. Cd. 867
7. Cd. 864, 899, 889, 884 and 865
8. Cd. 680
9. 884
10. .....ter Report E. I. Co., 11

a contemporary of Tīpu Sultan ruled until Siddhārthi (A.D. 1799) and Raudri (A.D. 1800).[1] He is evidently identical with Maṭli Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, who granted an *agrahāram* to Allūr Gaṅgādhar Sōmayāji in Ś. 1721, Siddhārthi. Munro gives a brief account of his rule.

After the death of Hyder, Tippoo fixed the peshcush at 1,20,000 rupees; and he wrote to Vancat Ram Raj, the son of the late Poligar, who was then in Chitweyl, that he had confirmed him in the management of the district; but at the same time, invited him to join the army. The Poligar excused himself, and paid only about 60,000 rupees in the course of two years; but in 1785, Tippoo having returned from his expedition to the Malabar coast sent a detachment to occupy Chitweyl, and the Poligar fled to the Carnatic. He was restored in 1791. By the Nizam's officers, his peshcush was fixed at 90,000 rupees, but he engaged to pay considerable sums, privately, besides. In 1798, he was removed by Assud Ally, on account of irregularity in discharing his kists, and his younger brother, Vencat Ragava Raj, appointed in his room, who was in his turn, soon after displaced by Chundoo Lall, and elder brother restored; but the younger offering a Nuzzer of 10,000 rupees, and to discharge all arrears, was again reinstated. All this happened in the year preceding the transfer of the district to the company, in which time, the two brothers paid to Chundoo Lall, the Nizam's *naib*, peshcush 90,000 rupees; balances 65,000 and Nuzzer 10,000 total 1,65,000.

The *Kaifiyat* of Siddhavaṭam describes these events in greater detail. Tipu Sultān sent an army under Mazzam Amīn Khān, an officer in his service, to seize Chitvel belonging to the Maṭlis in Ś. 1709, Piṅgaḷa; Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, the ruling chief fled to the territory of the Kāḷahasti jamīndār in the neighbourhood, and employed two agents, a Brahmin Susarala Subarāyaḍu and Kāpu Sare or Sore Gaṅgu, to plunder in retaliation the whole of the Siddhavaṭam taluk, a task which they seem to have accomplished thoroughly so as to give complete satisfaction to their employer. Meanwhile the government of the country changed hands. On the outbreak of the Third Mysore war, the Nizam of Hyderābād, one of the allies of the English

1. Mack. Mss. No. 405 Cd. 876

East India company, sent his forces into Cuddapah and seized the district in A. D. 1791, together with the territory between the Kṛishṇā and Pennēṟu. As it fell to the lot of the Nizam after the Treaty of Śrīraṅgapaṭnam in A.D. 1792, it remained under the Nizam until it was transfered by him to the English in A.D. 1800 for the maintenance of the subsidiary force stationed in his dominions. During the period of the Nizam's occupation four officers, (1) Moin-ud-daulah Hafiz Farid-du-din Khān (A.D. 1790-91) (2) Asad-Aly Khān of Banganapalle (A.D. 1792-1794, and again 1797-1798), and (3) Arab Amin Khān (A.D. 1795-96), and (4) Chandu Lāl (A.D. 1799) held sway over Siddhavaṭam and its dependent territory.[1]

Moin-ud-Daula recalled Veṅkaṭarāmarāju from exile, and reinstated him in his former possessions. Differences arose between Veṅkaṭarāmarāju and his half-brother Venkaṭarāghavarāju, who was at Kāḷahasti. Asad Ali Khān who was dissatisfied with Veṅkaṭarāmarāju, sent for Veṅkaṭarāghavarāju and transferred the estate to him and drove the former once again into exile. Chandu Lāl on the assumption of office in A.D. 1799, summoned both of them to Cuddapah and cast them into prison. After the cession of the territory to the East India Company the British found it expedient, to abolish the estate and pension of the chief. 'The elder brother', says Munro, 'having been sent prisoner to Hyderabad, I fixed the peshcush of the younger at one lac of rupees; but being deeply involved in debt, and his revenue almost entirely assigned to his troops and his creditors, he let the period of his first kists pass, without paying a single rupee; and, as he was totally incapable of extricating himself, there was no mode left of realizing the revenue but by dispossessing him, which was done in my last. The two brothers now receive 16 per cent of the net revenue of Chitweyi, by order of government."[2]

Thus ended the rule of the Maṭli family; and its subsequent history is not known. A solitary copper-plate grant dated Ś.1729 (Cur) Akshaya refers to a Maṭla Tiruveṅgalanātha-

1. Kaifiyat of Siddhavaṭam Mss., pp. 94-103 A
2. Fifth Report of E. I. Co., P. 511.

rāju, son of Veṅkaṭapatirāju. Nothing is, however, known of his antecedents and subsequent history. He is perhaps the last member of the Maṭli family whose name has come down to posterity.

ADVAITIC ETHICS—A RE-EXAMINATION

A. G. Krishna *Warriar*

The problem of Advaitic Ethics bristles with difficulties. At the very outset crops up the vexed question of *adhikāra* or eligibility of the candidates seeking a systematic study of *Vedānta śāstra*. Next may be considered the place of *karma* and *bhakti*, action and love, in the disciplines leading to the Advaitic goal of *mukti* or emancipation. Finally, the question may be posed whether the *mukta* or the liberated sage passes inevitably beyond the sphere of all human interests and activities or whether his supreme gain may turn out to be the greatest asset of the society of which he has been a member all along. Briefly we shall indicate in this paper how far Advaitic ethics may be deemed relevant to the life of man today.

(i)

The relevant portion of Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*[1] creates the unavoidable impression that his attitude towards the *Śūdras* on the question of *adhikāra* or eligibility is less than generous. The contrast between his attitude to superhuman beings like gods and that to the lowest caste, viz., the *Śūdras* as regards the right to study Vedānta must strike the modern mind as somewhat inexplicable. The expression *manuṣyādhikāratvāt*[2], as a matter of course, suggests that all men alike are eligible for admission to the systematic study of the Vedānta śāstra. But on the basis of the three relevant factors, competence, need, and non-exclusion, *śaktatvam*, *arthitvam*, and *aparyudāsatatvam*, PM had already denied[3] to the *Śūdras* the right to perform the rites enjoined by the Veda. Conforming to the well-known doctrine *vyavahāre bhāṭṭanayaḥ*, Advaitins adopted the *PM* stance in the totally different sphere of enquiry into the nature of Reality or *brahmajijñāsā*. Theoretically, of course,

1. BSB. 1.3.34. ff.
2. BS. 1.3.25;
3. PMS. 6.1.33, etc.

it may be argued, as Bādarāyaṇa and Śaṅkara have done, that being in a predicament similar to the human, superhuman beings, *devas*, deserve to be admitted into the portals of Vedāntic wisdom. Hence the aphorism, *taduparyapi Bādarāyaṇaḥ saṃbhavāt*,[1] makes good sense. Need for Vedāntic wisdom and competence to acquire it may rightly be claimed by the *devas*. Their not undergoing the sacrament of initiation or *upanayana* may not bar them from Vedāntic studies; for, as Śaṅkara points out, to these superhuman beings Vedas reveal themselves.[2]

When, however, the parallel question of the *Śūdras'* eligibility for Vedāntic study is discussed, a strange rigidity of attitude is betrayed both by Bādarāyaṇa and Śaṅkara. What is obvious, of course, is not denied by either, viz., that the *Śūdra* may very well need and prove competent to master Vedānta.[3] No overt prohibition barring them from Vedāntic study is available, either, to justify the rigidity in question, unlike the position in regard to the sphere of rites, which is closed to them on the basis of the clear scriptural statement, *tasmāchchūdro yajñe anavakḷptaḥ*.[4] With striking common sense Śaṅkara notes in the *pūrvapakṣa* that Vedāntic wisdom may very well be mastered by a man though he may not maintain the sacred fires of the Aryan householder.[5] Nonetheless, Śaṅkara emphatically asserts[6] that *Śūdras* are not eligible for Vedāntic wisdom since they are not entitled to study the Vedas. Śaṅkara accepts the widely recognized fact that *Śūdras* like Vidura and Dharmavyādha have won emancipation through the saving knowledge of Self. The effective power of such knowledge, after all, may not be gainsaid.[7] In the result, then what is barred in the case of the *Śūdras* is their way to emancipation through the study

1. B.S. 1.3.26.

2. Vācaspati on BSB. 1.3.26 writes that Vedas learned by gods in their previous human lives and now remembered entitle them to take up Vedāntic studies.

3. arthitvasāmarthyayoḥ saṃbhavāt—BSB. 1.3.34; and Vācaspati notes in this connection, tatra dvijātīnāmiva śūdrāṇāṃ śravaṇādisāmarthyaṃ nijamapratihatam.

4. T.S. 7.1.1.6.

5. nahyāhavanīyādirahitena vidyā veditum na śakyate; B. S. B. 1.3.34.

6. na Śūdrasyādhikāro vedādhyayanābhāvāt, Ibid.

7. jñānasyaikāntikaphalatvāt. BSB. 1.3.38.

of Vedic literature—*Vedapūrvakastu nāstyadhikāraḥ śūdrāṇāmiti sthitam.*[1]

This orthodox position strikes the modern mind as not merely dogmatic, but derogatory to the dignity of man whose identity with Brahman is the unique teaching of Advaita. Discriminatory legislation against the *Śūdras* has been quoted by Śaṅkara in support of the conclusion stated above. If a *Śūdra* listens to the utterance of the Vedas, his ears should be filled with molten lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, his tongue must be cut off; if he has mastered it, his body must be split in twain.[2] It is not the fact of harsh discrimination and unjust legislation against *Śūdras* in ancient and medieval India that should occasion shock, but that the founders of Advaita philosophy of the stature of Bādarāyaṇa and Śaṅkara should seek to uphold the same with considerable text-torturing[3] and far-fetched apology,[4] instead of indignantly repudiating them and using their high authority in favour of humanity and enlightenment.[5] In this context notable becomes the argument in the *Vivaraṇaprasthāna* that *brahmajijñāsā* necessarily entails and presupposes only the qualities denoted by the terms *śānta*, *dānta*, *uparata*[6] etc., and not, as in the case of *dharmajijñāsā*, the study of the Veda also.[7] The comparison with Buddhist practice should have been an eye-opener. The members of the lower classes, Upāli for instance, became respected members of the brotherhood established by the Buddha who had exhorted his followers to travel widely among mankind and preach the word of enlightenment, *bahujanahitāya*, *bahujanasukhāya*. The ripe fruit of Advaitic wisdom, whose core is the ageless truth of man's identity with the supreme,[8] should have made for boundless sympathy and revolutionary zeal to lift all human nature to

1. Ibid.
2. GDS. 12.4. Vivekananda comments on this:—This is diabolical old barbarism, no doubt; C.W. Vol. III; p. 293.
3. BSB. 1.3.34.
4. BSB. 1.3.35-37.
5. Dr. Radhakrishnan does not comment on the caste-prejudice of the *bhāṣyakāra*, and the *sūtrakāra* evident in the exclusion of the *Śūdras*; however, he praises 'Śaṅkara's generosity in throwing open *brahmajijñāsa* to all men. IP. ii, p. 617.
6. BU. 44. 23.
7. BSB. with *Bhāmatī*, *Kalpataru*, etc., p. 51; NS. Edn; 1938.
8. *Tattvamasi*. CU. 6.8.7.

the highest level of the spirit. Thus the teachers of Advaita should have been prompted to throw open the portals of Vedāntic wisdom to all who sought entry. Only such a step would have been consistent with the Upaniṣadic vision of all human beings as *amṛtasya putrāḥ*[1] and accorded with the status of the knowers of Brahman as *sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ*.[2]

The deprivation of the *Śūdra's* right to Vedāntic studies has been sought to be justified as a consequence of his inherent *tāmasic* nature.[3] This, however, seems to be fallacious. There is no objective, *apriori* test to demonstrate the sāttvic, rājasic, and tāmasic natures of individuals and groups. The only fair alternative is to be guided by the results. The right thing to do, in the circumstances, is to afford all facilities to imbibe the wisdom in question to all those who seek to do so. The law of competence will, of course, automatically operate and a natural process of elimination of the incompetent and undesirable candidates will set in. In view of this more or less obvious fact, the effort[4] of Prof. P.V. Kane to show that discriminatory practices in ancient and medieval India against *Śūdras* are no worse, if not better, than similar European practices is wide of the mark. The point is that the ideal of exclusion from vedāntic studies upheld by the Advaitic teachers is inconsistent with the universality of the Advaitic spirit. Insofar as they failed to correct current and inherited prejudices against the *śūdras*, they failed to live up to the spirit of the very Advaita ideal they sought to establish.

(ii)

Next we may ask what place the ideals of *karma* and *bhakti*, action and love, should occupy and what place, in fact, has been assigned to them, in the Advaitic scheme of emancipation. In numerous places in his commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā* and the *Brahmasūtras*, Śaṅkara has vehemently denied that either *karma* or *bhakti* can liberate man; *jñāna* alone has the power to do it. For example, commenting on the passage,

1. ŚU. 2.5;
2. BG. 5.25; 12.4.
3. BGB. 4.13; 18.41.
4. HDS. II. 1, p. 164.

brahmasaṃstho'mṛtatvameti[1] he affirms that only the *parivrāṭ*, who has renounced all activities, may attain immortality.[2] Again in the introduction to the IUB he points out that Ātman, being absolute, is not an accessory to action of any kind. Activities enjoined on man are based on the false views regarding his nature current in the world of *vyavahāra*, viz., that the many selves are agents and reapers of the fruits of activities.[3] In keeping with this fundamental stance of his, Śaṅkara maintains that the *mantra-kurvanneva*,[4] has binding force only on the weak and the ignorant.[5] This view has been reinforced by him in his comment on several aphorisms[6] in the *Brahmasūtra*.

It may be noted here that Śaṅkara affirms, not only that the *mukta* is freed from all activities, but that even the *mumukṣu*, the seeker after liberation, may not combine action and knowledge, in his strivings to reach the goal of life:—*siddhastarhi sarvāśramiṇāṃ jñānakarmaṇoḥ samuccayaḥ; na, mumukṣoḥ sarvakarmasannyāsavidhānāt*.[7] Further he proceeds to marshal scriptural passages in support of the contention set forth above.[8] When, finally, he draws the firm conclusion, *tasmāt kevalādeva jñānānmokṣa ityeṣa artho niścito gītāsu sarvopaniṣatsu ca*[9], Śaṅkara is deliberately ruling out for the *mumukṣu* a life of activities in the world, and making a life of renunciation obligatory on him.

That such indeed is his reasoned conviction is further borne out of his remarks on[10] BG.6.1. This, he holds, is but glorificatory of the renunciation of the desire for actions' fruits and not a disparagement of *sannyāsa*.[11] In other words, the

1. CU. 2.22.1;
2. sa sarvakarmabhyo nivṛtto nimittānivṛtteḥ.
sa ca nivṛttakarmā brahmasaṃstha ucyate; sa ca parivrāḍeva; CUB. 2.21.1;
3. tasmād ātmano 'nekatvakartṛtvabhoktṛtvādi ca aśuddhatvāpāpaviddhatvādi copādāya karmāṇi vihitāni.
4. IU. 2.
5. Cf. athetarasyānātmajñatayātmagrahaṇāsaktasya—IUB.2.
6. BS. 3.4.13, 14, & 15.
7. BGB. on 3.1. Introduction.
8. BU. 4.4.22; Kai. U. 12; Ja U.4; etc.,
9. BGB. 3.1. Introduction.
10. na niragnirna cākriyaḥ.
11. na caikena vākyena karmaphalāsaṃgasaṃnyāsastutiḥ caturthāśramapratiṣedhaścopapadyate-BGB.6.1; Introduction.

earnest candidate seeking *Brahmasākṣātkāra* or absolute freedom must preferably give up all activities and dedicate himself to the exclusive pursuit of *jñāna* in the manner set forth in the verse[1], *sarvakarmāṇi manasā sannyasya*...etc. His reason for such an uncompromising stand may be sought for in his metaphysics according to which the immutable Ātman neither acts nor causes action.[2]

The place assigned to love or *bhakti* in Śaṅkara's scheme for liberation, similarly, is subservient to *jñāna*. It undergoes a metamorphosis and is presented as *paramārthatattvābhiniveśa*,[3] the pull experienced by man towards the supreme Reality; it is no sense of dependence on or love for a personal Being. This is borne out by Śaṅkara's interpretation[4] of the phrase *buddhiyoga* as *mattattvaviṣayaṃ samyagdarśanaṃ tena yogaḥ* to which colour is lent by the expression *jñānadīpena bhāsvatā*.[5] Briefly, action and love are subordinated to the demands of *jñāna* in Śaṅkara's scheme of *mukti*. Even *karmayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*, conceived magnanimously by the author of the Gītā as conducive to the broader interests of mankind, are treated by Śaṅkara only as means promoting Self-realization, through *cittaśuddhi* or purification of mind. Self-centredness, thus, becomes the hall-mark or Śaṅkara's ethics[6] and interest in the world of transmigration is a distraction, best avoided.[7]

The criticism that Śaṅkara's philosophy in its ethical aspect is "essentially world-negating"[8] is not easy to rebut. False in itself, the world cannot, need not, be redeemed. Feelings of sympathy and fellowship are marks and consequences

1. B.G. 5.13; Cf· ātmajñānasya tu kevalasya niḥśreyasahetutvam—BGB.18.66.

2. nāstyātmanaḥ svataḥ kartṛtvaṃ kārayitṛtvam ca .BGB. 5.13.

3. BGB. 10.8.

4. Ibid., 10. 10.

5. Ibid., 10. 11.

6. Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan in *Beyond Ethics*, SJCV. 1950., p. 53. observes, "In whichever way the end be conceived, it will be seen that there is no room for selfishness". What is crucial to the question involved is the motive. If the work, even as worship, is done to win *cittaśuddhi*, selfishness is involved.

7. Cf. Śaṅkara tells us that the supreme fulfilment is the result and reward of supreme renunciation. It is reached when desire is dead and pleasure and pain alike are cast away. IP. ii., p. 632.

8. Ibid.

of *avidyā*.[1] Therefore, it is not a change of the world, but an escape from it, that is logically called for. To this charge it is no answer to point out[2] that Śaṅkara's practice did not conform to his theories. What should interest us is the result entailed by his philosophy which compels us to eschew plurality as a distracting irrelevance. Therefore, the observation,[3] "One who has completely shaken himself free from selfishness is at liberty to take upon himself the task of the world", is hardly pertinent; for, strictly speaking, for such a person, there is no world whose task he may take up. For him all is Brahman, *tasya kāryaṃ na vidyate*[4] and a phrase such as 'world-saving'[4] will make no sense.

(iii)

It is one thing to say that, except as an ancillary to *jñāna*, the Advaitin Śaṅkara has no use either for *karma* or *bhakti* and quite a different thing to maintain that Advaita philosophy is not susceptible of a more positive interpretation. BG itself contains numerous fruitful suggestions for Vedāntic ethics which give a far richer content to Advaita philosophy. For instance, the declaration, *karmaṇaiva hi saṃsiddhim āsthitā Janakādayaḥ*[5] makes it unequivocally clear that a programme of enlightened activity aimed at *lokasaṃgraha* is consistent with the spiritual end of Self-realization. Not only may the way to *mokṣa* run through the sphere of action, but even after the goal is attained one can persevere in the service of all living beings, *sarvabhūtahite rataḥ*.[6] So pronounced is Gītā's penchant for a life of activity that it holds up, for emulation, the life of the Teacher himself but for whose ceaseless activity the world should collapse into ruin.[7] In sharp contrast to Śaṅkara, the Gītā exhorts the wise-man to act in order to promote world welfare *kuryād vidvāṃstathāsaktaścikīrṣurlokasaṃgraham*.[8]

1. Ibid;
2. Ibid;
3. BG. 3.17;
4. IP. ii., p. 633;
5. BG. 3.20;
6. Op. cit. 5.25; 12.4.
7. Op. cit. 32.4;
8. Op. cit. 3.25; contrast with this Śaṅkara's picture of the perfect man—yaṁ na santaṃ na cāsantaṃ nāśrutaṃ na bahuśrutaṃ / na suvṛttaṃ na durvṛttaṃ veda kaścit sa brāhmaṇaḥ // BSB. 3.4.50.

The creative implications of Advaita have been explored and brought to the fore, thanks to the life and activities of Swami Vivekananda, the founder of Neo-Vedāntic[1] movement in India. Great credit is due to him for having discovered the revolutionary potentialities latent in Advaita ethics. For instance, his observation[2] that *paravidyā* and *parabhakt* are really one, suggests at once that the highest knowledge of Brahman must translate itself into acts of loving service to all living beings. In this context deserve to be cited the luminous observations of Bergson:—"The need to spread around them what they have discovered affects mystics like an onslaught of love. True mystics just open their souls to the oncoming wave. They prove to be great men of action. The mystic in each of us is roused by their words and deeds".[3] As a true mystic in whom *paravidyā* and *parabhakti*[4] had beautifully harmonized, Swami felt the full impact of the vision that *all this is brahman*[5] and that the greatest service to the millions of the poor and fallen of all nations is to bring to them the light of this truth. "Work out the salvation of this land and of the whole world...Carry the light and the life of Vedānta to every door and rouse up the divinity hidden in every soul".[6] With unprecedented enthusiasm for the service of man, he points out that if Vedānta is taught to the fisherman,[7] the latter would say, "I am as good a man as you...I have the same God within me as you have in you".[8]

The inspiration of Advaita ethics is not pity or an enthusiasm for doing good. Swamiji places it in the right perspective thus : "Look upon every man and woman as God. You cannot *help* any one; you can only *serve*. Serve the children of the Lord, serve the Lord himself if you have the privilege. Serve

1. Dr. D.M. Datta, IPC; 1952;
2. CW. Vol. III., p. 85;
3. *Two sources*., p. 75. Cf. It shall no more be a *rahasya*, no more to live with the monks in caves and forest.....it shall be worked out in the cottage of the poor, by the beggar in the street. C.W. Vol. III., p. 427.
4. *Two sources*, p. 215.
5. CU. 3.14.1.
6. CW. Vol. III., p. 199.
7. Cf. brahmadāsā brahmaivame kitavāh: BSB. 2.3.43.
8. CW. Vol. III. p.246.

the poor and needy as an act of worship. It is for my salvation that I go and worship them".[1] Both the *mumukṣu* and the *mukta* may address themselves to dedicated social service. On the other hand the orthodox view is that the *mukta* cannot act any more; for one who has realized that he is the non-dual Brahman, the basic condition of activities, viz., plurality, has vanished. He is like the *nirguṇa-brahman*, *niṣkriya*, or inactive.[2] Śaṅkara is consistent when he asserts that the apparent activities of a *mukta* do not deserve that name at all.[3] In striking contrast, Vivekananda points out that it is the sacred duty of the Advaitin to live up to his conviction of the real divinity of man by getting some of these poor Nārāyaṇas or blind Nārāyaṇas or hungry Nārāyaṇas[4] into his house and giving them the worship offered to an image, feeding them and clothing them.

It may be noted that the obstacle in the way of the free development of Advaitic ethics has been the wrong value attached to the distinction between the two orders of reality, *vyavahāra* and *paramārtha*, the empirical and the real. The positive turn given to it by Vivekananda suggests that, as in the case of God, the beneficent activities of the *mukta*, too, will be ceaseless and spontaneous. It is not by either thought or contemplation alone that the passage from the *vyavahāra* to *paramārtha* can be effected, but through actions embodying the essence of such thought and contemplation. This happens when love, rooted in Advaitic consciousness, inspires corresponding activities. Such a vision is embodied in the following utterance of Vivekananda:—"The nation is sinking, the curse of unnumbered millions is on our head—those to whom we have been giving ditch water to drink while they have been dying of thirst, while the perennial river was flowing past...To unnumbered millions we have talked of Advaita...for whom we have invented the doctrine of *lokācāra*, to whom we have talked theoretically that we are all the same and one with the Lord without even

1. Op.cit., pp. 246-247.
2. yogārūḍhasya tasyaiva samaḥ kāraṇam ucyate. BG. 6.3.
3. paramārthaviṣayam yasya tu jñānamutpannam.....yat pravṛtti rūpaṃ dṛśyate na tat karma; BGB. 2.10.
4. CW. Vol. III. p. 391.

an ounce of practice."[1] Of the *mukta* expressing himself in enlightened actions may be truly said, *yad yadācarati śreṣṭhas-tattadevetaro janaḥ...lokastadanuvartate*[2]. The ancient voice of thunder[3] enjoining *dama*, *dāna*, and *dayā*, self-rule, gift, and charity, retains full force for all men, both bound and free.

1. CW. Vol. III. p. 431.
2. BG. 3.21;
3. BU. 5.2.3.

A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE VARIANTS 'PRATHAMA-DIVASE' AND 'PRA-ŚAMA-DIVASE' IN KĀLIDĀSA'S MEGHA-DŪTA

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The third quarter of the second verse[1] in the Pūrva-megha of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* shows us two age-old variants, viz., <<prathamadivase >> and << praśama-divase >>. These long-standing variants have been preserved in two textual recensions of the *Megha-dūta* followed by their respective commentators and translators.

The purpose of the present research paper is to re-examine critically the relative propriety of these conflicting variants in the light of the varied evidences at our disposal, and arrive logically at a cogent conclusion.

To begin with, the standpoints of the different commentators of the passage in question may be classified conveniently into the following five categories:—

i) *Śukla-pratipat-pakṣa*—Mallināṭha upholds this theory. He accepts the reading << prathama-divase>>and appears to interpret the word << prathama >> as ādya. Parameś-

1) tasminn adrau katicid abalā-viprayuktaḥ sa kāmī
nītvā māsān kanaka-valaya-bhraṃśa-rikta-prakoṣṭhaḥ /
Āṣāḍhasya prathama-divase (*v. l. praśama-*) megham āśliṣṭa-sānuṃ
vapra-krīḍā-pariṇata-gaja-prekṣaṇīyaṃ dadarśa //
(Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* with the Sañjīvanī of
Mallināṭha, Cāritravardhanī of Cāritravardhana
and Bhāva-prabo-dhinī of Nārāyaṇa Śāstrin Khiste,
Kashi Sanskrit Series (Haridāsa-Sanskrta-Grantha-mālā
No. 88 Kāvya Section, No. 14), Chowkhamba Sanskrit
Series Office, Benares City, 1931, 1/2, pp. 3-4

Our subsequent references are to this Chowkhamba edition of the *Megha-dūta*.

vara and Bharata-mallika also explain the word << prathama >> in the same line—even though they do not follow Mallināth a in the details of their explanations.

However, Kṣemendra accepts the reading << prathama-divase >> without entering into any explanation of the point.

ii) *Śayany-ekādaśī-pakṣa*—Cāritravardhana explains the compound word << prathama-divasa >> as the Āṣāḍhi śuklā ekādaśī, i.e., śayanī, the first śuklā ekādaśī of Lord Viṣṇu's four-month repose.

(ii) *Pūrṇimā-pakṣa*—Moṭājit, Vijaya-sūri and Janārdana Vyāsa take the word << prathama >> to mean pradhāna [kṛṣy-ādi-kāryānukūlatvāt] and interpret the compound << prathama-divasa >> in the sense of Āṣāḍhi pūrṇimā.

iv) *Amāvāsyā-pakṣa*—Cāritravardhana also interprets the word << prathama >> as pravara or pradhāna [karṣaṇādi-karmānuguṇatvāt] and explains << prathama-divasa >> as Āṣāḍhi amāvāsyā, the last day [= praśama-divasa] of the month of Āṣāḍha.

This explanation is a clever compromise between << prathama >> and << praśama >>.

v) *Avasāna-divasa-pakṣa*—Vallabhadeva and Śāśvata adhere to the reading << praśama-divase >> and interpret the word << praśama >> as avasāna. Sumanaḥśri also follows this reading in the Tibetan translation [<< rdzogs' paḥi' ñin' la' >> = praśamasya divase].

These are no new data for the esteemed band of scholars devoted to the textual study of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*.

We propose to leave these data as such and start afresh to go deep into the core of the problem and find out an unbiassed [siddha-sādhana-doṣa-mukta] and untwisted [kaṣṭārthatva-doṣa-rahita] solution warranted rationally and naturally by the internal evidences.

At all events we must bear in mind the fact that the controversial variants at issue have to be judged properly in relationship with two main cross references in the *Megha-dūta* itself, viz., i) << pratyāsanne Nabhasi dayitā-jīvitālambanārthī, jīmūtena sva-kuśalamayīṁ hārayiṣyan pravṛttim. >> [Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/4ab, pp. 5-6] and ii) << śāpānto me

bhujaga-śayanād utthite Śārṅga-pāṇau śeṣān māsān gamaya caturo locane mīlayitvā. paścād āvām viraha-guṇitaṁ taṁ taṁ ātmābhilāṣaṁ nirvekṣyāvaḥ pariṇata-śarac-candrikāsu kṣapāsu.. >> [Chow. edn., op. cit., 2/47, pp. 79-80]. A critical analysis of the internal evidences furnished by these cross references will give a decisive clue to the determination of the appropriate reading in question.

Thus the Yakṣa's śāpa-kāla commenced on and from the Kārttikī śuklā dvādaśī just after the prabodhanī or utthānaikādaśī. The duration of this śāpa-kāla was one full lunar year [>> śāpenāstaṅ-gamita-mahimā varṣa-bhogyeṇa bhartuḥ. — Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/1b, pp. 1/2]. Eight lunar months [from the Kārttikī śuklā dvādaśī to the Āṣāḍhī śuklā daśamī] have alredy elapsed [<< tasminn adrau katicid.... nītvā māsān.... —— — Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/2ab, pp. 3-4]. The śāpa-kāla was to end on the Kārttikī śuklā ekādaśī, i.e., prabodhanī or utthānaikādaśī.

Thus we find that the remaining four lunar months [from the Āṣāḍhī śuklā ekādaśī (i.e., śayanī) to the Kārttikī śuklā ekādaśī (i.e., prabodhanī)] coincide with Lord Viṣṇu's four months of rest. The śayanī indicates the fast approach of the rainy season. A few tithis later the ambuvācī begins on and from the Āṣāḍhī kṛṣṇā daśamī and continues for four tithis up to the Āṣāḍhi kṛṣṇā trayodaśī. Then after the Āṣāḍhī amāvāsyā comes the month of Nabhas or Śrāvaṇa, the regular varṣaṇa-kāla. The rainy season covers two months, viz., Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra. Then comes autumn which extends over the months of Āśvina and Kārttika. It is after the prabodhanī that the reunion of the Yakṣa with his wife is to occur in mature autumn [<< paścād āvāṁ viraha-guṇitaṁ taṁ taṁ ātmābhilāṣaṁ, nirvekṣyāvaḥ pariṇata-śarac-candrikāsu kṣapāsu.. >>—Chow. edn., op. cit., 2/47cd, p. 80]. The Yakṣa's reference to the prabodhanī shows clearly that he resorts to the lunar calculation and so we need not unnecessarily convert it into the solar one.

It is therefore on the auspicious śayanī, just four lunar months before the prabodhanī, that the love-lorn Yakṣa happened to catch a glimpse of a rain-laden monsoon cloud massing on the summit of the Rāma-giri. Technically speaking, the sight of the cloud was an uddīpana-vibhāva (excitant factor) in the Yakṣa's unmāda-daśā during the śāpaja-pravāsa in vipra-

lambha-śṛṅgāra. He became sick at heart [<< meghāloke bhavati sukhino 'py anyathā-vṛtti cetaḥ, kaṇṭhāśleṣa-praṇayini jane kiṁ punar dūra-saṁsthe.. >> —Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/3cd, pp. 4-5] at the idea that the forthcoming Śrāvaṇa with its heavy downpour would aggravate his wife's already unbearable pangs of separation [viraha] from him and might cause her mūrchā and mṛti. In order to avert any undesirable amaṅgala (terminating śṛṅgāra-rasa and turning it into karuṇa-rasa) the loving husband in the Yakṣa [<< abalā-viprayuktaḥ sa kāmī >> — Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/2a, pp. 3-4] wanted to infuse in her love-sick heart the rosy hope of a reunion in near future [<< dayitā-jīvitālambanārthī >> and<<avyāpannām.... āśā-bandhaḥ kusuma-sadṛśaṁ prāyaśo hy aṅganānāṁ, sadyaḥpāti praṇayi hṛdayaṁ viprayoge ruṇaddhi.... >> — Chow. edn., op, cit., 1/4a, pp. 5-6 and 1/10bcd, p. 10]. His supernatural powers of flying to her instantly being crippled due to his master Kubera's curse [<< śāpenāstaṅ-gamita-mahimā varṣa-bhogyeṇa bhartuḥ. >> — Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/1b, pp. 1-2] he could only think of sending a heartening consolatory message [<< sva-kuśalamayīṁ hārayiṣyan pravṛttim. >> — Chow. edn., op. cit., 1/4b, pp. 5-6] to her as a precautionary measure well ahead of the actual varṣaṇārambha in Śrāvaṇa. So it struck him that the roving rain-cloud, which touched the Rāma-giri about the middle of Āṣāḍha, would move gradually towards the north in the direction of his homeland Alakā and might serve the purpose of a dependable messenger to do his important errand. He coaxed the cloud to do him the job of carrying the message to the Yakṣa-vadhū in Alakā—an enchanting instance of bhrāntimat. For him the auspicious śayanī was especially suitable in every respect. Firstly, the śrī-Viṣṇu-nāma-smaraṇa was a pāpa-kṣayakara prayaścitta paving the path for a reunion with his wife. Secondly, Lord Viṣṇu being śṛṅgāra-daivata would ensure reunion of the love-sick hearts. Thirdly, the mission of sending the message on the śayanī was sure to be successful. Lastly, in his message to his wife the Yakṣa asked her to think of Lord Viṣṇu's four-month sleep and just sleep over the identical period, the remaining four lunar months of his śāpa-kāla [<< śeṣān māsān gamaya caturo locane mīlayitvā. >> — Chow. edn., op. cit., 2/47b, pp. 79-80].

We therefore conclude that the Yakṣa noticed the rain-cloud on the śayanī and that <<prathama-divase >> in the sense of the śuklā prathamaikādaśī (i.e., the śayanī) is the appropriate reading to fit in with the internal evidences supplied by the *Megha-dūta* text itself. One of Cāritravardhana's interpretations noted above suggests this solution. But this explanation of the last four months as vārṣika-māsas are unnecessarily far-fetched and unsuitable. Again, any other explanation would either increase or decrease the remaining four lunar months and thereby defeat the main point of consolation. So the reading << praśama-divase >> is not justifiable. It is probable that the cipher for << tha>> in the Deva-nāgarī script might have been confused for that for <<śa >> by the puzzled scribes and that this misreading [i.e., << praśama-divase >>] happened to be supported by some commentators and translators.

NOTES ON THE TECHNICAL TERM *SĀHASA* "FINE, PECUNIARY PENALTY"

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Sāhasa is a well-known technical term in classical Hindu law. It has its regular place in the enumerations of *vivādapadas*, i. e., the — normally eighteen—"titles of law." For example in Manu's list of *vivādapadas* (8.4-7), the śloka containing titles ten to fifteen runs as follows:

sīmāvivāddharmaś ca pāruṣye daṇḍavācike |
steyaṃ ca sāhasaṃ caiva strīsaṃgrahaṇam eva ca ||

"(10) Disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault and (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) *robbery and violence*, (15) adultery" (transl. Bühler, p. 253).

There may be some doubt about the exact connotation of the term *sāhasa* even within a single text such as the *Manusmṛti* and Bühler's "robbery and violence" may only be partly valid. On the one hand, *sāhasa* seems to refer to "violent appropriation," different from *steya* only insofar as the latter indicates appropriation in the absence of the owner and, hence, without violence. Thus, *Manu* 8.332 :

syāt sāhasaṃ tv anvayavat-prasabhaṃ karma yat kṛtam |
nirannvayaṃ bhavet steyaṃ hṛtāpavyayate ca yat ||

"An offence (of this description), which is committed in the presence (of the owner) and with violence, will be *robbery*; if (it is committed) in his absence, it will be theft; likewise if (the possession of) anything is denied after it has been taken". (Bühler p. 312).

On the other hand, *sāhasa* is clearly distinguished from *steya*; says *Manu* 8. 345:

vāgduṣṭāt taskarāc caiva daṇḍenaiva ca hiṃsataḥ |
sāhasasya naraḥ kartā vijñeyaḥ pāpakṛttamaḥ ||

"He who commits *violence* must be considered as the worst offender, (more wicked) than a defamer, than a thief, and than he who injures (another) with a staff" (Bühler, p. 314).
There is even a third meaning of *sāhasa*, which is much wider than the two preceding ones. Says Nārada 14.2 :

manuṣyamāraṇaṃ steyaṃ paradārābhimarśanam |
pāruṣyaṃ dvividhaṃ jñeyaṃ sāhasaṃ syāc caturvidham ||

"Man-slaughter, robbery, an indecent assault on another man's wife, and the two species of insult, such are the four kinds of *Heinous Offences*" (transl. Jolly, p. 202). In this and similar passages *sāhasa*, in its broadest sense, comes very close to what we might call a "criminal case."

Notwithstanding the differences that exist between the three types of *sāhasa* referred to uptil now, they have one important element in common: in each and every case *sāhasa* indicates a violent act which deserves to be punished. Although this kind of *sāhasa*, too, needs further investigation, we are less concerned here with *sāhasa* "violent act" than we are with a totally different meaning, namely : "fine, pecuniary penalty."

Let us first quote some of the relevant dharmaśāstra passages :

1. *Manu* 8. 138 = *Viṣṇu* 4.14 :

paṇānāṃ dve śate sārdhe prathamaḥ sāhasaḥ kṛtaḥ |
madhyamaḥ pañca vijñeyaḥ sahasraṃ tv eva cottamaḥ ||

"Two hundred and fifty paṇas are declared (to be) the first (or lowest) amercement, five (hundred) are considered as the mean (or middlemost), but one thousand as the highest". (Bühler, p. 277);
2. *Yājñavalkya* 1. 365 (6) :

śāśītipaṇasāhasro daṇḍa uttamasāhasaḥ |
tadardhaṃ madhyamaḥ proktas tadardham adhamaḥ smṛtaḥ ||

"One thousand and eighty paṇas are the highest amercement, one half of this is called the middlemost amercement, one half of that is said to be the lowest amercement."

3. *Nārada* Appendix 30, 31ab:

> *caturviṃśāvaraḥ pūrvaḥ paraḥ ṣaṇṇavatir bhavet |*
> *śatāni pañca tu pare madhyamo dviśatāvaraḥ ||*
> *sahasraṃ tūttamo jñeyaḥ paraḥ pañcaśatāvaraḥ |*

"The first (or lowest) fine to be inflicted on a guilty person shall amount to neither more nor less than twenty-four (paṇas). The middlemost fine shall consist of not more than four hundred, and not less than two hundred (paṇas). The highest fine should be known to consist of not more than a thousand, and not less than five hundred (paṇas) (trans. Jolly, p. 227);

4. *Bṛhaspati* 8.11 (K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar):

> *kārṣāpaṇasahasraṃ tu daṇḍa uttamasāhasaḥ |*
> *tadardhaṃ madhyamaḥ proktas tadardham adhamaḥ smṛtaḥ ||*

"The punishment called highest amercement consists of a thousand kārṣāpaṇas, half of this is called middlemost amercement, half of this the lowest amercement."

5. *Śaṅkhalikhita* 263 (Kane) :

> *caturviṃśatir ekanavatiḥ prathamasāhasaḥ dviśataṃ pañcaśataṃ caiva madhyamasāhasaḥ ṣaṭśataṃ sahasraṃ cottamaḥ.*

"The first amercement is (between) twenty-four and ninety-one (paṇas), the middlemost amercement (between) two and five hundred, the highest amercement (between) six hundred and one thousand."

These texts clearly indicate that, besides "violent act," *sāhasa* also refers to a kind of punishment, and, more specifically a pecuniary penalty, a fine, of which there are three degrees:

1. *prathama, pūrva, adhama,*
2. *madhyama,*
3. *uttama.*

In other words : *sāhasa* belongs to *dhanadaṇḍa* or *arthadaṇḍa* 'pecuniary penalty,' a specific category of punishment which

has been clearly distinguished by the ancient dharmaśāstras. Compare the following texts :

1. *Manu*, 8. 129 :

> *vāgdaṇḍaṃ prathamaṃ kuryād dhigdaṇḍaṃ tadanantaram |*
> *tṛtīyaṃ dhanadaṇḍaṁ tu vadhadaṇḍam ataḥ param ||*

"Let him punish first by (gentle) admonition, afterwards by (harsh) reproof, thirdly by a fine, after that by corporal chastisement." (Bühler, p. 276).

2. *Yājñavalkya* 1. 366 (7) :

> *dhigdaṇḍas tv atha vāgdaṇḍo dhanadaṇḍo vadhas tathā |*
> *yojyā vyastāḥ samastā vā hy aparādhavaśād ime ||*

"Punishment by reproof, punishment by admonition, pecuniary punishment, and corporal punishment; these should be applied separately or combined, according to the nature of the offence."

3. *Nārada* Appendix 53 :

> *śārīraś cārthadaṇḍaś ca daṇḍas tu dvividhaḥ smṛtaḥ |*
> *śārīro daśadhā prokto hy arthadaṇḍas tv anekadhā ||*

"Punishment is pronounced to be twofold : corporal punishment and fines. Corporal punishment is again declared to be of ten sorts; fines are (also) of more than one kind" (Jolly, p. 231).

4. *Bṛhaspati* 29.2 (Rangaswami Aiyangar) :

> *vāg dhig dhanaṃ vadham caiva caturdhā kalpitaṃ damam |*
> *puruṣaṃ doṣavibhavaṃ jñātvā samparikalpayet ||*

"When he finds out that a man has committed an offence, he should inflict upon him one of the four types of punishment : admonition, reproof, fine, or corporal punishment."

The problem to be examined in this paper is the origin of *sāhasa* " fine, pecuniary penalty." There can be little doubt about the origin of *sāhasa* "violent act." Nothing is easier and

has been done more frequently than the derivation of the latter kind of *sāhasa* from *sahas*. For instance, *Kātyāyana* 795 :

sahasā yat kṛtaṃ karma tat sāhasam udāhṛtam |

"That is declared to be *sāhasa* which is an act done with force" (transl. Kane, p. 283)

whereby *sahas* is a synonym of *bala*; says *Nārada* 14.1 :

sahasā kriyate karma yatkiṃcid baladarpitaiḥ |
tat sāhasam iti proktaṃ saho balam ihocyate ||

"Whatever is performed by force (sahas) by persons inflamed with (the pride of) strength, is called Sāhasa (a heinous offence); sahas (force) means strength in this world" (Jolly, p. 202).

It is perhaps not surprising per se, that *sāhasa* also indicates a punishment, i. e., a violent act performed by the king. But, in view of the above-mentioned etymology, one would then expect the punishment indicated by *sāhasa* to be "violent" in nature, and, consequently, to refer to physical punishment. However, the texts are unanimous : *sāhasa* does not belong to *vadhadaṇḍa or śarīradaṇḍa*, but to *dhanadaṇḍa* or *arthadaṇḍa*. Why ?

The most obvious solution is to establish a connection between the two meanings of *sāhasa*. This has been done by J. J. Meyer, in his commentary on Kauṭilya 3. 17. 8 : "*sāhasa* hiesses also ursprünglich Strafe fur Gewalttat für eigenmächtige Besitznahme von einem Gegenstande." It seems also to have been the opinion of R. P. Kangle who, in 3.17. 8.-10 and elsewhere, translates :

pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ : "the lowest fine for violence."
madhyamaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ : "the middle fine for violence."
uttamaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ : "the highest fine for violence."

As a matter of fact, this interpretation is probably correct as far as Kauṭilya is concerned; his definition of *sāhasa* "fine" occurs in the chapter on *sāhasa* "violence," "forcible seizure" (Kangle), and the terms *pūrvaḥ*, *madhyamaḥ* and *uttamaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ* seem to be introduced quite naturally in the passage 3. 17. 8-10.

What has been said about Kauṭilya can also be applied to Bṛhaspati. Here (23.3 Rangaswami Aiyangar) *sāhasa* "fine" is even more closely associated with *sāhasa* "violence."

hīnamadhyottamatvena trividhaṃ tat prakīrtitam /
dravyāpekṣo damas tatra prathamo madhyamottamau //

"It is declared to be threefold, as it may be (theft or violence) of the lowest, second, or highest kind; the punishment in each case should also be of the lowest, middling, or highest sort, according to the (nature of the) article (stolen or injured)" (Jolly 22. 24, p. 363). That means : there are three degrees of fine, *because* there are three degrees of violence; the former are the respective punishments for the latter.

There are, however, a number of arguments, which prevent us from accepting the prima facie view of *sāhasa* "fine" being the punishment for *sāhasa* "violence", the latter having produced the former.

First, in the oldest text containing *sāhasa* "fine," i. e., the *Manusmṛti*, its definition (8. 138) is not to be found in the chapter on *sāhasa* "violence" (8. 344-351), but in the chapter on *ṛṇādāna* "non-payment of debts," i.e., under the first *vivādapada*, which harbours *all* general rules concerning legal procedure and punishment.

Second, *sāhasa* "fine" cannot have come into being as the punishment for *sāhasa* "violence," because, right from the beginning, it has been inflicted for many offences which were never classified as *sāhasa* "violence," even in its widest sense. For instance :

1. *Manu* 8. 120, about false witnesses : "(He who commits perjury) through covetousness shall be fined one thousand (paṇas), (he who does it) through distraction, in the lowest amercement; (if a man does it) through fear, two middling amercements shall be paid as a fine, (if he does it) through friendship, four times the amount of the lowest (amercement)" (Bühler, p. 275);

2. *Manu* 8. 263, in the chapter on boundary disputes : "Should the neighbours give false evidence when men dispute about the boundary mark, the king shall make each of them pay the middlemost amercement as a fine" (Bühler, pp. 300-301).

Third, the interpretation "the lowest fine for violence," etc., is acceptable only when the Sanskrit texts use compounds such as *prathamasāhasadaṇḍaḥ*, etc., or *pūrvaḥ sāhasadaṇḍaḥ*, etc. (Kauṭilya). But it is no longer possible when the texts

speak of *daṇḍaḥ prathamasāhasaḥ*, etc. (Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Śaṅkhalikhita), or *daṇḍaḥ prathamaḥ sāhasaḥ*, etc. (Manu, Viṣṇu, Nārada). In the latter two cases the interpretation must be : "the punishment *is* the lowest *sāhasa*," etc.

Finally, it should be noticed that *sāhasa* "fine" is a masculine noun, whereas *sāhasa* "violence" is uniformly neuter.

For all these reasons we have to reject the explanations given by Kauṭilya and Bṛhaspati, and the modern interpretations based upon them (cf. Meyer, Kangle).

Perhaps rejecting explanations given as early and by such respected teachers as Kauṭilya and Bṛhaspati requires justification. Our impression is, that Kauṭilya and Bṛhaspati were as puzzled by *sāhasa* "fine" as we are. The fact is that *sāhasa* "fine" appears relatively late in dharmaśāstra literature; it does not occur earlier than Manu. Moreover, it appears very suddenly without any effort at an etymological explanation on the part of the author of the *Manusmṛti*, and with a meaning which is very far away from the existing and easily understandable "violence." The origin of *sāhasa* "fine" has never been understood by the commentators either; whereas they are very eager to provide us with etymological explanations for all other technical legal terms, none of the frequent occurrences of *sāhasa* "fine" in the smṛti ever incited them to risk an etymological explanation. Even in recent dictionaries, such as *Vācaspatya*, 138 lines are devoted to *sāhasa* "violence," whereas only two lines deal with the meaning "fine": a mere quotation of Yājñavalkya's definition, without any kind of interpretation.

The starting point of our research on the origin of *sāhasa* "fine" was a brief remark by P. V. Kane (*Hist. of Dharmaśāstra* III, p. 515) : "Probably the oldest reference to fines for assault in Sanskrit literature is contained in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* II. 6. 10. 2"

The passage from TS reads as follows :

> *yo apagurātai śatena yātayāt, yo nihanat sahasreṇa yātayāt, yo lohitaṃ karavad yāvat praskaḍya pāṃsūn saṃgṛhṇāt tāvataḥ saṃvatsarān pitṛlokaṃ na prajānād iti; tasmād brāhmaṇāya nāpa gureta na ni hanyān na lohitaṃ kuryād etāvatā hainasā bhavati*

The text refers to the vow granted by the gods to the descendants of Bṛhaspati, i. e., to the Brāhmaṇas; whoever molests them shall be punished. It does not contain the term *sāhasa* or any form related to it, nor does it say what the "hundred' and "thousand" consist of. A careful examination of the text is, nevertheless, likely to be helpful for our investigation.

As indicated by Kane himself *TS* 2. 6. 10. 2 has not always been understood to refer to a fine. At least two dharmaśāstras have passages based upon it, and their interpretation is a completely different one:

1. *Gautama* 21. 20-22 :

> *abhikruddhāv avagoraṇaṃ brāhmaṇasya varṣaśataṃ svargyam, nighāte sahasram, lohitadarśane yāvatas tat praskandya pāṃsūn saṃgṛhṇīyāt,*

"He who in anger raises (his hand or a weapon) against a Brāhmaṇa, will be banished from heaven for a hundred years. If he strikes, (he will lose heaven) for a thousand (years). If blood flows, (he will lose heaven) for a number of years equal to (that of the particles of) dust which the spilt (blood) binds together" (transl. Bühler, p. 279);

2. *Manu* 11. 206-207 (207-208) :

> *avagūrya tv abdaśataṃ sahasraṃ abhihatya ca |*
> *jighāṃsayā brāhmaṇasya narakaṃ pratipadyate ||*
> *śoṇitaṃ yāvataḥ pāṃsūṃs saṃgṛhṇāti mahītale |*
> *tāvanty abdasahasrāṇi tatkartā narake vaset ||*

"But he who, intending to hurt a Brāhmaṇa, has threatened (him with a stick and the like) shall remain in hell during a hundred years as well as he who (actually) struck him, during one thousand years. As many particles of dust as the blood of a Brāhmaṇa causes to coagulate, for so many thousand years shall the shedder of that (blood) remain in hell". (Bühler, p. 473)

This interpretation by Gautama and Manu may seem most attractive; it supplements for "hundred" and "thousand" of the first two cases the "number of years" referred to in the last case. However, we fear that here too, we are faced with a rationalization *a posteriori*, introduced by Gautama, and

taken over by Manu. Gautama overlooked the fact that the first two cases required a punishment for which the verb *yātayāt* is used, whereas the third case only speaks of *pitṛlokaṁ na prajānāt*. Both expressions apparently refer to two different kinds of punishment.

Let us now come back to Kane's interpretation of the *TS* passage. His idea of a "fine" is clearly based upon Sāyaṇa's commentary on *TS* 2. 6. 10. 2 :

> *tato devā apagoraṇādikartur yātanā svatpurādhinā bhavato iti varaṁ dattavantaḥ. apagoraṇaṁ tāḍanodyogaḥ. taṁ udyogaṁ brāhmaṇaviṣaye yaḥ karoti taṁ puruṣaṁ śatanikadaṇḍena yātayāt kleśayet. yo nihanat tāḍayet taṁ sahasranikadaṇḍena kleśayet.*

Sāyaṇa undoubtedly thinks of fines of one hundred *niṣkas* and one thousand *niṣkas*; *niṣka* is a well known pecuniary unit.

The idea of a fine also occurs in Keith's translation of the Taittirīya passage : "Him, who reviles him, he shall fine with a hundred; him, who strikes him, he shall fine with a thousand; he who draws blood from him, shall not behold the world of the Pitṛs for as many years as are grains of dust which the blood in its fall seizes upon. Therefore one should not revile a Brāhmaṇa, nor strike him, nor draw blood from him; for so great is his sin" (p. 217). A similar translation is also to be found in Ganganatha Jha's rendering of Śabarabhāṣya 3.4.17 (I, p. 506). Differently from Sāyaṇa's interpretation, this translation does not specify the nature of the fine : "he shall fine with a hundred," "...with a thousand." Whereas Kane hesitated : " a hundred (cows or niṣkas ?)," Keith is categorical : "the unit is no doubt the cow, not *niṣkas* or other coins or measures." Thus we arrive at a third interpretation of *TS* 2.6.10.2: *yātayāt* refers to a fine, but the numbers "hundred" and "thousand" should be supplemented by "cows".

Although neither Kane not Keith said so, it is evident that they were influenced by two other dharmaśāstra passages :

1. *Āpastamba* 1.9.24. 1-4 :

> *kṣatriyaṁ hatvā gavāṁ sahasraṁ vaiśyāyātanārthaṁ dadyāt, śataṁ vaiśye, daśa śūdre; ṛṣabhas cātrādhikaḥ sarvatra prāyaścittārthaḥ,*

"He who killed a Kṣatriya shall give a thousand cows (to Brāhmaṇas) for the expiation of his sin. (He shall give) a hundred cows for a Vaiśya, ten for a Śūdra. And in every one (of these cases) one bull (must be given) in excess(of the number of cows) for the sake of expiation" (transl. Bühler, pp. 78-79);

2. *Baudhāyana* 1. 10. 19. 1—2 :

> *kṣatriyavadhe gosahasraṃ ṛṣabhaikādhikaṃ rājña utsṛjed vairaniryātanārtham, śataṃ vaiśye, daśa śūdre; ṛṣabhas cātrādhikaḥ,*

"For slaying a Kṣatriya (the offender) shall give to the king one thousand cows and besides a bull in expiation of his sin. For (slaying) a Vaiśya one hundred cows, for (slaying) a Śūdra ten; and a bull (must be) added (in each case)" (transl. Bühler, pp. 210—202).

In these two texts we meet with the words *yātanā* and *niryātanā*, derived from the same root as *yātayāt* in *TS* 2. 6. 10. 2, and we do have the amount of the fines expressed in a thousand, hundred and ten "cows".

In short, the "oldest reference to fines" in India is not a very conclusive piece of evidence; even if we discard the first interpretation followed by Gautama and Manu, we are left with the alternative of fines to be paid either in coins or in cattle. At this stage we shall compare the Indian situation with the early history of fines in Roman Law. We shall quote the translation of an important passage from Aulus Gellius' Attic Nights (*Noctes Atticae* 11.1.1-3) :

"Timaeus, in the *History* which he composed in the Greek language about the affairs of the Roman people, and Marcus Varro in his *Human Antiquities*, wrote that the land of Italy derived its name from a Greek word, oxen in the old Greek tongue being called *italoi*; for in Italy there was a great abundance of cattle, and in that land pastures are numerous and grazing is a frequent employment.

"Furthermore, we may infer that it was for the same reason namely, since Italy at that time so abounded in cattle—that the fine was established which is called 'supreme,' consisting of two sheep and thirty oxen each day, obviously proportionate

to the abundance of oxen and the scarcity of sheep. But when a fine of that sort, consisting of cattle and sheep, was pronounced by a magistrate, oxen and sheep were brought, now of small, again of greater value; and this made the penalty of the fine unequal. Therefore later, by the Aternian law, the value of a sheep was fixed at ten pieces of brass, of the cattle at a hundred a piece. Now the 'smallest' fine is that of one sheep. The 'supreme' fine is of that number which we have mentioned, beyond which it is not lawful to impose a fine for a period of successive days; and for that reason it is called 'supreme,' that is, greatest and heaviest" (transl. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, 1960, II, pp. 299-301).

That means, that in ancient Rome, where "there was a great abundance of cattle," fines were originally imposed in the form of cattle. At a certain moment, by the *Lex Aternia*, i. e., a law passed under consul A. Atinius, in 454 B. C., the fines were given corresponding pecuniary values. Would it be too much to assume that in ancient India too, where cattle was equally abundant and important, the older form of the "fine" to be paid by a convicted person was in cattle ? Would it be too much to assume that in India too, at a certain moment which, differently from what happened in Rome, has not been recorded, fines in coins took the place of fines in cattle ?

The Latin term used to indicate a fine—a fine in cattle first, a pecuniary fine later—was *multa*. Unfortunately, the origin of *multa* was not much clearer to the Romans than *sāhasa* to the Indians. According to Varro, quoted by Aulus Gellius (11. 1. 5), the word was of Sabine origin : "Furthermore, Marcus Varro, in the twenty-first book of his *Human Antiquities*, also says that the word for fine (*multa*) is itself not Latin, but Sabine, and he remarks that it endured even to within his own memory in the speech of the Samnites, who are sprung from the Sabines" (Rolfe II, p. 301). Other lexicographers refer to an Oscan origin.

The opinions of modern scholars too, are divided. We are tempted to follow Roland Kent, and derive *multa*, via ancient *mulcta* (Ernout and Meillet, *Etymological Dictionary of the Latin Language*, maintain that this form has been created by the grammarians), from the verb *mulcare* : "*Multa* 'fine' possibly taken

from Sabine, but probably from the root in *mulcare* 'to beat" (Varro : *On the Latin Language*, Loeb Classical Library, 1958 I, p. 164n.). According to Lewis and Short (*Latin-English Dictionary*) *mulcare* means "to ill-treat," to injure, damage."

The etymology of *mulcare* is uncertain. According to Ernout-Meillet there is no equivalent outside Italic. Lewis-Short compare with Greek *marpto*, from *marp-io* ("to take hold of, seize, condemn"). The Sanskrit equivalent of Latin *mulc*—and Greek *marp*—is not *mṛś*—,as pointed out by Pokorny (*Indogermanisches Etymologisches Worterbuch*) and Frisk (*Griechisches Etymologisches Worterbuch*), but mṛc (marcayati) "to hurt, injure, annoy" (Monier-Williams). Comparative philology, thus, provides us with a third Sanskrit root, which is possibly connected with the early history of fines. In the following pages we shall examine, whether the early meanings of *mṛc*—, *yat*—and *sah*— can teach us anything about the reason why a fine came ultimately to be indicated by the term *sāhasa*.

Forms of *mṛc*— are rare in the Veda. In *ṚV* 5.3.7. *marcayati* is accompanied by the words *āgas*, *enas* and *abhiśasti*; in *ṚV* 2. 23. 7 *marcayāt* has as its direct object *anāgasaḥ*, but the subject refers to an inimical element rather than to a law-enforcing authority : *arātivā martaḥ sānuko vṛkaḥ*. A similar subject occurs in *ṚV* 1. 147. 4 : *araricān aghāyur arātivā*, and in *ṚV* 8. 67. 9 too, *mṛc-* (the substantive) belongs to *riṭūṇām vṛjinānām*. A striking feature is the combination *marcayati dvayena*, which occurs three times: *ṚV* 1. 147. 4, 5; 5. 3. 7. There is no consistency in Sāyaṇa's' interpretations of *marcayati* and *marcayāt* : 1. 147. 4 *bhartsayati vidheyīkaroti vā*; 1. 147. 5 *vidheyīkaroti bhartsayati vā*; 2. 23.7 *hiṃsyāt*; 5. 3. 7 *bādhate*.

In *AV* 13.1.40 it is said of the sun : *devo devān marcayasi*, and in *AV* 8. 2. 17 the present participle is applied to the razor: *kṣureṇa marcayatā sutejasā*, and means, according to Whitney, "*dangerous* (?)" (cf,. however, *Āśv. Gṛh, S.* 1. 17.16, where these words have been quoted : "wounding" Oldenberg, "purifying" Stenzler).

The root *yat*— has been the object of an exhaustive study by K. F. Geldner : *Wurzel yat* (*Vedische Studien* 3, 1901, pp. 11—26), and the above-mentioned expressions *vairayātana* and *vairaniryātana* too, have, for a time, been discussed very fervently

(by Bühler, Roth, Leist, Jolly, and von Schroeder). However, notwithstanding these investigations by a number of well-known Sanskritists, F. Sommer (*Griechische Lautstudien*, Strassburg 1905, pp. 157-158) came to the conclusion that "we are still far from really understanding the *oldest* meaning of the ancient Indian verb."

Not until the end of his paper does Geldner introduce "the technical use which the root *yat* has acquired in legal language" (p. 23), indicating thereby that the legal meaning is but a later development. His examples also belong to later texts :

1. *Taitt. Ār.* 1. 8. 5 :

pṛcchāmi tvā pāpakṛtaḥ yatra yātayate Yamaḥ |

"I ask you, where Yama *yātayate* ('zur Verantwortung zieht') the sinners;"

2. *Mbh*, 13. 102. 16 (CE 13. 105. 16cd), in a dialogue between Gautama and Indra about an elephant which Indra had taken away from Gautama :

yatrābalā balinaṃ yātayanti |
tatra tvāhaṃ hastinaṃ yātayiṣye ||

"where the weak *yātayanti* (zur Rechenschaft ziehen, " verklagen' the strong one [i. e., in the world of Yama], there I *yātayiṣye* ('belangen,' 'zurückfordern') you with regard to the elephant."

We fail to see why Geldner considers this technical meaning as a later development. In our opinion, both examples come very close to the very first meaning distinguished by Geldner himself : "einem oder einander *gleichkommen, ebenbürtig sein*," and, hence, "nacheifern, wetteifern, gleichzukommen oder zu überbieten—, es jemandem zuvorzuthun suchen," or, expressed negatively, "jemandem nicht nachstehen wollen." We could not agree more with Geldner than when he adds: "English 'to match' comes closest of all to Vedic yat" (p. 12). We shall do nothing more than paraphrase Geldner's Vedic meaning, to make it perfectly applicable to the passages from *Taitt. Ār.* and *Mbh.*: *yat—* refers to somebody's reaction to somebody else; more specifically : a reaction which is strong enough to countervail the other person's previous action—

which is normally a bad action——, and, thus, to restore what is right.

Taitt. Ār. 1.8.5 is clear : "I ask you, where Yama restores the wrong done by sinners," or, to make our point as clear as possible : "I ask you, where Yama makes sinners pay for their sins."

In *Mbh.* 13. 105. 16 cd the grammatical subjects of *yātayanti* and *yātayiṣye* are *abalāḥ* and *aham*, respectively. But Yama is again involved; cf. pādas ab :

vaivasvatī saṃyamanī janānām /
yatrānṛtaṃ nocyate yatra satyam //

The real meaning of pādas cd is this : in the world of Yama, where the weak can appeal to Yama to make the strong pay for the wrong they did them, there I, Gautama, shall be able to appeal to Yama to make you, Indra, pay for having taken my elephant away.

An important occurrence of *yātayāsi* in *ṚV* 5.3. 9 will be discussed below.

A survey of all occurrences of *sah*— in the *ṚV* was not particularly enlightening; there is no reason to repeat it in this paper. In most cases Sāyaṇa interprets *sah*— as *abhibhū*— without any further explanation. Only occasionally did we meet with more precise and useful information. Thus, when commenting on *ṚV* 1. 131. 4ab:

vidus ṭe asya vīryasya pūravaḥ puro /
yad indra śāradīr avātiraḥ sāsahāno avātiraḥ //

Sāyaṇa says : *sasahānas tatratyān abhibhavan dhanādyapahāreṇa pīḍayan*, thus establishing a connection between *sah*—and *dhanādyapahāra*—"taking away somebody's property, etc."

Another passage, *ṚV* 8. 86. 5c, has the usual object : "enemies," but deserves to be mentioned in view of the subject of *sah*—, namely : *ṛta*— , thus :

ṛtaṃ sāsāha mahi cit pṛtanyataḥ.

Even though the situation is different, we want to recall *Mbh.*

13.105. 16c, according to which the action of *yat*—takes place *yatrānṛtaṃ nocyate yatra satyam.*

Since the verbal forms derived from *sah*—did not allow us to draw a sufficiently definite conclusion, we tried another approach : an examination of the substantive *sahas*, and, in particular, the expression *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ.*

From the numerous passages analyzed by Gonda (*Some Observations on the Relations between Gods and Powers in the Veda, apropos of the phrase sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*, The Hague 1957) we shall first select *ṚV* 6. 4. 4d :

rājeva jer avṛke kṣeṣy antaḥ.

Although the stanza says only *sūno*, it is generally accepted that *sahasaḥ* is understood; compare Sāyaṇa : *he sūno sahasaḥ putra.* The important element in this stanza is that Agni, qua *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*, is compared to the king.

If Gonda's theory about the relation between gods and powers is correct, i. e., if Agni is not only "the son of " *sahas* but at the same time "represents" the power *sahas*, we must assume that, in the mind of the Ṛgvedic poet, Agni was the one who *sāhayati.* The comparison with the king in *ṚV* 6. 4. 4, then, becomes very important for understanding the origin of *sāhasa* "fine."

Moreover, there is another element in *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ* that leads us to compare Agni with the Hindu king. Says Gonda (p. 2): "What strikes us in perusing those Ṛgvedic passages in which it occurs is in the first place the comparatively frequent reference to the god's protective power, his victoriousness, his readiness to help and assist his worshippers, his ability to ward off influences and circumstances inimical to success and prosperity." The main characteristic of the king too, is his protective power, the fact that he protects his subjects against their enemies, and, thus, safeguards their prosperity.

The element of protection also appears in *ṚV* 6. 4. 4, namely in *avṛke.* Sāyaṇa explains *avṛke* only in relation to Agni : *avṛke rāikṣasādibhir bādhakair viyukte 'smadīye 'gnyāgāre.* But the comparison *rājeva* forces us to look for a similar place which is *avṛka-* in relation to the king. The ṚV itself shows us the way, in another nsage of *avṛka*—, not in connection with

a place but with a person. The expressions *aṛkatamo narāṃ nṛpāti* (1.174. 10b), and *aṛkāso...nṛpātāro janānām* (1. 14. 6ab) clearly indicate that the king too, can be considered as *aṛka—*. And the following arguments show that *aṛka-* can also be applied to the king's realm :

1. *Nighaṇṭu* 3. 24 mentions *ṛka—* as one of the synonyms for "thief," *stena*;

2. In *ṚV* 2.34.9, *ṛkatāt* indicates a situation in which, according to Sāyaṇa, a *hananasādhanam āyudham* is used. Hence Petersburg Dictionary : "Mord— oder Raubanschlag;"

3. *ṚV* 4. 41. 4 implores Indra's and Varuṇa's help against *durevo ṛkatir dabhītiḥ. Ṛkati—* is explained by Sāyaṇa as *atiśayenādātā*; PW has, accordingly, "Mörder, Räuber;"

4 In *ṛkāya—* (*ṚV* 10.133. 4), *ṛka-* means, according to Sāyaṇa: *hiṃsako 'rayaśvā steno vā*. PW has: "mord-, raublustig".

In short, the comparison in *ṚV* 6.4.4 should be completed as follows : since Agni has the power of *sahas*, he resides in a fire-place from which Rākṣasas etc. have been removed, like a king who, through his power of *sahas*, rules over a kingdom from which thieves, murderers, etc. have been removed.

Even more interesting than *ṚV* 6. 4. 4 is *ṚV* 5. 3. 9 :

ava-spṛdhi pitaraṃ yodhi vidvān
putro yas te sahasaḥ sūna ūhe;
kadā cikitvo abhi cakṣase no
'gne kadāṁ ṛtacid yātayāse.

Agni is again appealed to in his capacity of *sūnaḥ sahasaḥ*, and he is asked : *kadāṁ ṛtacid yātayāse*. The general background of the hymn is perhaps not very clear, but Geldner is right (transl. II, p. 5) when he says that "the hymn alludes repeatedly to hidden enemies and plaintiffs, cf. stanzas 7,9, 11." There is no doubt that the hymn appeals to Agni primarily as the representative of the power of *sahas*; *sūnaḥ sahasaḥ* is repeated in stanzas 1, 6 and 9, and *sahasā* occurs in stanza 10. The representative of *sahas* is requested to perform the act of *yātanā*, an activity which it is his duty to perform (*yātayāse*, subjunctive) since he is *ṛtacid* (Geldner : "als Rechtskundiger, " is perhaps too specific, but cf. the role of *ṛta* above.)

The data which have been collected in the preceding

pages do not exhaust the subject. We can only hope that, by scrutinizing more texts, the picture might become more complete. At present, we submit the following hypothesis about the origin of *sāhasa* "fine."

1. A comparison with the situation in Rome seems to indicate that a pecuniary penalty was a comparatively recent phenomenon. As indicated by the term "pecuniary" itself, it was preceded by an older stage, at which fines were not paid in coins, but in cattle. This stage is reflected in the passages from *TS*, *ĀpDhS* and *BauDhS*.

2. The terminology used in India was different from the one adopted in Rome; *mṛc—*, the equivalent of Latin *mulc—*, has nothing to do with punishment. The terms used for "imposing a fine" at this stage were forms derived from the root *yat—* (*yātayāt*, *yātanā*). There is no trace yet of *sāhasa*.

3. The term *sāhasa* "fine" appears for the first time in the *Manusmṛiti*. However, *sāhasa* is never used as a generic term; this is *dhanadaṇḍa* or *arthadaṇḍa*. *Sāhasa* is used only for fines of fixed amounts (*pūrva—*, *madhyama—*, *uttama—*), i. e., for those fines which, at an unknown date in India, were fixed as equivalents for cattle. The situation is comparable with *minima* and *suprema multa* in Rome. The author of the *Manusmṛiti* could have used *pūrvadhanadaṇḍa*, etc.; if he did not do so and preferred *pūrvasāhasa*, etc., we must assume that *sāhasa* was a readily available term that was capable of conveying that meaning. But, although *sāhasa* "violent act" occurs earlier (cf. *ĀpDhS* 2. 6. 13.7) than *sāhasa* "fine," there is no reason to conclude that the latter originated from the former.

4. In reality, *sah-* and its derivatives seem to have been associated, from a very early period, with *yat-* and its derivatives, not only in the sense of retaliatory action generally, but in the sense of "matching" punishment in particular.

We have no answer to the question, why Manu preferred *sāhasa* rather than *yātanā*. Either *sāhasa* was already a generally accepted synonym of *yātanā*; or *yātanā* (and *niryātanā*) had gradually acquired a different meaning: "acquittal (of debts)." and, through a well known semantic process, the vacuum thus created was filled by *sāhasa*, which, even though it had never been used for that purpose, was considered perfectly adequate.

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DR. V. RAGHAVAN - A PROFILE

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Classical studies in both East and West are threatened not merely by the external pressures of materialism, politics and intellectual short-sightedness, but internally also by their slowness to adapt-or, in the current jargon, to remain 'relevant', -and by a tendency to narrow and dehumanized specialization which shirks any question of ultimate values. It is consequently as fortunate as it is rare to find a scholar who, by his learning, energy and broad outlook, is able to revitalize inside and propagate outside the study of an ancient culture. Such a scholar is Dr. Raghavan who for the last forty years has been a major figure in the cultural life of South India.

Born in 1908 near Tanjore, he already distinguished himself at school as the 'all-rounder' which he has remained ever since. A brilliant student of Sanskrit and allied subjects under Kuppuswami Sastri at the Presidency College, Madras, he seems to have attracted prizes and medals like a magnet. His first post-graduate assignment was in 1930 as Superintendent of the *New Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS* in the great Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore. This was by way of preliminary to his work on the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* in Madras,—colossal project, which he joined as Research Assistant in 1935 and to which he has devoted his energies ever since, travelling all over the world to survey

MS collections. It was in the early *thirties* also that he began work on the unpublished MS of King Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, which was eventually to result in the publication, over thirty years later, of his *opus magnum*, for which he was awarded the Sahitya Akademi Prize.

Concurrently with his Sanskrit Research and teaching (he duly became Professor of Sanskrit at Madras University in 1955) and with his work on the *Catalogus*, Raghavan has found time to broadcast, to produce Sanskrit plays,—even to write them himself, as well as poetry and musical compositions,—to visit institutions and universities in India and all over the world, delivering papers on every aspect of Indian Culture, to write books as well as articles... At the time of his 61st birthday celebrations a bibliography of his writings was published which constituted a book in itself. His writings are far too numerous and varied to be adequately treated in this short article. Specialists will be aware of their merit, and others might find a detailed description tiresome. Besides, Raghavan is one of those rare scholars whose biography is not merely synonymous with his bibliography. And yet some mention of his major works is perhaps the best way of illustrating his range of interests. Besides the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* already mentioned, which, under his direction, had been appearing in successive volumes since 1949, there are his contributions to the study of Indian aesthetics (*Studies in some concepts of Alaṃkāraśāstra*, 1942; *The Number of Rasas*, 1940; and *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, 1963, noted above). His edition of the dance treatise *Nṛttaratnāvalī* by Jāyasenāpati (1967) is prefaced by a characteristic introduction, as far rang-

ing as it is exhaustive. In the field of music also he is an acknowledged authority, befitting one born in Tanjore, the spiritual home of South Indian music. Besides having been one of the secretaries of the Madras Music Academy for over thirty years, his written contributions in this field may be represented by *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyagaraja* (1957).

In 1956 *The Indian Heritage* was published as part of the UNESCO series of translations. In these selections from Indian religious and philosophical classics, and in the introduction to them which is an entity in itself, Raghavan has helped to further understanding abroad of India's contribution to civilization, and has thereby brought nearer that eventual synthesis of Eastern and Western modes of existence which for many seems the brightest hope for the future. His love of India's heritage, and his belief in its value to the rest of the world, together with his own religious sense, underlie all his work. And few can have worked so hard to foster knowledge and appreciation of 'the Indian heritage'; not only by his membership of committees and institutions, his writings, travels, broadcasts and editorship of several journals, but by his unstinted help of all seekers of knowledge, from the humblest student to the most eminent 'visiting professor'. In fact, during the few months in which the present writer was in daily contact with him, it was hard to believe that he ever took a moment's rest—and this was his so-called retirement.

Rather than prolong this attempt to summarize Raghavan's many activities, and to counter any feeling the reader may have that he has to do with

a superman, I hope I may be allowed to conclude on a rather more personal note.

For those who associate eminence with a certain formality and ostentation it will be a surprise to see how simply Raghavan lives. This, of course, is in the best Indian tradition. But I wonder how widespread the practice of simple living is among eminent Indians today. Equally refreshing is his lack of ceremony in everyday dealings. The early morning visitor, as he steps over the intricate *kolam* at the garden-gate, will catch a glimpse of a berobed figure—half Socratic, half honey-bear—sitting on the verandah, already reading or writing letters, annotating a book, correcting proofs, or giving messages to be delivered by the peon. But however busy he may be, and whoever the visitor, there will be the same welcome and attention. Serious and humorous, reserved and sociable, living humbly but disarmingly, enjoying his position and influence, there is no length to which he will not go in the furtherance of any project connected, however distantly, with his own life's work: the propagation of Sanskrit culture in all its ramifications. Being himself endowed with great energy, enthusiasm and clarity of mind, it is hardly surprising that he can be impatient of laziness or stupidity in others. His ability to organize and 'get things done' may occasionally verge on the autocratic and cause resentment, just as his unusual gifts have given rise to envy. Such are the penalties of an outstanding personality. Fortunately he continues to add to his achievements in every field year by year, and thereby increases the admiration and respect of many friends throughout the world.

DR. V. RAGHAVAN :

Work & Bibliography 1969—

Accounts of Dr. V. Raghavan's career and work upto 1968 and a Bibliography of his books, papers and other writings upto that date were published[1] on the occasion of his Shashṭyabdapūrti (61st Birthday) celebrations in 1968.

Here an account of his work, and a Bibliography of his writings from 1969 upto-date are given.

1968

Dec. 31. Retired from the position of Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras.

1969

Jan 1, Awarded a Fellowship for two years by the Jawaharlal Nehru Foundation, New Delhi, for the special project of an edition from mss. of the Sanskrit text of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of King Bhoja.

This edition of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* is now going through the Press and is to appear in the Harvard Oriental Series.

1969

Jan. 24. Visited Jain Ms. Libraries at Moodbidri and Karkal in Mysore State.

25. Presided over the *Kavi-Sammelana* of the Madhva Conference at Udipi arranged for the *Paryāya* Celebrations of H. H. Swamiji of Pejāwar Maṭh.

March 1, 2. Visited Pūvilli Mana and Varikasseri Mana in Kerala and examined the Sanskrit Ms. Collections there.

April 22. Inaugurated the Tyāgarāja Festival at Vijayawada under the auspices of the Andhra Pradesh Federation of Music Sabhās.

May 31-June 9. Conducted in Madras the Proceedings of the All-India Śaṅkara-Ṣaṇmata Conference organised under the inspiration and guidance of H. H. Sri Candrasekharenda Sarasvati of Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha. Read papers on 'Religious, Harmony' (1st), on 'Sauram' (Sun-

1. New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.

Worship, 5th), on 'Śaṅkara's hymns on the Divine Mother' (6th) and on 'Lesser Known Rāmāyaṇas' (8th).

Aug. 21. Lectured on 'The Concept of Culture' (24th Founder's Day Address) at the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, (Ptd. 1971).

22. The Dr. V. Raghavan Shashṭyabdapūrti Alaṁkāra Lecture at the Saṁskrita Academy Madras, endowed by Dr. S. S. Janakī: Inaugural Lecture by Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, Prof. of Sanskrit, Annamalai University, on 'Rājaśekhara and his Kāvyamīmāṁsā.'

Oct. 1. On behalf of the Sāhitya Akademi, New Delhi, called on Rajaji and conveyed the Akademi's Fellowship, read the Citation and presented the Souvenir to him.

Nov. 16. Presided over the All-Kerala Sanskrit Convention at Ernakulam under the auspices of the Akhila Kerala Saṁskrita Parishad in the immediate presence of the Hon. Sri V. Visvanathan, Governor, Kerala.

17. Visited Vaḍekkeḍathi Mana in Kerala and examined the Sanskrit mss. there.

Dec. 9-10. Participated in the Guru Nanak Quin-centenary Seminar of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, and read a paper on 'Nanak and the Bhakti Movement' (10th).

13. Released a definitive edn. of the *Nārāyaṇīya* brought out by the Devasvom at the temple in Guruvāyūr, Kerala.

Dec. 19th-Jan. 1st. 1970. The 43rd Annual Conference of the Music Academy, Madras; steered the Experts' Committee Meetings.

Dec. 31. The Second Dr. V. Raghavan Shashṭyabdapūrti Endownment Lecture at the Experts' Committee of the Music Academy, Madras, delivered by Pt. S. N. Ratnajankar on 'Exchange of Ideas and practices between North Indian and South Indian Music' (with demonstrations).

This Endownment Lecture was inaugurated at the 42nd Conference in Dec. 1968 by Saṅgītakalānidhi T. L. Venkatarama Iyer with his exposition of "Some Aspects of Muttuswāmi Dikshitar's Compositions."

1970

Jan. 4. Participated in the Quin-centenary Seminar on 'Guru Nanak and his Teachings', organised by the Sahitya Akademi in Madras.

Feb. 12. Participated in a Seminar on 'Gandhi in Indian Literature' and read a paper on 'Gandhi in Sanskrit Literature' in the University of Mysore.

17. Honoured by the General Body of Dīkshitas of Śrī Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram at the Pañcākṣara Steps at the Garbha-Gṛha of the shrine.

1970

Feb. 25. Delivered the Inaugural Address to and participated in the Seminar on the Contribution of Bhoja to the different branches of Indological Studies held from 25th Feb.- Ist March 1970, in the Vikram University, Ujjain.

27. Participated in the Seminar on 'Sciences and Music' organised by the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi.

March 9, 10, 11. Delivered three Lectures on '*Ṛtu* (Seasons) in Sanskrit Literature' at the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Delhi in the Śāradīya Jñāna Mahotsava Endownment Series (Ptd. 1972).

Donated the honorarium to the Institute for an Annual Prize for the candidate who stood first in Śikṣā Śāstri Examination.

15. Was conferred the title of *Vidvatkavīndra* by a Conference of Pandits and Scholars at the Akhila Bhārata Saṃskṛta Bhāshā Samiti, Mambalam on the occasion of their Annual Veda Śāstra Kavitā Sadas.

May 10, 11. Participated in the Seminar at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, on 'Indian Literatures and the Classical Tradition' and presided over one session.

17. Made Chairman of the Alaṁkāra Dictionary Project, University of Mysore.

July 21. Inaugurated the Honours Classes in Sanskrit in M.E.S. College, Bangalore.

Aug. 19. The Second Dr. V. Raghavan Shashṭyabdapūrti Endownment Lecture on Alaṁkāra Śāstra at the Saṁskrita Academy, Madras, delivered by Sri M. Ramakrishna Sastri, M.A.,M.Litt., Sanskrit Department, University of Madras, on 'The Sāhityacintāmaṇi of Vemabhūpāla'.

Sep. 2. Participated, as Vice-President of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, in the inauguration of the Memorial by the President of India, V. V. Giri, at Kanyakumari.

Sep. 13-19. Participated in the Seminar on 'A Source Book of Ancient Indian and Asian Civilisation', Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; presided over two sessions and read a paper on the 'Utilization of Literary Material in Sanskrit'. (Ptd. 1971).

Nov. 16, 17, 18. Delivered the Fourth Prof. Banikanta Kakati Memorial Lectures (three) on 'Sanskrit and allied Indian Studies in U.S.' at the University of Gauhati, Gauhati, Assam. (Ptd. 1974).

Dec. 7, 8, 9. Appointed Chairman of the Committee for reorganizing the Sanskrit College of the Banaras Hindu University.

Four Meetings were held and the Report was submitted on Aug. 27, 1971.

Dec. 19-Jan. 1, 1971. The 44th Conference of the Music Academy, Madras; steered the Expert Committee Meetings.

Dec. 27. The Third Dr. V. Raghavan Sashṭyabdapūrti Endownment Lecture at the Experts' Committee of the Music Academy, Madras, delivered by Sangita Kalanidhi Mudikondan C. Venkatarama Iyer on 'Sri Mahavaidyanatha Iyer and his contributions, with special reference to his Simhanandana Pallavi' (with demonstrations), in the inmediate presence of H. H. The Maharaja and Maharani of Travancore.

1971

Jan. 6-12. Participated as Government of India Delegate in the 28th Session of the International Congress of Orientalists at Canberra, Australia; read a paper on the old Sanskrit play *Uddāttarāghava* of Anaṅgaharṣa Māyurāja, which he had discovered and is editing.

Feb. 18-20, 22-24. Attended as Chairman, the meeting of the Committee for reorganising the Sanskrit College of the Banaras Hindu University.

March 27, 28. Conducted at an all-India level, the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras-4, with a Seminar and Paṇḍita Pariṣad. Dr. S. K. Chatterji unveiled the portrait of V. R. and also released the 'Dr. V. Raghavan Shashṭyabdapūrti Felicitation Volume' on 28th.

Produced on 28th, as President-Sūtradhāra of the Samskrita

Raṅga, Madras, Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, at the Open-air Theatre of the Vivekananda College, Madras-4.

April 1. Gave the Inaugural Address to the Alaṁkāra Śāstra Seminar at the University of Bangalore, Bangalore.

12. Delivered the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lecture at the Samskrita Academy, Madras, on 'Dramatic Irony in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki'.

April 23, 24, 25. Attended and participated in the International Seminar on a newly proposed programme of Humanities in the East-West Centre, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

En route visited Tokyo and met Sanskrit colleagues of the University of Tokyo.

April 26-May 10. Visited U.S. and Canadian Centres of Sanskrit and Indological Studies for talks, lectures and discussions.

May 11-June 8. Visited as Government of India Delegate, under the Cultural Exchange Programme, U.S.S.R. (Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan) and Bulgaria. *En route* visited Beirut and its archaelogical sites and met some scholars there.

June 24. The Dr. V. Raghavan Shashṭyabdapūrti Lecture on Sanskrit Drama, at the Samskrita Ranga, Madras, endowed by Miss Patricia Butterfield of U.S.: Inaugural lecture by Dr. P. B. Acharya, Asst. Professor of English, Indore, on 'The Cyclic Pattern in the Śākuntala'.

July 5. Appointed Chairman of the Academic Sub-Committee of the First World Sanskrit Conference undertaken by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.

Several preparatory meetings for this conference followed in the coming months.

Aug. 9, 10. Delivered two lectures on 'Universal Love and World Unity' at the Bangalore Centre of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (under Print).

25, 26, 27. Last meeting of the Committee for the reorganisation of the Sanskrit College, Banaras Hindu University; submitted the Report.

Sep. 4. Inaugurated the Sukṛtīndra Oriental Research Institute, Cochin.

4, 5. Toured some centres (Cranganore Palace etc.) in Kerala and examined some Sanskrit Ms. collections.

12. The Third Dr. V. Raghavan Shashṭyabdapūrti Lecture on Alaṁkāra Śāstra at the Samskrita Academy, Madras, by Prof. Uma Sankar Joshi, Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, on 'Relevance of Indian Poetics to Modern Criticism'.

23, 24. Delivered the Professor L. Venkataratnam Lectures for 1971 in the University of Madras on 'The Greater Rāmāyaṇa' (Ptd. 1973).

Oct. 3, 4. Visited Trichur, Guruvayur, Pavartai, Kadilāyil Mana and Ālvāncheri Mana and examined the Sanskrit Ms. collections there.

Dec. 19- Jan. 2nd 1972. The 45th Annual Conference of the Music Academy, Madras; steered the Experts' Committee Meetings.

1972.

Jan. 1. The Fourth Dr. Raghavan Endowment Lecture at the Music Academy, Madras, by Pandit Ravi Sankar on 'The History and Technique of Sitar and its playing.'

Feb. 4-6. Inauguration of and participation in the Vidvat Sadas at the Śrī Naṭarāja Temple, Cidambaram, on the occasion of the Kumbhābhishekam of the Amman (Devī) Temple.

Feb-March. As Chairman of the Academic Sub-Committee, attended to the publication of the Summaries of Papers presented to the First World Sanskrit Conference, New Delhi.

March 14. Lectured in two sessions at the University of Bangalore, under the University Grants Commission Scheme, on 'Kuntaka and his Vakroktijivita'.

21. U.G.C. lectures in two sessions at the University of Delhi on 'Sanskrit Studies in U.S.S.R.'

26-31. As Chairman of the Academic Sub-Committee, conducted the First World Sanskrit Conference, Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

Produced with his Samskrita Ranga troupe of actors, Madras, his ten-act Sanskrit play 'Anarkali' on 30th at the Conference.

April 2. Gave two lectures under the U.G.C. Scheme at

Kurukshetra University on 'The Bhagavad Gītā and Bhāskara's Bhāṣya on it.'

8, 9. Participated in the Seminar on 'Sri Aurobindo in Indian Literature' organised by the Sahitya Akademi in Madras.

July, 8, 9. Sri Aurobindo Seminar of the Sahitya Akademi arranged in Varanasi on 'Sri Aurobindo and Indian Literature'. Contributed a paper on 'Sri Aurobindo and Sanskrit'.

Aug. 13, 14. Participated in a Seminar organised by the Andhra Pradesh Government at Hyderabad for setting up a Sanskrit University in A.P.

16-20. Sri Aurobindo National Seminar held in New Delhi by the Sahitya Akademi on 'Sri Aurobindo's Vision of India'. Contributed a paper on 'Aurobindo's Aesthetics' (18th).

Sep. 3. The Fourth Dr. V. Raghavan Sashṭyabdapūrti Endowment Lecture on Alaṁkāra Śāstra at the Samskrita Academy, Madras, by Dr. V. K. Chari, Department of English, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada, on 'The Soul of Poetry (*Kāvyātmā*) : Some Problems of Definition'.

Oct. 12, 13, 14. Delivered three lectures on 'Festivals, Sports and Pastimes of India' at the B. J. Institute of learning and Research, Ahmedabad (under Print).

Oct. 26-28. Endowment of a Prize in his name in All-India Oriental Conference, by Miss Patricia Butterfield of U. S. for the best paper in the Sections-Classical Sanskrit, Vedic, Indian Philosophy and Religion. First Prize awarded at the Ujjain Session (26th).

Dec. 15, 16, 17. Inaugurated and participated in the Seminar on 'The Life and Works of Prof. M. Hiriyanna' on the occasion of the Birth Centenary Celebration of Prof. M. Hiriyanna in the University of Mysore.

Dec. 22—Jan. 1973. The 46th Annual Conference of the Music Academy, Madras; steered the Experts' Committee Meetings.

Dec. 30. The fifth Dr. V. Raghavan Endowment Lecture at the Music Academy, by Prof. P. Sambamoorthy, on "Melapaddhati" (with demonstrations).

1973.

Feb. 19, 20, 21. Delivered the Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar Prānshankara Trivedi Memorial Lectures (three) on 'The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India' in the South Gujarat University, Surat (Ptd. 1974).

July 14-21. Attended the 29th session of the International Congress of Orientalists in Paris. Read a Paper on 'The Sanatkumāra Saṃhitā and its Philosophical and Religious Thought and Background', and presided at two Sections.

Was elected the first Chairman of the new body set up at the time of the Congress, 'The International Association of Sanskrit Studies'.

Sep. 1, 2, 3. Delivered the Nripendra Chandra Banerji Lectures (three) on 'Tagore and Sanskrit Literature' at the Visvabharati, Shantiniketan. (under Print).

Oct. 5, 6, 7. Participated in the Gandhi Seminar organised by the Governor of Tamil Nadu and read a paper on 'The Gandhian Concept of Rāmarājya'.

Oct. 13. Participated in the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Chittur Samskrita Bhāshā Prachāriṇī Sabhā, Chittur. (A.P.)

22. Spoke on 'Mahārāja Svāti Tiruṇāl, Devotee, Poet and Composer' at the Annual Day and Patron's Birthday Celebrations, Sri Svati Tirunal Sangīta Sabhā, Trivandrum.

Dec. 6, 7. Participated in the Symposium 'Max Muller and Indology to-day' in connection with the International Celebration of the 150th Birth Anniversary of Max Mueller in Delhi and read a paper on 'The Sacred Books of the East'.

15. Presented the above paper at Max Mueller Bhavan, Madras at their celebration of the same event.

Dec. 22-Jan. 1, 1974. The 47th Annual Conference of the Music Academy, Madras; steered the Experts' Committee Meetings.

Dec. 27. The Sixth Dr. V. Raghavan Endowment Lecture by Dr. (Mrs.)Kapila Vatsyayan, Ministry of Education, New Delhi on 'The Chau dance of Mayurbhanj and its relation to other dance-forms' (with demonstration).

1974

Jan. 1. Spoke on 'Svāti Tirunal's contribution to Dance' at the Experts' Committee session of the 47th Conference of the Music Academy, Madras; with demonstrations by his daughter Smt. Nandini Ramani.

Feb. 7. The second Dr. V. Raghavan Endowment Lecture on Sanskrit Drama at the Samskrita Ranga, Madras, by Dr. S.S. Janaki on 'Bhāṇa as Play-Form'. The Samskrita Ranga presented on the occasion the *Karpūracarita Bhāṇa* of Amātya Vatsarāja, with Dr. K. Ganesan, in the role of the single character.

March 9-14. Visited Bangkok in connection with his work on 'Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India'; lectured on 'Rāmāyaṇa-versions, a comparative study' at the Thommasat University there.

March 15-18. Visited Tokyo; lectured at the Sanskrit Department of University of Tokyo and the Japan-India Society and Eastern Institute; visited Buddhist shrines and the Zen Monastery *Soji-ji*, watched the priests doing meditation etc. and had discussion with its chief Abbot.

March 19-23. Took a leading part and read a paper in the International Conference on 'Sanskrit Drama and Performance' in the East-West Centre, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

26-28. Attended the 184th Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society at Santa Barbara, California and read a paper.

April 1-30. Was Resident Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.

April-May 21. Visited U.S. and Canadian University Centres of Sanskrit and Indological Studies for talks, lectures and discussions.

Aug. 4. Received the 'Kālidāsa-Puraskār' Award for the best creative writing in Sanskrit for 1973-74 from the Uttar Pradesh Government for his play *Anarkali*.

Aug. 20-30. Participated in the International Conference of Historians of Asia and Programme on present trends

in Oriental Studies, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, at the instamce of Unesco, and main rapporteur for the consultation and co-ordinating the various aspects on Sanskrit, Tamil and South-East Asian Studies.

Visited the Museum, Old Palace etc. in Yogyakarta.

Visited Borobudur and Prambanan and studied the *Rāmāyaṇa* sculptures and dance-panels in the Śiva temple at the latter place.

Visited Bali and studied aspects of Hindu culture; visited in Danpasar the temples, the Udayana University, its Ms. collections and the Museum; visited temples at Klungkun and Bisaki; visited also Singaraja and examined the mss. in the State Mss. Library there; met Brahman priests (*Pedandas*) and conversed with them; watched rituals.

Visited Jagarta and its Museum and examined the Hindu-Javanese sculptures there.

Saw and studied in Java and Bali the *Rāmāyaṇa* dance-dramas, the *Mahābhārata* shadow play and folk dances; had discussions with Sanskrit and Old-Javanese teachers of the Universities.

En route visited Colombo and some of its monuments and Tamil temples; visited the Museum and saw the Mss. Collection.

Sep. 24, 25—Delivered the First Dr. H.R. Karnik Indological Endowment Lectures (two) on 'Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇas other than Vālmiki's—The Adbhuta, Adhyātma and Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas' at the University of Bombay.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BOOKS, PAPERS, ETC. OF Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

From 1969 up to date

A. BOOKS

1969

1. ĀGAMAḌAMBARA OR ṢAṆMATANĀṬAKA OF JAYANTA BHAṬṬA
   Mithila Institute Series-Ancient Texts. No. 7, Darbhanga, 1964 (released in 1969). pp. xxix+128.
   Critically ed. jointly with Prof. Anantalal Thakur. Introduction by V. R.
2. PRATĀPARUDRAVIJAYA OR VIDYĀNĀTHA-VIḌAMBANA
   Punarvasu, 7, Sri Krishnapuram Street, Madras-14. 1969
   An original Sanskrit Play, a Parody, in 4 Acts.
   With a Foreword in English by Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer and Appreciation in Sanskrit by Pandit Charudeva Sastri, New Delhi.
   Pp. xx+32. See No. 698 in 1968 Bibliography.
3. ŚRĪ ŚIVAGĪTIMĀLĀ AND RĀMĀṢṬAPADĪ
   Kāmakoṭi Math, Kanchi. 1969. pp. 14+68.
   Poems on the model of the *Gītagovinda*, the former by Śrī Candraśekhara Sarasvatī, Pontiff of the Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha.
   Ed. with English Intro. and dedicatory Sanskrit verses on H. H. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, in connection with the 76th Birth-day of H. H.

1970

4. RĀMĀYAṆA-TRIVEṆĪ
   Ramayana Publishing House, Madras-4. 1970.
   With a Foreword by Sri K. Balasubramania Iyer.
   Pp. vi, 69
   Studies on five subjects of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as dealt with by Vālmīki, Kamban, and Tulasidās.

5. AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN POETICS
Macmillan and Company Ltd., India, 1970. pp. 144.
A Collection of 13 papers on topics on Indian poetics by well-known Indian authors. Ed. jointly with Prof. Nagendra.
Papers on 'Sāhitya', 'Use and Abuse of Alaṁkāra', and 'Aucitya in Sanskrit Poetics' (pp. 82-102) are by V.R.

6. PRATĀPARUDRĪYA OF VIDYĀNĀTHA WITH RATNĀPAṆA OF KUMĀRASVĀMIN
The Sanskrit Education Society, Madras-4. pp. 326.
A new Edn. of a well-known Alaṁkāra text with a critical Intro. (Pp.1-35) and Indexes (pp. 327-81).

1971

7. SUBRAHMAṆYA-BHUJAṄGA STOTRA (ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya)
With English Translation.
Presented to friends on the occasion of the marriage of Author's daughter Sow. Nandini, Dec. 5, 1971.
Reproduced in many Souvenirs and Journals.

8. ŚRĪ-KĀMĀKṢĪMĀTṚKĀSTAVA
Presented to friends at the marriage of Author's daughter Sow. Nandini, Dec. 5, 1971, pp. 16.
Original hymnal Poem ; verses following the order of the alphabet.

9. THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE
Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, 1971.
With Foreword by Prof. Arnold Toynbee. pp. 8+71.
24th Founder's Day Address at the Institute on 21st August, 1969.

10. MALAYAMĀRUTA—II
Kendrīya Saṁskṛta Vidyāpītha, Tirupati, 1971, pp. 155.
A Collection of seven short unpublished works in sanskrit—poems, plays, hymns, anthologies etc.

1972

11, 12. PUṢPADANTA'S ŚIVAMAHIMNAS-STAVA
Text with English Introduction and exposition (pp. 20+8).
Text with Tamil Introduction and exposition (pp.35+8).
Presented to friends on the occasion of the marriage of Author's son Sri. R. Kalidas on 30th June, 1972.

Illustrated with plates of forms of Śiva as found in famous sculptures.

13. ANĀRKALI

The Samskrita Ranga, Madras, 1972, pp.xvi+92.

With appreciations from Sri. K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer, Prof. Sher Singh, Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, Dr. J. Filliozat, and Dr. R. K. Sharma.

An original Play in ten acts. With two rare illustrations of Indian paintings of the time of Akbar and Jehangir, preserved in the Library of the University of Chicago, and Musee Guimet, Paris; and also a bibliography of source-material.

Staged by the Sanskrita Ranga twice at Madras, and for the third time at the World Sanskrit Conference, N. Delhi.

The Play has been awarded the Uttar Pradesh Government's 'Kālidāsa-Puraskār' for creative writing in Sanskrit for 1973-74.

14. SANSKRIT—ESSAYS OF THE VALUE OF THE LANGUAGE AND THE LITERATURE

With a Foreword by Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer, President of the Society.

The Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, 1972, pp. x+181.

A Collection of 14 Essays on the value of Sanskrit language and literature.

15. ṚTU IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

With a Foreword by Dr. R. K. Sharma.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Delhi, 1972. pp. xviii, 196

Three Lectures delivered on 9th, 10th and 11th March, 1970, in the Saradiya Jnana Mahotsava Endowment Series, L.B.S. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Delhi.

15. BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ—BHAKTI, KARMA, JÑĀNA, YOGA (Tamil)

With a Foreword by Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal

Samskrta Academy, Madras-4, 1972, pp. 28.

A Collection of three Talks on A.I.R. Madras, July, 13, Aug. 10, and Sep. 7, 1972.

1973

17. MALAYAMĀRUTA—III
Rashtriya Samskrit Samsthan. N. Delhi, 1973, pp. 139
Collection of eight short unpublished works in Sanskrit—poems, plays, hymns, anthologies etc.,

18. THE GREATER RĀMĀYAṆA
The All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, 1973.
With a Foreword by Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Maharaja of Banaras, pp. viii+91
The Prof. L. Venkataratnam Lectures at the Madras University on 23rd and 24th September, 1971.
A Critical Survey of the *Rāmāyaṇa*- story in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Upapurāṇas*, and their relation to Vālmīki's text.

19. STUDIES ON SOME CONCEPTS OF THE ALAṂKĀRA ŚĀSTRA-Second revised and enlarged edition.
The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras. 1973.
Pp. xxiv+346.

1974

20. NĀṬṬIYAKKAṬṬURAIKAL (Tamil)
Kalaimagal Publications, M.L.J. Press, Madras 4, 1974.
Pp. 4+96.
A Collection of his articles in Tamil on various aspects of Indian dance and Bharata Nāṭya in particular, with copious illustrations.

21. SANSKRIT AND ALLIED INDIAN STUDIES IN U.S.
Gauhati University, 1974.
The Fourth Prof. Banikanta Kakati Memorial Lectures at the Gauhati University, November, 16, 17, 18, 1970.
Three Lectures.

22. THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN GREATER INDIA.
South Gujarat University, Surat, 1974. (Three Lectures)
Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar Pranshankar Trivedi Memorial Lectures, at the South Gujarat University, Surat, on 19th, 20th and 21st Feb. 1973.

UNDER PRINT

23. SANSKRIT DRAMA, ITS PRODUCTION AND AESTHETICS
    Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi
    A Collection of some of his papers on Sanskrit Drama.
24. UNIVERSAL LOVE AND WORLD UNITY
    Inaugural Lectures under the M.A. Tirumalachari Endowment, at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bangalore Kendra, 1971.
25. FESTIVALS, SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF INDIA
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